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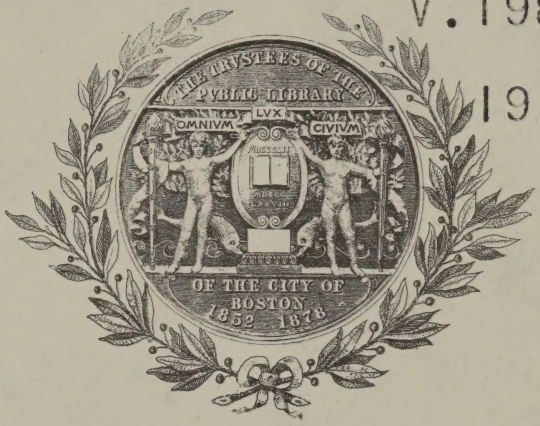

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

Edited by
GEORGE HARVEY

1921-1
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Experiments in Government—I. . The Hon. ELIHU ROOT
United States Senator
The Hope of the American Wage-Earner
W. JETT LAUCK
An English View of Mr. Bryan . . . SYDNEY BROOKS
Gold and Prices . . . . . ALBERT S. BOLLES
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A Pioneer of Aviation . . . . . NORMAN DOUGLAS
The Relation of Drama to Literature
DONALD CLIVE STUART
The Man in the Moon . . . . . The Editor
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ANNOUNCEMENT

Respecting a Proposed Expansion of This Journal Which May Prove to be of Interest to its Readers

---

FROM "HARPER'S WEEKLY" OF MAY 31.

THE following announcement appeared in the newspapers last week:

Harper & Brothers announced yesterday that they had sold *Harper's Weekly* to Mr. Norman Hapgood and associates.

"We sold the *Weekly*," said George Harvey, president of Harper & Brothers, "for the same reason that we sold the *Bazar*. It was losing money and had been for some time. We had a good offer from good people and accepted it. A periodical dealing chiefly with public affairs is necessarily much in evidence, but as a matter of fact the *Weekly* brought in hardly one-tenth of the gross revenue of the house.

"Our experience is that too many periodicals get in one another's way. *Harper's Magazine* and THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, both of which are prosperous, are all we need and all we can publish advantageously in conjunction with our book business. I shall transfer my own editorial work from *Harper's Weekly* to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, beginning a series of articles in the July number and inaugurating a complete editorial department, 'comment' included, in the autumn.

"I know nothing of Mr. Hapgood's plans and policies except that he and his associates are quite as friendly to the Wilson administration as I am. Mr. Hapgood's reputation as an editor is firmly established, and there is no reason to doubt that he will make a notable success of his new venture."

We were admonished some twoscore of years ago that the proper thing to do, when called upon and having nothing in particular to say, is to rise, make a polite bow, and sit down. That is what we intended to do in this instance. There is really nothing much to add to the brief statement quoted above. The whole story is there. Nevertheless, we feel impelled by a simple circumstance to disregard the wise monition for this once. That circumstance is the curious intimacy which has grown up between our readers and ourselves during the past few years and which is illustrated by some letters which we print upon another page. We have received many more, but cannot publish all of them, because, if we should, there would be little room left for other things in this number. It is this interesting and frankly gratifying fact that induces us to add a few words, not for the general public at all, but just among ourselves.

When we said that this journal has been losing money for some time we might have spoken more explicitly and declared truthfully that its publication has been unprofitable to the House for twenty years. Its loss in 1892 was about the same as in 1912, and, barring the two booming years which preceded the panic of 1907, there has been little variation in the mean time. Why this has been so is now affording our contem-

poraries occasion for speculation in which, if there be no objection, we should like to join.

All, we suspect, will agree that more causes than one have contributed to the general result. Some friendly critics attribute it solely to poor editing, and goodness knows we would be the last to deny so obvious a fact as that we haven't been able to edit *Harper's Weekly* well enough to make it pay. But when it comes to admitting, as some assert, that the *Weekly* would be commercially as successful to-day as it was thirty years ago under Mr. Curtis and Thomas Nast if now directed by those men of talent, we have our doubts. Times have changed. The country was conservative and thoughtful in those days. Now it is radical and impetuous. The *Weekly's* general policy has never veered. It has always stood for progress along cautious lines. It has always held positive convictions and has never been timid in expressing them. It has always hated hypocrisy and despised humbug. Its open eyes have always been turned forward, never backward. The dominant issue thirty years ago was civil-service reform; in recent years it has been tariff reform. The *Weekly* has been a stanch and persistent advocate, even leader, of both great movements.

The change has been one of method seemingly enforced by varying currents of public demand. Would people read even Mr. Curtis's scholarly leading articles to-day? That is, would a sufficient number of persons put up ten cents a week for them to make the *Weekly* pay? We doubt it. Looking over the files the other day, we found no less than twenty long editorials on civil-service reform in thirty successive issues, and very little else. They were sound, cogent articles and, of course, admirably written, but how would they take on the newsstands in this hurrying age? How many wayfarers would buy them in preference to some one of the great number of lively, entertaining, and finely illustrated magazines? Not many, we fear.

Newspapers naturally respond most quickly to the changing spirit of the times and they abandoned the erudite leading article long ago. Would it still hold vogue in a weekly journal of to-day even if done with consummate grace and skill; that is, sufficient vogue to make the paper pay? If so, why, in the insatiable searching for an avenue to periodical prosperity, has not somebody tried it? No, there is nothing in that. The most successful ten-cent weekly is *Life,* which is crisp as a doughnut and as full of spice and humor as a cooky. Some publisher might venture to put over a magazine written by a Joseph Addison, but our best bet would be on Martin and Mitchell.

Since we are talking among ourselves, it is not unfitting to note that some complain that our own pen is apt to bite occasionally when scratching what our discriminating friend, the Baltimore *Sun,* designates as "inspired flippancies." Well, that, as the boy said to the squirming and apprehensive angleworm, is the intention. We don't know of any way to make a point except to make it. And what is the sense of writing at all unless you can put things in such form that folks will read them? It sometimes happens, too, as you may have noticed, that sprightly language serves well as a conveyance for serious thought.

But our mind is getting off the classical single track. What we were about to direct attention to is Brother Robert Lincoln O'Brien's remark in the Boston *Herald* that we have been too conservative. Maybe so,

but if so we didn't know it. True we couldn't stand for all of Brother Bryan's notions about free silver, government ownership, and the like, but we advocated the income tax and spoke up, somewhat to our own discomfort, for a certain candidate for President, whom many regarded as radical, while those who now occupy the housetops were still hiding in the cellar. We never thought much of direct election of Senators, and, having in view some of the finished products, we don't now. The initiative and referendum, too, we regarded askance in the light of the actual experience of the Athenians some years before Mr. U'Riah, or whatever his name is, of Oregon, was born, but at the critical moment we skated around the question as best we could and left it to Fate. As to the Constitution, representative government, maintenance of equal laws for all, a judiciary immune to popular caprice, and observance of established tradition with respect especially to a third term, we admit our incorrigibility. We never have cared and don't now a hoot about popular tendencies when they conflict with right tendencies, and we have never tried to win favor by catering to the prejudices of anybody or any number.

All that is quite true, but it is equally a fact that we have antagonized the proclivities of our immediate community over and over again with no little fervor. We do not resent being called a conservative. It is a very good title. But the truth is that we have less fair claim to it than to its antithesis. When Oliver Johnson, while on the witness-stand in the Beecher-Tilton trial, was asked if he was not a spiritualist, he replied, tartly, "Yes, I am, but I'm not a damned fool." That is the kind of a progressive we are.

That reminds us. We regret to see from the public prints that Brother Hapgood thought we mistook his real attitude in the statement printed above.

> "Mr. Harvey gained the idea that I was a Democrat," he said, "probably from the fact that I supported President Wilson in the last campaign, but as before that I had supported Roosevelt it would be as fair to call me an Independent Republican as to call me an Independent Democrat."

This was a misapprehension on Brother Hapgood's part. We did not gain nor intend to express any such idea. One doesn't have to be a Democrat to support President Wilson. Quite the contrary, some way; it was Mr. Wilson himself who said recently in a public speech that he isn't the one who was taken in at the last election, or words to that effect. What we said was that Brother Hapgood and his associates "are quite as friendly to the Wilson administration" as we are—which is going some, we admit, but is nevertheless a proposition whose verity we feel to be unimpeachable. Of course, if Brother Hapgood persists to the contrary, we take it back as a matter of courtesy, but we should prefer to leave it to the President himself, agreeing in advance to abide by his decision.

Again we seem to be jumping the track. What about the pictures? Why don't they sell great numbers of papers as they do in England? The answer is the Sunday supplement, which is a full week closer to the event, and sufficiently satisfying, and costs the reader nothing extra. And the cartoons? When Nast was making them he had the field wholly to himself. Now there are hundreds of clever chaps turning them out by the bushel. And, believe us, if Nast were living to-day he couldn't touch a

fringe of the public fancy in competition with Macaulay or Opper or Rogers or Powers or Kemble or Cesare or Boardman Robinson or Kirby or Berryman or McCutcheon, or any one of a score of others. The chief requirement of the public now is the very humor which Nast lacked.

So far as text is concerned, we have only this to say: If there are more competent writers in their respective lines than our regular contributors, typified by E. S. Martin, William Garrett Brown, Louise Collier Willcox, Sydney Brooks, A. Maurice Low, Lawrence Gilman, William Inglis, F. M. Colby, and Franklin Escher, then we wish that, for our own delectation, they would get busy. They certainly are not in evidence elsewhere.

There remains one phase—that of duty to render public service. Fortunately upon that score we have no qualms. Norman Hapgood has character, ability, and experience. Speaking for the House of Harper, we declare unreservedly that we know of no living publicist to whose keeping we could consign the fine traditions of the famous old name with fuller confidence that they will be maintained upon the highest standard. It is difficult to see how he can fail to make the paper go if he carries out his published programme and doesn't divert too large a portion of his energies to unremunerative politics.

As for ourselves, we feel no particular call to save the country now, anyway. It is in good hands. Mr. Wilson is making a first-class President. Everybody says so, and it is so. The way he has handled the awkward Japanese business, to say nothing of his unprecedentedly capable management of the tariff measure, is worth all it cost in all ways to nominate and elect him. We still live in hope that he will not sign the Gompers Exemption bill, but if he does we shall derive no little comfort from being freed from the duty of saying what we shall think of his act. With Mr. Wilson in the White House most of the time; with Mr. Marshall silenced in the Senate; with Mr. Bryan on the stump guaranteeing peace, and Mr. Redfield in the papers ordering prosperity; with Secretary Josephus floating dreadnoughts upon the seas of his own verbosity; and with Messrs. Roosevelt, Sulzer, and Hearst speaking from the same platform for some kind of a primary law that differs from some other kind, we perceive no cause whatever for apprehension of failure of popular government.

Then, too, in a very short while—that is to say, in October or November —we shall relieve any suspense that may then exist by resuming these humble dissertations in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, contributing a few special thoughts to that venerable periodical meanwhile. So it will all come about naturally and happily, to the end that, about the time you return from your holiday, you will probably find Brother Hapgood holding the administration's head in the clouds, and us, as usual, trying to keep its feet on earth—a fair division of labor, surely, which should redound to the advantage and satisfaction of all.

We had some other things in mind to say, but we forget what they were. Perhaps it is just as well. We have to ask you to treat this communication as confidential, because it is unprofessional for an editor to admit that he is ever in the wrong. But, still between ourselves, if you should happen to recall any things we have said that struck you as being unjust or unfair, please try to forget them, and remember only the good times we have had.

PROPOSED EXPANSION OF THIS JOURNAL

And so, good folks, with the most cordial and sincere good wishes for the growth in power and prosperity which we know our successor will deserve, and with hearty appreciation of your many kindly messages to ourselves, good-by!

SOME NEWSPAPER COMMENTS

Colonel Harvey's work for Harper's has been a signal success, but he has been doing too much. His greatest energy, in the future, will be devoted to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Through all these years of muck-rake popularity, of cheapness in price and output, THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has maintained a standard of excellence which no consideration of pandering for slush to a weakened public could alter. It has remained true to its ideals when it was poor business so to do. It has considered its mission as a high-class educational publication of greater importance than the dollars. It has maintained a literary standard and excellence it is a pleasure to commend. This has been done at the sacrifice of temporary financial remuneration.

But the critical public again is coming to its senses on magazines as on other things. It has been surfeited with cheapness and twaddle called literature. It has been overdone with the five-cent magazines that contain five-cent quality of literary output. Those magazines, of which THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and *Harper's Monthly* are but illustrations, are again coming into their own in public estimation and in business returns. And THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW will be stronger and better than ever with Colonel Harvey's entire efforts in evidence.—*Houghton (Mich.) Gazette.*

The current number of *Harper's Weekly* is the last that will be printed by the House of Harper. The *Weekly* has been sold to Norman Hapgood. George Harvey, who has been its very soul, will transfer his labors to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, in which he will inaugurate a complete editorial department, "comment" included, in a few months. It will be a dreary wait for readers of the Harvey editorials, from the end of May to the beginning of autumn, for their reappearance, with four weeks between each subsequent publication.

Mr. Harvey takes his farewell in a "talk among ourselves" in the current issue of the *Weekly*, and it is characteristic of all the Harvey editorials, which are really talks. He is essentially a level-headed man, with the vigor of youth and the wisdom of age, who is not moved by demagogy, blatancy, selfishness, or error in any class of society. And what he says, and his outline of his past editorial policy, will make many newspaper men think.

It having been said that he was too conservative, Harvey replies that he wasn't aware of the fact, and that he couldn't stand for all of Bryan's "notions about free silver, government ownership, and the like, but we advocated the income tax and spoke up, somewhat to our discomfort, for a certain candidate for President, whom many regarded as radical, while those who now occupy the housetops were still hiding in the cellar." He doesn't resent being called a conservative, thinks it a good title, and tells this anecdote in stating his position: "When Oliver Johnson, while on the witness-stand in the Beecher-Tilton trial, was asked if he was not a spiritualist, he replied tartly: 'Yes, I am, but I'm not a damned fool.' That," says Harvey, "is the kind of progressive we are." There is a guide for every publication in the land.

Here is another, from the same "talk": "We never have cared and don't now care a hoot about popular tendencies when they conflict with right tendencies, and we have never tried to win favor by catering to the prejudices of anybody or any number."

Yet *Harper's Weekly* lost money steadily for twenty years. That was not because its editorial policy was not right. An outsider would say that a weekly cannot succeed unless it pleases the popular fancy, and that the *Weekly* failed in that respect. It did not keep abreast of the times. Most readers would say there was nothing to it but Harvey's editorials. Of course the new owners will make changes, but they will not be able to find another Harvey.—*Harrisburg Independent.*

Whether this condition was brought about by the unfavorable publicity given Mr. Harvey and the publication a year or more ago by Mr. Wilson, when he requested the Colonel to quit boosting him for the Presidency, or from some other

cause, will never be known to the public, of course, but readers of the magazine are of the opinion that if Colonel Harvey had not tried to inject so much of his own personality into the columns of the publication, and had been willing to accord other people the right to have opinions of their own, he might have had a more profitable property.

Instead of publishing a faithful record of the happenings and occurrences that came within the natural scope of the publication over which he presided, and allowing his readers, who might be assumed to have a fair amount of intelligence, to draw their own conclusions and inferences, Colonel Harvey insisted upon interpreting the passing show and presenting it in such a way as to leave the impression that no opinion that did not bear the "Harvey" stamp was of any value, nor that any one had a right to entertain any opinion that did not coincide with his views. The American people have passed the stage where they are willing to subscribe to the views of any one man, be he magazine or newspaper publisher, but they do want a faithful presentation of what is going on in the world, and they will form their own opinions, and will ordinarily form them more correctly than any one man can for them. However, people are glad to read the views of tolerant writers who accord their readers the privilege of entertaining opinions of their own, and more often the latter class of writer makes more converts to his views than the former.—*Findlay Republican.*

Editor George Harvey prints his valedictory in the current issue of *Harper's Weekly,* which has been sold to Norman Hapgood and his associates. He does this with the best of kind feeling to Mr. Hapgood and his associates, to the readers of *Harper's Weekly* and to President Wilson, in whose behalf the *Weekly* has been active, vigilant and on one historic occasion rather ungratefully rewarded.

Enough's enough. Too much is more than even the fertile Colonel Harvey wants. *Harper's Magazine* and THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW are enough, together with the Harpers' book-publishing business. So the *Bazar* has been sold, and the *Weekly* has been sold, and those who want to read the musings of Colonel Harvey, one of the liveliest editorial writers in the United States, and to write letters of praise or indignation in reply to them, will please turn, after the summer vacation, to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

The Colonel finds things in a suitable situation to be left to themselves for a while. He feels just now no consuming desire to save the country. The Colonel muses thus:

With Mr. Wilson in the White House most of the time; with Mr. Marshall silenced in the Senate; with Mr. Bryan on the stump guaranteeing peace, and Mr. Redfield in the papers ordering prosperity; with Secretary Josephus floating dreadnoughts upon the seas of his own verbosity; and with Messrs. Roosevelt, Sulzer, and Hearst speaking from the same platform for some kind of a primary law that differs from some other, we perceive no cause whatever for apprehension of failure of popular government.

Nothing more interesting in the way of a valedictory has been written lately. —*Syracuse Post-Standard.*

We are sorry to lose Colonel Harvey's scintillant lucubrations. He discussed men and measures with engaging frankness and rare good temper, and he displayed keen penetration in his estimates of the movement of popular forces and the trend of public opinion. He was rather a good-humored and critical observer than a leader of public sentiment. He was always rational, always cool and somewhat satirical, and never unfair or inflammatory—the very reverse of a radical. He was instinctively opposed to radicalism and radical processes. Yet no intelligent and fair-minded reader of the *Weekly* can justly accuse him of being a reactionary or a champion of privilege. He is distinctly reverse. But he saw both sides and shrank from extremes. He argued sanely for better social and economic conditions, while refusing to join in a hue and cry which did not appear to have a definite and rational motive or a legitimate ground for excited complaint. He exposed false issues and false pretenses with genial perspicacity, and hence was not popular with the class that thinks with its lungs and promulgates its theories by denunciation and extravagant hyperbole.—*Oakland Tribune.*

In the current issue of *Harper's Weekly,* Colonel George Harvey pronounces a valedictory to his readers.

It is a characteristic leave-taking; not much sentiment or pathos about it, but full of the quaint expressions and gentle humor of the veteran editor.

Mr. Harvey admits of no regrets in severing his connection with the magazine. He thinks now is an opportune time to quit the field. He thinks the country is in good hands, and that Mr. Wilson is making a first-class President.

"We still live in hope that he [Wilson] will not sign the Gompers Exemption Bill," says Colonel Harvey, "but if he does, we shall derive no little comfort from being freed from the duty of saying what we shall think of his act."

Harvey adds that he perceives no cause whatever for apprehension of failure of popular government "with Wilson in the White House most of the time; with Mr. Marshall silenced in the Senate; with Mr. Bryan on the stump guaranteeing peace, and with Secretary Josephus floating dreadnoughts upon the seas of his own verbosity."

The Colonel condensed his valedictory to three or four columns—quite long enough, one would say, but any reader of *Harper's* would have been glad to have it extended twice the length.

The poignancy of the regret at parting with Harvey is relieved somewhat by his assurance that some time in the fall he will resume "these humble dissertations in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, contributing a few special thoughts to that venerable periodical, meanwhile."—*Springfield News.*

In a statement addressed to "Our Readers"—just as if Colonel Harvey ever published anything that was not addressed to "Our Readers"!—*Harper's Weekly* takes the *Boston Transcript*, the *Pittsfield Eagle*, *Iron Ore*, and sundry other famous publications to task for calling him "conservative" and gently resents the soft impeachment.

We rather enjoy the delicious scorn in the sentence: "We never thought much of direct election of Senators, and having in view some of the finished products, we don't now."—*Pittsfield Eagle.*

If it means an end to the publication of Colonel Harvey's inspired flippancies, as well as his more sedate inspirations, then woe unto us! The Colonel wrote a great many pieces for the press before he got hold of the "Journal of Civilization," but not until he seized the column made celebrated by Curtis and Schurz and began to play hob with the conventions which had guided them did he develop a personality. Personalities are not so numerous that you can afford to see them snuffed out without protest, and the Colonel will doubtless be hearing from his friends. He threatens to maintain his individuality by opening a column of "comment" in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, but that will be different. Even inspired flippancies do not get very well with one's idea of the REVIEW. Anyway, here's hoping that the Colonel will come back in some fashion somewhere!—*Baltimore Sun.*

Every newspaper editor will regret that Col. George Harvey is to no longer edit *Harper's Weekly*. Mr. Harvey seemed to fit the position as head of the good old publication with a history of patriotism and tradition of good service to the people. Good-by, philosopher, guide, and friend.—*Watertown Standard.*

Colonel Harvey is one of the strongest writers and one of the most active figures in the country. He graduated from literature into the field of politics and has been a distinctive force for the past ten years. He has had the satisfaction of electing his candidate for the Presidency, having first made him Governor of New Jersey, and he took a prominent part in the revival of the Democratic party after its overwhelming defeat five years ago. His editorials calling the old party to arms and rallying it around the standard of tariff reform were trumpet-tongued. When some of the editorial veterans seemed to be tired of the fray and to have despaired of the future of their party, George Harvey rushed in like the King's son, seized the broken sword, and won a new victory that eventful day.—*Savannah Press.*

For many years the editorial department of *Harper's Weekly* has bristled with quaint wisdom, sound morality, humorous and sprightly comment, unsparing ridicule of sham and pretense, tolerance and liberality for new ideas and theories of merit.

It is impossible to read Mr. Harvey's editorials and not be impressed with his philosophic trend of thought. Whether or not he has expressly declared himself

on the subject of pragmatism and the pragmatists, he certainly has "argued in that kind of way" and his really luminous application recently made of the Aristotelian tenets of the peripatetics to the case of "the Honorable, the Secretary of State" confirms the impression. If Mr. Harvey could have reconciled the apparently conflicting tendencies of "the Honorable, the Secretary of State" toward the peripatetic school with his no less pronounced leaning toward the Protagoreans (or pragmatists of to-day) a judicious fillip might have been given to that sense of humor of his readers to which Mr. Harvey rarely appeals in vain.—*Rutland News.*

The purchase of *Harper's Weekly* by Norman Hapgood, formerly editor of *Collier's*, means that the Republican party will have an earnest champion in that sterling publication under its brilliant new editor, while Col. George Harvey, the well-known Vermonter and fascinating writer, who has edited *Harper's Weekly*, will publish *Harper's Magazine* and edit the famous NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, to which he will add various popular features, making it one of the new forces in American life.—*Burlington Free Press.*

Many readers of *Harper's Weekly* will deeply regret the change. They will miss the editorials of Col. George Harvey, the editor, who in recent years had imparted his individuality to the paper as conspicuously as Prentiss, Greeley, Dana, Bowles, and a few other editors in years gone by made their publications identical with themselves. Col. Henry Watterson, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and Colonel Harvey remain as probably the only two editors in the country whose names are linked intimately and conspicuously with their publications, so completely impersonal has the editing of newspapers become.

However, the friends of Colonel Harvey will enjoy continuing their acquaintance with him through the monthly issues of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.—*Wilmington Every Evening.*

The news that the ownership of *Harper's Weekly* has changed is a matter of real importance. The *Weekly* has been with us a long while. It has been almost institutional. It has helped in its day to make up a good many minds. It has been a factor in a great many public affairs. It has provided a large number of fairly liberal educations. A man with the ability and inclination to read could not take a course in *Harper's Weekly* for a few years without developing a mind stocked with much valuable information and a certain ability in philosophic thinking. It is to be supposed that the character of the *Weekly* will change with the owners, although not necessarily for the worse. Mr. Hapgood is an earnest journalist of conscience and skill. There cannot be serious doubt about his financial success, although he may never discover and propel to his goal a President of the United States, as did the inimitable Colonel Harvey.—*Hartford Times.*

So passes to another theater the long, spare figure of the Vermont Democrat with the huge, tortoise-shell spectacles. He will still have his residential habitat in New Jersey and his occupational habitat in New York. He will still hold forth, but not to as many people at as popular a price. We may hope, however, that through various reviews of or newspaper comments upon his REVIEW he will continue to be widely heard.—*Charlotte Observer.*

The imposing prestige it gained under the scholarly direction of George William Curtis was distinctly changed in character, but not seriously impaired, under the Harvey régime, though it was perhaps too strongly infused with Colonel Harvey's personality to satisfy the broader and more fastidious tastes to which Mr. Curtis appealed. It is, however, good to know that Colonel Harvey will retain in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW a convenient and congenial vehicle for the dissemination of his always original and entertaining views on a wide range of public questions. —*Glens Falls Times.*

The chief reason of the sale was that it didn't pay expenses despite its brilliant editor, Colonel Harvey. Perhaps quantity may win where quality failed.—*Washington Observer.*

Here is hoping that the normal, sweet and generous condition of mind which George Harvey has for years given to that delightful publication may not be submerged by demagogic crusading.—*Tacoma News.*

PROPOSED EXPANSION OF THIS JOURNAL

What a gap there will be in *Harper's Weekly* now that Colonel Harvey's name will cease to appear over and over again in every issue.—*Pittsburg Chronicle Telegraph.*

Republicans and Progressives will miss Colonel Harvey's weekly comment on political affairs in much the same way a dog misses the fleas.—*Manchester Leader.*

Readers of current magazine literature have sustained a distinct loss in Colonel Harvey's retirement from the editorship of *Harper's Weekly.* It is true that his field is still a large one as editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and in other work, but somehow his personality cannot shine forth as vividly and effectively as it did every week in *Harper's Weekly.* We shall miss Colonel Harvey's ready wit and still readier wisdom and judgment. We owe him a lot for making Woodrow Wilson available for Presidential timber, even though there be some, and perhaps the President himself among the number, who may not entirely acquiesce in this estimate of Colonel Harvey's services to the country.—*Charlotte Chronicle.*

Colonel Harvey's retirement will be generally regretted, for he was one of the ablest political writers of the day, and one of the soundest judges of literature.—*Toronto Mail.*

Colonel Harvey has made a great paper out of the *Weekly.* His editorials have been masterly and the amount of information pressed into the columns has been wonderful.—*Lawrence Journal.*

The man who is now deserting the helm has been extraordinary, not only as a political prognosticator, but also as a writer whose like we have nowhere else on this continent.

That the *Weekly* lost money, as Colonel Harvey tells us, is, we fear, a distinct reflection upon the hundreds of thousands of thinking people who have enjoyed it, and who, we feel sure, would have been at greater pains to send on their subscriptions if they had had a hint of the true state of affairs.

We comfort ourselves, however, with the reflection that Colonel Harvey could no more be lost as a writer than a fish could be prevented from swimming. Possibly he will enrich our literature by an occasional book. Anyway, he will keep on writing.

In the mean time, we regret that the best of the weeklies has lost the editor who made it what it is.—*St. Louis Times.*

We hate to see George Harvey leave *Harper's Weekly* and devote his time exclusively to a couple of monthly publications. Harvey ought to be on a daily newspaper so we wouldn't have to wait so long to get his scintillating views, expressed in such matchless style.—*Montgomery Advertiser.*

We shall miss Colonel Harvey's perspicacious and enlightening editorials in the *Weekly,* but there is some comfort in the announcement that his light will continue to shine, albeit hid under a bushel because confined to the venerable NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Why does he not tilt his lance in a larger field?—*Camden Post Telegram.*

Colonel Harvey's brilliant work as editorial commentator has long set the pace in New York periodical circles. The announcement that hereafter he will be heard from only once a month, and that in the columns of the not widely circulated NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, will be a disappointment to those who have developed a keen appetite for Colonel Harvey's timely and sprightly comments on current events.—*Sioux City Journal.*

If editor George Harvey is included in the fixtures of the plant sold, nobody will stop his paper. *Harper's* minus Harvey? What's the shell without the oyster? —*Milwaukee Sentinel.*

Harper's Weekly will not seem the same without Col. George Harvey's style of fist.—*Manchester Union.*

Colonel Harvey and his associates, rather than undertake to make themselves

and their work over, preferred to sell out in a straightforward and honorable way. The conclusion was the more conveniently reached since the call to save the country is regarded less imperative than it was prior to the change of last March, and the appearance of belief that "Mr. Wilson is making a first-class President."—*Sioux City Journal.*

Colonel Harvey will retire to the editorship of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, which is a monthly magazine of limited circulation, intended for readers of profound thoughtfulness. Harvey will be buried there from public view, much to the regret of the thousands who were delighted every seven days with his clever editorial comment in *Harper's Weekly.*—*Burlington Hawkeye.*

The *Weekly* was a high-class political periodical, the most widely read and popular of its class probably in the country. Its chief feature was Colonel Harvey's editorial comment on current affairs, devoted almost wholly to political developments, and the able and independent views almost invariably to be found there were relied on and followed by a large and intelligent clientele.—*Columbia Record.*

George Harvey, the editor of *Harper's Weekly,* is probably the very best man in that line of work.—*Springfield Leader.*

Readers of *Harper's* will sadly miss the interesting and pungent editorials of Col. George Harvey.—*Springfield News.*

In a trenchant, unsentimental and altogether admirable article in last week's issue of *Harper's Weekly,* Col. George Harvey, its veteran editor, leaves the editorial chair.

The explanation of the sale of the magazine is no doubt contained in the statement: "The *Weekly's* policy has never veered." Its editor recognizes the fact that the country has changed, but he has dogmatically taken the position that in doing so it has been wrong and that in refusing to do so he has been right. Possibly time will prove him correct, but until it does Colonel Harvey will continue to be a poor editor from the standpoint of the business manager of the magazine he edits. For the country likes to be humored. It respects the minority but refuses to reimburse it.

Doubtless Colonel Harvey and *Harper's* have not been quite so splendid in their stand for what they have considered right as he believes—some allowance must be made for an earnest and valuable but sturdy egotism—but just the same the fact that the magazine has been published for twenty years at a loss is a hopeful argument against the contentions of those who choose to believe that the newspaper and magazine press are subsidized. At almost any time during these twenty years the publishers of the magazine could have surrendered to the plain desire for a change in editorial style and probably transformed it into a financial success. Unquestionably the only reason they did not was because they chose to stick to what they thought was best for their readers and the country.—*Joplin Globe.*

"The sale of *Harper's Weekly* to Norman Hapgood and associates will become effective this week, and those of us who have been constant readers of Col. George Harvey's editorials will feel as if we had lost an old and valued friend," said a professional man.

"Mr. Hapgood is a brilliant writer, but Colonel Harvey belonged to a fine old school that is almost extinct. Gentle humor and common-sense philosophy are characteristics of Colonel Harvey. He could never be swept off his feet by any hysterical movement. He was always well balanced and what he said always rang true.

"His farewell in last Saturday's issue was delightful reading, but a feeling of sadness came over me as if a friend were departing. So far as I know, with the change in the ownership and editorship of *Harper's Weekly,* no weekly journal combining at once force, spice, culture, judgment and conservatism will exist."—*Birmingham Age-Herald.*

Editor George Harvey, in the whimsical valedictory in which he bids good-by to the readers of *Harper's Weekly,* confesses that the polished but heavy style of writing for which the periodical is famous has gone out of style.

"Looking over the files the other day," he writes, in announcing the change of

ownership, "we found not less than twenty long editorials on civil service in thirty successive issues, and very little else. They were sound, cogent articles and, of course, admirably written, but how would they take on the newsstands in this hurrying age?"

Not very well, it can be imagined. The reading public of to-day is not clamoring for ponderous writing, no matter how sound and cogent it may be.

Tastes in reading have changed quite as much as the tastes in clothes. The minutely detailed style went out of vogue with the hoopskirt and the powdered wig. The rounded, perfectly balanced periods over which our forefathers loved to linger are as old-fashioned as knee-breeches and the slashed doublet.

The twentieth-century public has no objection to thinking big thoughts, but it simply will not tolerate ponderousness in the handling of them. The passing generation asked instruction; that of to-day demands stimulation. The readers of a few years ago delighted in having the point withheld as a last tidbit; readers of the present insist that it be shot at them in the first paragraph. Words must crack like whips and sting like snakes. They must be p ctures as well as sounds.

Writing to-day must be crisp and terse. Thoughts must be boiled down into tabloid form. Force and vim never must be sacrificed for grace. The strong short words must come like shots from a machine-gun. The learned writer has not gone out of vogue, but to-day he must not parade his learning.

The old style was pleasant and gently satisfying; the new is more sincere and purposeful. Because it leans so definitely toward simplicity it is more democratic. The common man, a stranger to books, magazines and newspapers a decade or so ago, has been educated to demand a sparkle in every line and a punch in every paragraph.—*Grand Rapids Press.*

Editor Harvey of *Harper's Weekly*, on turning over the reins to Editor Hapgood, took a look over the weekly journalistic field and comes to the conclusion that there is no real demand for scholarliness any more. He finds that where the country used to be conservative, now it is "radical and impetuous." Such being the case, he believed the great writers of old would have a hard time in reaching the minds of the people to-day. He says:

"The change has been one of method seemingly enforced by varying currents of public demand. Would people read even Mr. Curtis's scholarly leading articles to-day? That is, would a sufficient number of persons put up ten cents a week for them to make the *Weekly* pay? We doubt it. Looking over the files the other day, we found no less than twenty long editorials on civil service reform in thirty successive issues, and very little else. They were sound, cogent articles, and, of course, admirably written, but how would they take on the news-stands in this hurrying age? How many wayfarers would buy them in preference to some one of the great number of lively, entertaining, and finely illustrated magazines? Not many, we fear."

The situation is the same in the daily newspaper field. We question if long editorials by Horace Greeley "and very little else" would greatly aid the *New York Tribune* to-day. Greeley himself would not recognize the *Tribune*. It is illustrated. There are entertainments on every page, and there is even a column of humor—and a good one, too—next to that sacred editorial space. Evidently the great editor of the past, whether in weekly or daily journalism, would have to surround himself with entertainers if he would "make good" to-day. Not that the public demands all frivol, but Horace Greeley would not sound any the worse because a professional jokesmith occupied the next column. Plenty of people are hunting the serious in their family journals, and would regret its disappearance. Not long ago a newspaper which had the temerity to start a voting contest regarding its most appealing features found that the editorial page led all the rest by some thousands of votes. It was a moderately "heavy" editorial page, too, so the public's journalistic drink cannot be denounced as an all-fizz affair—not yet awhile.—*Denver Republican.*

Harper's Weekly bids farewell to conservatism this week and henceforth will be in charge of Norman Hapgood, a progressive. *Harper's Weekly*, we are told by Col. George Harvey, has not paid for twenty years. It has been a conservative publication, and has taken that side on all public questions. But it has been most interesting reading. The publication has not in any sense been a leader of opinion, but it has had most interesting discussions. Colonel Harvey is an entertain-

ing writer, and he has made *Harper's Weekly* mighty fine reading.—*Journal*, Lawrence, Mass.

"SIC GLORIA"

Upon the passing of *Harper's Weekly*—and, if it be a passing, of George Harvey—the press has naturally had a deal to say. The "Journal of Civilization," established in 1857 by the most prosperous and distinguished publishing-house in the country, had from first to last a varied experience. The original Brothers Harper were Methodists and Democrats. Their leaning before the war was a little Southerly. The coming of the war threw the pendulum rather violently in the opposite direction, although the Harpers themselves were always personally kind and generous to Southern men.

From George William Curtis to George Brinton McClellan Harvey witnessed a swinging back of this pendulum.

Between the two extremes lay a world of history. Curtis belonged to the Brook Farm School of political transcendentalists. In style and manner he was an English Rector. He had for a pictorial yokemate Thomas Nast, something of a cross betwixt a German metaphysician and a direct-from-the-shoulder-hitting Philistine. In the beginning Curtis held Nast in a kind of contempt as merely an illustrator. But, as Nast began to grow, a jealousy sprang up. With Nast's increasing reputation and importance this assumed the dimensions of a sharp rivalry and finally of intense hatred on the part of Nast, who bitterly resented the lofty self-complacence and suave disdain with which Curtis habitually treated him. Franklin Square made a fatal mistake when it let Nast go. It should have bidden good-by to Curtis.

George Brinton McClellan Harvey, born in 1864, is, as his baptismal name implies, a Democrat; that is, his father was a Democrat; a New England Democrat, meaning a man of conviction and endurance. In those days it took such a Yankee to stand his ground and hold his own. At the instant of well-nigh ruinous disaster George Harvey came to the head of the great House of Harper. That he has kept it afloat is a tribute to his prowess as a man both of affairs and of letters. That he should part with *Harper's Weekly* is tribute to his wisdom and courage. Under the circumstances it was a hard thing to do.

The *Weekly* has been losing money for twenty years. It was losing money long before George Harvey came to it. In assigning a reason for this Colonel Harvey falls into a kind of anachronism when he says:

"Times have changed. The country was conservative and thoughtful in those days. Now it is radical and impetuous. The *Weekly's* general policy has never veered. It has always stood for progress along cautious lines. It has always held positive convictions and has never been timid in expressing them. It has always hated hypocrisy and despised humbug. Its open eyes have always been turned forward, never backward. The dominant issue thirty years ago was civil service reform; in recent years it has been tariff reform. The *Weekly* has been a stanch and persistent advocate, even leader, of both great movements."

Here Colonel Harvey confuses two periods: the one of Curtis and Nast, the other of himself. The cause for the failure of the *Weekly* is not to be sought in its character and management under either régime. The simple fact is that the illustrated Weekly has been superseded by the illustrated Daily. Nothing more need be said.

Curtis in his day and order did admirably—Nast yet still more so—from their side of the fence; Harvey as well or better from his side; but if all their energies and talents had been combined they could not have saved the day. Harvey was just as vigorous, just as scintillant, just as representative of the modern as was Curtis of the ancient world of American politics. Indeed, he showed greater reach and was more successful, for he actually made a President of the United States and saw him safely inside the door of the White House.

Whatever may happen to George Harvey, that is a distinction which cannot be denied him. To take a more or less obscure scholar and college president by the hand, to lead him from the far-away glimmer of suggestion into the limelight of the probable, to conceive and arrange a State campaign with this creation of his single idealistic fancy at the actual head of it, proves two things, extraordinary prescience in discovery and uncommon genius for organization.

He made no mistake in the ability and aptitude of his man. Neither did he miscalculate his availability. His error seems to have been that of the hapless swain who—

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"Grieved for friendship unreturned
And unregarded love."

His "star" showed himself equal to every emergency, even that of kicking the step-ladder away from him when he required an aeroplane. But, when the history of these times is written, however large the man may loom upon the page, his maker can never be made to look small; not any more then the spot upon the kingly hand which the multitudinous seas incarnadine could not wash clean, will the neglect of the debtor be forgotten in the glory of the ingrate?

Eh, bien, as we Irish say. It all goes in a lifetime. Sic transit gloria mundi—to quote expressive language of the folks on Bitter Creek—George Harvey may thank his stars that he is well out of it. "It was tough on Harvey," says a pert paragrapher, "to have a rival publisher preferred over him and sent as Ambassador to the Court of St. James's." That, however, is as a body may think.

Office is but a badge of servitude. Greeley and Raymond were unwise to seek it, and would have found it so. George Harvey has made his mark even as they made theirs; a bold, strong mark; and we do not see that he could have added much to his fame by prolonging what is at best but a grind from day to day to the last syllable of recorded contumely, travail, and drudging. Even if his career be behind him it is solid and brilliant. He is his own master; not poorly off in this world's goods. What more could he want?

It is to his credit that he put *Harper's Weekly* in clean hands when he might have had more for it from yellow hands. He did not take the pitcher too often to the well. In short, henceforth he is a free nigger and not a slave nigger, and can go a-fishing whenever he likes, amusing himself meanwhile with his NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Though the golden bowl of politics be a trifle fractured at the fountain, what boots it to the pure in heart? We are passing through a period of probation. Public life is tentative. With partyism the merest trade and party labels only trade-marks, we do not perceive that George Harvey, or, for the matter of that, any of those in the same boat, has anything to cry about over the milk that may be spilled or the water that is passed. There's lots of ale—and a few cakes—left in the cupboard, and a long life and a merry for those that serve God and love their fellow-men!—*Louisville Courier-Journal.*

THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY

The sale of *Harper's Weekly* by the present control of the house which founded it, and the observations of Colonel Harvey, the editor, in parting with his aged child, have attracted a good deal of attention in newspaper circles, for Colonel Harvey, while wishing those well who relieved him of a burden, sings what he evidently thinks is the requiem of the weekly periodical.

"Would people read even Mr. Curtis's scholarly leading articles to-day?" he asks. "What about the pictures? Why don't they sell great numbers of papers, as they do in England?" The answer is the Sunday supplement, which is a full week closer to the event and costs the reader nothing extra. And the cartoons? When Nast was making them he had the field entirely to himself. Now there are hundreds of clever chaps turning them out by the bushel."

We are not surprised that the majority of daily newspaper men agree with this point of view. If it does not betray much acumen, it at least does them the credit of being able to realize that few or none of them have the gift which would enable *Harper's Weekly* to regain its lost prestige. They are incapable of originality, as we had occasion to point out not very long ago. The trouble with the "Journal of Civilization"—as it is with its two rivals, which will instantly come to mind—is that it is a one-idea proposition, and that idea is found under the hat of the editor, who, if he paid half as much attention to the general make-up of the publication as he did to getting his individual opinions before the public, would not have had to admit failure.

Another fault with a journal of the class formed by *Harper's Weekly* and its two contemporaries is that the paramountcy of the pictures has too long been its fetish. The picture in itself would not militate against success, but their persistence in following the Sunday supplement, cited by Colonel Harvey, could invite nothing else but disaster. Little or no effort has been attempted by *Harper's Weekly* to make its letter-press attractive and give it compelling force. Stale pictures and Colonel Harvey's curious opinions have been its main features for many years. The result might have been expected.

In our opinion there is a field in this growing nation of a hundred millions for the profitable cultivation of a weekly illustrated newspaper. But its make-up will have to be radically different from that of the three leading journals in that class. We do not expect the new owners to find this fine vein, for they long ago lost that rich provincial point of view which the New-Yorker derides, but which is susceptible of such profitable development. They, too, are slaves to the one-idea theory so assiduously cultivated by Colonel Harvey. However, they are spending their own money, and perhaps it would be ungracious for any one else to complain.—*Rochester Herald.*

A FEW LETTERS

CHICAGO, ILL., *May 20.*

DEAR COLONEL HARVEY,—I do not know how everybody else feels, but imagine they all feel as I do, that it is almost a public calamity if the change of ownership of *Harper's Weekly* means that your forceful public services are to be missing. I'm sure, however, that we will see your work and be bettered by your influence in some avenue of expression. Wherever you go and whatever you do, you have my abiding good wishes and constantly increasing esteem.

Sincerely yours,

WILBUR D. NESBIT.

NEW YORK CITY, *May 17.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—Now that you will no longer talk to me every week—as you have for so many years—may I claim a moment or two in which to say a word to *you?*

It is only "*Thank you*" for all the pleasure and the real help you have given me. I am indeed sincerely grateful, and shall miss you more than I fancy you can imagine. I am, sir,

W. L. TAIT.

WHITE CREEK, N. Y., *May 18.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I see, with regret, that Harpers have sold the *Weekly.* We have taken same in our family since I can remember, and, although we are Republicans in politics, have enjoyed the editorials greatly and shall hardly know where to replace them if the *Weekly* changes much. I think Mr. Harvey is as fair as any editor I know of. I am, sir,

F. A. SISSON.

ROCK HILL, S. C., *May 18.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I should like you to know the *real* help and comfort and strength a short editorial in the *Weekly* some years ago has given me and others to whom I have read or sent extracts. It is "On Courage," and chanced (?) to fall in my way, for I did not often see the papers and was in great distress at the time, but as soon as I commenced to read I felt "heartened up," and it is now almost threadbare from much handling. I will not take your time, but felt the impulse more strongly than usual this morning to pass the word along. "Fortune, importune, fortune," as you recall it? I am, sir,

SUSAN H. AVERILL.

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *May 13.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—For scarcely any other reason would I so boldly rob you of a moment, and may hope to be forgiven in this instance only because I am to leave you in return for it the sincere appreciation of an American (though a humble one) in lieu of the broad and thoughtful manner in which you have grasped and discussed the situation rising out of the alien land bill, under Governor Johnson's consideration now, in your publication. Thinking Americans could scarcely view the situation in any other light. I am, sir,

CHARLES H. MEIERS.

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WATERBURY, CONN., *May 19.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—It is with great regret that I learn of the sale of *Harper's Weekly*, and it is a grief to me that you are to be separated from it. I don't see how you can properly express yourself in a magazine of only twelve numbers to the year instead of fifty-two. I shall be a subscriber to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW from now on.

Please excuse me for writing familiarly, but I feel as if I knew you and I cannot let this occasion pass without a word. *Harper's Weekly* was in my family before I was born. I have always found it standing for good government and good citizenship. I am, sir,

C. L. S.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *May 20.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I have taken your paper only six or seven years. In fact, only since you began your fool campaign to elect an obscure college professor to be President of the United States. I think I began taking it because I wanted to see how big an idiot an editor could make of himself. I laughed with all the others over the first years of your job. I am afraid I swore over your attacks upon Roosevelt. Now that you have your man in, what do you think of him?

I am inspired to write this little note simply to tell you that in spite of your worship of false gods you have all along made a paper which, however much I hated it at times, I could not help reading.

You're a great man, but may your politics go hang.

I am, sir,

V. P. O.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *May 22.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—If it is true what I read in the papers, that you are leaving the editorship of *Harper's Weekly*, I feel that I cannot let you go without saying at least a little word of thanks and acknowledging my debt to you.

I began taking your "Journal of Civilization" through some books which I purchased from your house, and now for four years I have enjoyed meeting you week after week. I have not always been in sympathy with your point of view, but I have felt that it was always an honest opinion you gave me. I am a manufacturer and in favor of a tariff, and I do wish you had not elected Woodrow Wilson. You will have much to answer for in that. Still, I thank you.

I am, sir,

A. F. DUKANE.

NEW YORK CITY, *May 22.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I am sorry you have sold *Harper's Weekly*. Your editorials have given me great satisfaction—they have given me information of things past and present. and your "guesses" as to the future in political matters have made me wonder. Besides your wit, I have more than all admired the justice of your comment—this more than all other things.

I write this as you lay down your pen so skilfully handled on behalf of *Harper's Weekly* to give you my best wishes for your increasing power in whatever cause you may use your pen again. I am, sir,

GEORGE B. DEGRAW.

BALTIMORE, MD., *May 21.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I suppose the new owners of the "Journal of Civilization" will call it by the old name, but a pretty empty name it will be for so many of its readers who have long identified it with the laughing philosophy, the good-natured satire, and the sane hard sense of Colonel Harvey's editorial comment. It may go on being called *Harper's Weekly*, but it will be, "Oh, for the touch of a vanished hand and the sound of a voice that is still."

But why should that voice be still? I note that Colonel Harvey promises to have "Comment" go on in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Fudge! Why, even his intensely human laughter would come rumbling, reverberating, unrecognizable

out of the solemn corridors of that respectable mausoleum. I do not wish to speak irreverently of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Far from it. It has its uses—important uses, too. Only, when it comes to making it a place of interment for Colonel Harvey with monthly exhumations, why, I venture to protest, that's all.

We need Colonel Harvey in our business—not once a month, but at least once a day. We need his sunshine in the political atmosphere. We need his sound, good, old New England horse sense. In my own humble opinion the editorial page of *Harper's Weekly*, under Colonel Harvey, was the best editorial page in the country. Has that voice got to be stilled?

Rubbish! Come back to us, Colonel. No matter how you do it, but come back. Pick up the baton again and get back to your old job of leading the editorial orchestra of the country. I am, sir,

EDWARD G. NEWMAN.

MONONGAHELA, PA., *May 21.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I regret to read you have sold *Harper's Weekly* and retired from its editorship. I never read *Harper's Weekly* till within the past year, and I was so much pleased with the clear, incisive style and sparkling wit of its articles that I made up my mind immediately that I would become a life subscriber. This I shall not become, but I will stick as long to THE NORTH AMERICAN as it remains under your pilotage. Wishing you success in your new field,

I am, sir,

JOHN L. LANK, M.D.

NASHVILLE, TENN., *May 22.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—There are sentimental reasons enough for regretting the passing of *Harper's Weekly* from the old house of Harper. Others nearer home are better equipped to express them than am I, for though I am New York born I have been away so many years that the city's old monuments are somewhat weakened in their appeal to me.

But, as I cannot sentimentalize, will you pardon the presumption of a suggestion? *Harper's Weekly* has already virtually become "Harvey's Weekly." Why not have a "Harvey's Weekly" in name as well as in fact? Cut out the pictures and other litter from *Harper's* and have a real *Weekly* with things to read in it—things of the kind Harvey knows how to write just a little bit better than anybody else, to my way of thinking. I am, sir,

F. C. ELLIOTT.

FLUSHING, L. I., *May 15.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—Six years ago, I would have welcomed with fiendish glee the announcement that you had relinquished the editorship of *Harper's Weekly*, for in those days you were unmercifully and unjustly (as I thought then) attacking my idol, Roosevelt. But you made me see differently by your exact relation and exposition of fact no less than by your powerful reasoning and logic. Now I am sorry to see you give it up, and I do not see how you will ever content yourself with only THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW as a channel for expression. I can assure you I am not contented. I am, sir,

M. W. HART.

BOSTON, MASS., *May 23.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—What Henry Labouchere did for so many years in so masterly a way in London *Truth*, Colonel Harvey has been doing with equal originality for years back in *Harper's Weekly*.

I cannot reconcile myself to a situation which, so far as I can see, virtually silences Colonel Harvey as an editorial writer. His rare gifts of amiable satire, illuminated as they are by a certain healthy common sense, have made him an asset of high importance in this hour when so many who have the public ear seem to vary their intervals of sheer epilepsy with plain hysterics.

Labouchere was a bracing douche in such instances. So has Harvey been. The country will be a heavy loser if he does not continue to be. I believe there is room

financially for a *Truth* in the publication field. But to have a *Truth* you must have a Labouchere, and that happens to be precisely what we have got in George Harvey.

I am, sir,

E. B. MARKHAM.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *May 18.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I read with regret of the sale of *Harper's Weekly* and the severance of your connection with it, for I *did* look forward so to reading your "Comment." But I understand that you will express yourself in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, so I now must become a subscriber, for "Whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge."

I am, sir,

F. G. B.

NEW YORK CITY, *May 22.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I read with sorrow that you have given up the editorship of *Harper's Weekly*. I can never tell you how helpful and enlightening your editorials have been to me. My regret is mitigated, however, by the knowledge that our acquaintance will be continued through the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. For the sake of family traditions, I must continue to buy the *Weekly*, but for my own education and the continuation of our acquaintance I must enter my subscription to THE REVIEW.

I am, sir,

F. M. GOODRICH.

PITTSBURG, PA., *May 19.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—*Harper's Weekly* without Harvey is another case of "Hamlet" without Hamlet. There may be a paper published and its name may be *Harper's Weekly*. But it won't be *Harper's Weekly*. Might as well change it to "Hapgood's Weekly" and be done with it. *Harper's Weekly* dies June 1st if that is the date on which that deplorable sale, which I in common with thousands of others regret, goes into effect.

And thus passes *Harper's Weekly!* It seems incredible—unbelievable. After so long, so honorable, and so useful a life thus to pass away! It's like laying vandal hands on some cherished monument and landmark.

I infer from Colonel Harvey's personal statement that the cause of the death is poor circulation. Well, the *Weekly* did not begin to die "at the top," at all events. Never in all its career has it been editorially so bright, so brilliant, and so strong withal as during the last years of its life.

I have nothing but good will and good wishes for Mr. Hapgood and his associates, but it is going to be no easy task to stage "Hamlet" with no Hamlet in the cast.

I am, sir,

J. S. MALTBY.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *May 22.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I suppose you are deluged with expressions of regret from all parts of the country that *Harper's Weekly* is going out of the Harper & Brothers' household. We used to read the Cincinnati *Commercial* to see what Halstead had to say. We read the Cincinnati *Gazette* to see what Deacon Richard Smith said; the Louisville *Courier-Journal* for what Watterson said; the New York *Sun* for us meant what Dana said; and, most of all, the good old New York *Tribune* meant staid old Horace Greeley and nothing else.

It was not the *Commercial*, nor the *Gazette*, nor the *Courier-Journal*, nor the *Sun*, nor the *Tribune* which spoke. It was Halstead and Smith and Watterson and Dana and Greeley.

And so it has come to be with *Harper's Weekly*. We don't ask, "What has *Harper's Weekly* got to say about this, that, and the other. We ask "What has Harvey got to say about it?"

I beg you permit me to express my keen regret that the change has been made. I cannot but feel that the entire country has suffered a distinct loss.

I am, sir,

GEORGE N. HAINES.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., *May 22.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—So then it is good-by to *Harper's Weekly*, for it can never be the same under the guidance of another hand. Because I am saying good-by perhaps you will bear with me for a brief space.

First I want to thank you for what *Harper's Weekly* has been to me during nearly ten years—a wealth of timely information seasoned with the wisdom of one who has seen much of life, is slow to wrath, who knows men but does not despise them, whose knowledge of American institutions and American policies is wide and profound, and who has given his readers the benefit of his illumination with mingled wit and kindliness, hatred of sham, and tolerance of human frailty.

If any other editorial page in America during the last decade has been the peer of yours I should like to find it. It has been without fear or favor, neither bullying the weak nor toadying to the strong. If you had done nothing more than lead in the struggle to give an equal share in government to women—sufferers of the nation's adversities as well as sharers of its advantages—you would heartily deserve the grateful praise of all decent men. If you had done nothing else than sound the call to battle that summoned oft-beaten and hopeless Democrats from their lethargy three years ago, when you led them in the battle against bondage that the subservient party of privilege and plunder had fastened upon our nation, you would have earned the endless thanks of the American people.

But you did more. Every doer of big things stands in the record of history in two aspects—first, as the author of his acts; second, as a man. You have proved yourself a man. It was not enough that you before any other man discovered and held forth to the gaze of mankind the one who should lead the reunited, sane Democracy to the redemption of the nation; that in season and out of season you proclaimed his qualifications, at first to the surprise, then to the amusement, but at last to the conviction and admiration of all Americans.

This was not your supreme test. That came when the leader you had discovered—I had almost written appointed—finding himself on the high tide of success, asked you to cease advocating that which you had uplifted from obscurity. Without one word of protest, of reproach, or even of explanation to the thousands of friends who had enlisted under your banner, you calmly continued on your course. It seemed as if, in the consciousness that you had done the best thing for your country, you were proof against even the ungratefulness of man.

Your conduct before, during, and since this episode marks you as one of the great Americans whose counsel we all need. You are to continue your editorial work in the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. I ask you, then, as a matter of justice to the many thousands of us who look to you for editorial light and leading, to publish THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW at least twice a month.

I am, sir,

O. T. W.

BOSTON, MASS., *May 22.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I have learned with the deepest regret of the impending transfer of *Harper's Weekly* from Franklin Square to another owner. I have been a reader of the *Weekly* since 1880, and I can honestly say that the period of its greatest brilliancy and charm has, in my view, been the term covered by Mr. Harvey's editorship. I have valued more than I can say his intellectual fearlessness, his expressive power, the pungency of his wit, the savor of his inimitable style. The *Weekly* can never be the same again to me, at least. I am, sir,

JOHN S. PERRON.

DALLAS TEXAS, *May 19.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I notice with regret that Colonel Harvey is to retire from the editorship of the *Weekly*. I hope, however, and believe Mr. Hapgood will give us a good paper. Mr. Harvey is one of the giants. I am, sir,

M. F. HORTON.

FORT WAYNE, IND., *May 27.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—The purpose of this letter is to express my deep regret to learn that the *Weekly* has been sold.

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I was a Taft Republican during the last campaign and felt deeply grateful to you for helping to break down the Third Term peril. I was old enough at the time of the convention of 1880 to take a strong interest against a third term, even for the man who at Appomattox said "Let us have peace—take your horses and mules home with you. You will need them"—and certainly a conviction against Grant would cover T. R., the creature of insufferable ambitions. Until this strain in the make-up of T. R. developed I was one of his devoted followers, but no more for me! I am still a Republican, believing in the necessity of a protective tariff and therefore widely apart from you free-traders. I regard protection, however, as an expedient and not a fetish and thoroughly understand that the time may come when the expedient will not be necessary or advisable. I am therefore reserving my judgment of the effects of the Wilson bill until demonstrated. If the conditions have already come when the tariff schedules may ignore the protective margin, the President will win. I hope he will. I would far rather lose my views on the subject than see the country lose its prosperity.

Naturally I am having some entertainment in seeing the free-traders squirm, and the same tendency has cropped out in the editorial pages of the *Weekly*. It is bitter medicine, of course, but we Republicans can say to the country: "Thou canst not shake thy gory locks at . . . us."

The Weekly—to return to the theme of this intrusion of your time—has been a class by itself, and the next best, in the language of some Latin writer, whose name I have forgotten but whom you will remember "is nearer third term than second"—even more so.

From what I have said you understand I am not often in political sympathy with you, but I have so much enjoyed the wide erudition and the splendid diction with the Olympian vigor of the editorial page that I hate to see it pass.

This letter is merely an expression of a reader of the *Weekly* who could not resist the impulse to write you his appreciation of your great work on the *Weekly*.

I am, sir,

C. H. LANNING.

PASADENA, CAL., *June 4.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—Being a bit of a backwoodsman, I did not hear of the sale of *Harper's Weekly*, and your retirement from the editorship, until the issue of May 31st reached me to-day. While, therefore, I am too late to join with the other mourners whose names appeared then in print, I feel that I should still like you to know of the genuine regret which the announcement occasions me.

For years your editorial comment on current affairs has formed part of my weekly education and consolation, and has been looked forward to with eagerness. I shall miss it more than I can say. Please accept this subscriber's grateful thanks for all those sane, virile, witty words of yourself and your able coadjutors—words which, though they have failed of adequate reward in dollars, have, I am sure, wrought for you a more enduring reward in the eternal kingdom of the unseen.

I am, sir,

CHARLES FRANCIS SAUNDERS.

PAVO, GA., *June 2.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I am indeed sorry to learn that you have decided to sever your connection with *Harper's Weekly*. I have derived a great deal of satisfaction as well as information in a political way from your editorials, and I look upon you as one of the best-posted and most fearless writers of the times, and you can rely upon me as being a subscriber to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, beginning with the June issue. My only regret is that this paper is not a weekly instead of a monthly, as I am accustomed to reading your editorials every week and look forward to your paper with a great deal of interest and could hardly wait one month to hear what you have to say.

You have my best wishes with THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

I am, sir, W. L. ADAMS.

CATSKILL, N. Y., *June 5.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I regret to learn that Mr. Harvey is to be no longer connected with *Harper's Weekly*.

I regard Mr. Harvey as the leading mind of the country and for several years have looked to him for trustworthy information and correct views on all public questions and have not been disappointed.

I am, sir,
WILLIAM PALMATIER.

OPELIKA, ALA., *June 6.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I have long desired to express to you my delight in your contributions to *Harper's Weekly*. They have been an inspiration and a joy to which I have looked forward, from week to week, and now that they are to be no more, please let me join with that other who begs that, at least, you make the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW a bi-monthly.

It is no small matter to take bread from hungry mouths, and there be many of us who drink health from your pen.

With "Godspeed" for your future,

I am, sir,
MAMIE A. HARRISON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 5.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I cannot let the passing of your name from *Harper's Weekly* go by without telling you that my Saturday evening is going to lose the special charm that has belonged to it for some years, because the day will not bring me your spiritual children to instruct and amuse me on that particular red-letter evening.

The removal of the yellow paper around *Harper's* has been to me, for some years, just what diving into my Christmas stocking was to me when I was a child. I did not know just how much pleasure was hidden beneath the envelope, but I did know there was awaiting me, always, something decidedly worth while.

You have made a great many friends, my dear Colonel, and you owe it to your country, your friends, and yourself to abide with us as a force for the very best influences in our daily life. We can ill afford to have you take away that force, so we will take THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

I wish I could tell you how entirely you have won my esteem and my gratitude, but I fancy it will be sufficient for me to say that

I am, sir,
FRANCIS A. WINTER,
Lt.-Colonel, Medical Corps, U. S. Army.

ASHEVILLE, N. C., *June 4.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—You may think it very presumptuous on my part to write you, but I, one of the humblest readers of your sensible, clear-cut, and broad-minded editorial comments, which I have been privileged to read weekly for so long that I do not remember the beginning, can and do feel keenly the loss that I, as well as the general public, sustain in the announcement that your editorials will only appear monthly from now on.

The startling announcement that *Harper's Weekly* has not proven profitable, in the face of the superior excellence of its editorial column, is to my mind a direct reflection on the intelligence of this age, and it is to be greatly deplored that this state of affairs exists.

I regret that your editorial announcement has moved me to annoy you with these few lines, and hope you will pardon my presumption,

I am, sir,
OWEN GUDGER.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI,
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI, *June 4.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—I wish to thank you for the delightful editorials in *Harper's Weekly* and to express at the same time my regret at your giving up that periodical.

With all good wishes,

I am, sir,
WALTER WILLIAMS, DEAN.

PROPOSED EXPANSION OF THIS JOURNAL

HARRISBURG, PA., *May 31.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—You must pardon me for writing, but you should know that to-day, when I opened *Harper's Weekly*, I was intensely angry at you for the first time. It was the anger of disappointment, anger at Fate which makes me a powerless spectator of its destruction of a valued essential. To whom can I now turn for political expressions which, in style and substance, were the best editorials printed in America; editorials which, although sometimes reaching conclusions as to persons or policies of which I disapproved, were always written from a point of view which I could appreciate and with which I was in entire sympathy?

I sincerely hope that the voice of George Harvey will again reach us in a more lively manner than is possible in the weighted utterances of a monthly magazine.

I am, sir,

W. Y. BLANNING.

NEW YORK, *May 29.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—It is with regret that I learn of your retirement from the editorship of *Harper's Weekly*. Do we not suffer already from too many periodicals that take the "popular" view of things—that follow the lines of least resistance in discussing current events, instead of making serious effort to restrain headlong impulses by leading popular thought to study underlying cause and ultimate effect?

Not that I have agreed with the politics advocated by the *Weekly*, or favored the leaders whom you have supported; in the main, I am opposed to men and measures, both, that you uphold. But it is for the benefit of both sides to have a clear and fair statement of the principal questions before the people, though from a partisan standpoint. Your opponents benefit as much by your criticism, as do those upon your side by your advocacy.

The combination of muck-raking and padded advertisements has produced periodicals of remarkable carrying power, unhealthful in tone, superficial and unreliable. Sooner or later they will run their course, but their effect has been as intense upon journalism at large, as hurtful to the prevailing popular opinion and taste. It seems wrong to diminish by a single one the small number of journals that are worth while—that even make fair attempt to state and discuss the real questions of politics, social life, and personality; and I am sorry you are leaving *Harper's Weekly*.

I am, sir,

DRURY W. COOPER.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *May 31.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—It's a shame to go off and leave us that way, with things all in a mess at Washington and in Tennessee. How could you do it?

Let me thank you for the inspiration you have given me personally and for the distinguished service you have done the country. I am sorry to learn that such service is financially unprofitable.

Yours sincerely,

R. W. MCBRYDE.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 2.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—It was with a feeling of personal loss that I read the announcement of the severance of your association with *Harper's Weekly*. That publication has been in my home and in my father's home ever since I can remember, and from constant reading of your "Comments," there has grown a feeling of personal acquaintance with you.

I look forward with pleasure to the time when your "Comments" will be resumed in the REVIEW, of which I shall of course become a subscriber.

With best wishes, I am, sir,

RICKER VAN METRE.

ATLANTA, GA., *June 4.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

SIR,—Your swan-song in the current *Weekly* made me sad, but sadder to me is the knowledge that hereafter I must revise my Sunday habits. During the past

several years my custom on each Sabbath day has been to purchase a copy of your paper; on the few occasions when, because of its non-arrival at the news-stands, I was unable to obtain it, I have experienced a sense of loss which now will be permanent.

I have depended on it very largely for the facts. I deeply regret your retirement from its editorship. Though it is selfish, I wish the company had continued its philanthropy.

I am, sir,

A. H. Ulm.

Montpelier, Vermont, *June 3.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

Sir,—I cannot refrain from sending you this note which you are at liberty to call a sob on the occasion of your leaving the editor's chair of *Harper's Weekly*. You don't know it all, neither do I (I wish we did), but what you have done for Uncle Sam's subjects all through the years of your connection with *Harper's* has earned you a place of honor in the minds of all fair-minded men. It has seemed to me at times that you have shot wide of the mark, but I may have been mistaken. Anyway, I have kept my mouth shut, which is more than a whole lot of contributors to your "letter columns" can say, *some* of whom are quite narrow enough to take a full-sized bath in a small-sized fountain pen.

I trust that the future holds for you all you have earned and that Vermont can continue to point with pride to one of her ablest sons.

I am, sir,

Dorman B. Eaton Kent.

Augusta, *June 3.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

Sir,—It was with genuine regret that I read your announcement in last week's issue. Of all my reading the past few years, nothing has given me as much pleasure and profit as your articles in the *Weekly* and I think it is a reflection on the reading public of to-day that a paper so ably conducted and on such a high plane should have proven unprofitable.

I am, sir,

Porter Fleming.

San Francisco, *June 6.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

Sir,—Of course, your reasons were sufficient to yourself for transferring the editorship of *Harper's Weekly* to somebody else, and equally of course you felt that it was beneficial to the interests which you subserved.

I am not particularly fastidious and I do not know that I can be differentiated particularly from the average reader of *Harper's Weekly*. I can say, however, that the editorial paragraphs of *Harper's Weekly* under your administrations have brought to me an unusual pleasure. Furthermore, I have felt somehow that your discrimination has been exercised in the matter that has appeared in the *Weekly*. Thus I have felt that I was getting what came from your own discriminating judgment. Possibly I have been wrong in this, but in any event it has so appeared to me, and thus I am inclined to resent in a sort of modest way the change of editorial managership.

I assume that all this will appear foolish to you, and yet in all probability I am but typical of many subscribers to *Harper's Weekly*.

I am, sir,

Tirey L. Foss.

Baltimore, *May 22.*

To the Editor of Harper's Weekly:

Sir,—If it must be farewell after all these years, but I cannot part with one whom I have never seen without letting you know how very much your writing has meant to me and to my son, who is just beginning for himself. You have helped us above all to be sincere, and honest and not to be afraid to be honest. I think you made a big error in making Woodrow Wilson President, for see what bad times are here already. Otherwise I have been with you most of the time. Thank you again, and I shall look for you in The North American Review.

I am, sir,

J. D. V. L.

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

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JULY, 1913

EXPERIMENTS IN GOVERNMENT AND THE ESSENTIALS OF THE CONSTITUTION—I.

BY THE HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT, UNITED STATES SENATOR

THE familiar saying that nothing is settled until it is settled right expresses only a half-truth. Questions of general and permanent importance are seldom finally settled. A very wise man has said that "short of the multiplication table there is no truth and no fact which must not be proved over again as if it had never been proved, from time to time." Conceptions of social rights and obligations and the institutions based upon them continue unquestioned for long periods as postulates in all discussions upon questions of government. Whatever conduct conforms to them is assumed to be right. Whatever is at variance with them is assumed to be wrong. Then a time comes when, with apparent suddenness, the ground of discussion shifts and the postulates are denied. They cease to be accepted without proof and the whole controversy in which they were originally established is fought over again.

The people of the United States appear now to have entered upon such a period of re-examination of their sys-

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tem of government. Not only are political parties denouncing old abuses and demanding new laws, but essential principles embodied in the Federal Constitution of 1787, and long followed in the constitutions of all the States, are questioned and denied. The wisdom of the founders of the Republic is disputed and the political ideas which they repudiated are urged for approval.

I wish to present some observations which may have a useful application in the course of this process.

There are two separate processes going on among the civilized nations at the present time. One is an assault by Socialism against the individualism which underlies the social system of Western civilization. The other is an assault against existing institutions upon the ground that they do not adequately protect and develop the existing social order. It is of this latter process in our own country that I wish to speak, and I assume an agreement, that the right of individual liberty and the inseparable right of private property which lie at the foundation of our modern civilization ought to be maintained.

The conditions of life in America have changed very much since the Constitution of the United States was adopted. In 1787 each State entering into the Federal Union had preserved the separate organic life of the original colony. Each had its center of social and business and political life. Each was separated from the others by the barriers of slow and difficult communication. In a vast territory, without railroads or steamships or telegraph or telephone, each community lived within itself.

Now, there has been a general social and industrial rearrangement. Production and commerce pay no attention to State lines. The life of the country is no longer grouped about State capitals, but about the great centers of continental production and trade. The organic growth which must ultimately determine the form of institutions has been away from the mere union of States toward the union of individuals in the relation of national citizenship.

The same causes have greatly reduced the independence of personal and family life. In the eighteenth century life was simple. The producer and consumer were near together and could find each other. Every one who had an equivalent to give in property or service could readily secure

the support of himself and his family without asking anything from government except the preservation of order. To-day almost all Americans are dependent upon the action of a great number of other persons mostly unknown. About half of our people are crowded into the cities and large towns. Their food, clothes, fuel, light, water—all come from distant sources, of which they are in the main ignorant, through a vast, complicated machinery of production and distribution with which they have little direct relation. If anything occurs to interfere with the working of the machinery, the consumer is individually helpless. To be certain that he and his family may continue to live he must seek the power of combination with others, and in the end he inevitably calls upon that great combination of all citizens which we call government to do something more than merely keep the peace—to regulate the machinery of production and distribution and safeguard it from interference so that it shall continue to work.

A similar change has taken place in the conditions under which a great part of our people engage in the industries by which they get their living. Under comparatively simple industrial conditions the relation between employer and employee was mainly a relation of individual to individual with individual freedom of contract and freedom of opportunity essential to equality in the commerce of life. Now, in the great manufacturing, mining, and transportation industries of the country, instead of the free give and take of individual contract, there is substituted a vast system of collective bargaining between great masses of men organized and acting through their representatives, or the individual on the one side accepts what he can get from superior power on the other. In the movement of these mighty forces of organization the individual laborer, the individual stockholder, the individual consumer, is helpless.

There has been another change of conditions through the development of political organization. The theory of political activity which had its origin approximately in the administration of President Jackson, and which is characterized by Marcy's declaration that "to the victors belong the spoils," tended to make the possession of office the primary and all-absorbing purpose of political conflict. A complicated system of party organization and representation grew up under which a disciplined body of party

workers in each State supported one another, controlled the machinery of nomination, and thus controlled nominations. The members of State legislatures and other officers, when elected, felt a more acute responsibility to the organization which could control their renomination than to the electors, and therefore became accustomed to shape their conduct according to the wishes of the nominating organization. Accordingly the real power of government came to be vested to a high degree in these unofficial political organizations, and where there was a strong man at the head of an organization his control came to be something very closely approaching dictatorship. Another feature of this system aggravated its evils. As population grew, political campaigns became more expensive. At the same time, as wealth grew, corporations for production and transportation increased in capital and extent of operations and became more dependent upon the protection or toleration of government. They found a ready means to secure this by contributing heavily to the campaign funds of political organizations, and therefore their influence played a large part in determining who should be nominated and elected to office. So that in many States political organizations controlled the operations of government, in accordance with the wishes of the managers of the great corporations. Under these circumstances our governmental institutions were not working as they were intended to work, and a desire to break up and get away from this extra constitutional method of controlling our constitutional government has caused a great part of the new political methods of the last few years.

It is manifest that the laws which were entirely adequate under the conditions of a century ago to secure individual and public welfare must be in many respects inadequate to accomplish the same results under all these new conditions; and our people are now engaged in the difficult but imperative duty of adapting their laws to the life of to-day. The changes in conditions have come very rapidly and a good deal of experiment will be necessary to find out just what government can do and ought to do to meet them.

The process of devising and trying new laws to meet new conditions naturally leads to the question whether we need not merely to make new laws, but also to modify the

principles upon which our government is based and the institutions of government designed for the application of those principles to the affairs of life. Upon this question it is of the utmost importance that we proceed with considerable wisdom.

By institutions of government I mean the established rule or order of action through which the sovereign (in our case the sovereign people) attains the ends of government. The governmental institutions of Great Britain have been established by the growth through many centuries of a great body of accepted rules and customs which, taken together, are called the British Constitution. In this country we have set forth in the Declaration of Independence the principles which we consider to lie at the basis of civil society " that all men are created equal; that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In our Federal and State Constitutions we have established the institutions through which these rights are to be secured. We have declared what officers shall make the laws, what officers shall execute them, what officers shall sit in judgment upon claims of right under them. We have prescribed how these officers shall be selected and the tenure by which they shall hold their offices. We have limited them in the powers which they are to exercise, and, where it has been deemed necessary, we have imposed specific duties upon them. The body of rules thus prescribed constitute the governmental institutions of the United States.

When proposals are made to change these institutions there are certain general considerations which should be observed.

The first consideration is that free government is impossible except through prescribed and established governmental institutions, which work out the ends of government through many separate human agents, each doing his part in obedience to law. Popular will cannot execute itself directly except through a mob. Popular will cannot get itself executed through an irresponsible executive, for that is simple autocracy. An executive limited only by the direct expression of popular will cannot be held to responsibility

against his will, because, having possession of all the powers of government, he can prevent any true, free, and general expression adverse to himself, and unless he yields voluntarily he can be overturned only by a revolution. The familiar Spanish-American dictatorships are illustrations of this. A dictator once established by what is or is alleged to be public choice never permits an expression of public will which will displace him, and he goes out only through a new revolution because he alone controls the machinery through which he could be displaced peaceably. A system with a plebiscite at one end and Louis Napoleon at the other could not give France free government; and it was only after the humiliation of defeat in a great war and the horrors of the Commune that the French people were able to establish a government which would really execute their will through carefully devised institutions in which they gave their chief executive very little power indeed.

We should, therefore, reject every proposal which involves the idea that the people can rule merely by voting, or merely by voting and having one man or group of men to execute their will.

A second consideration is that in estimating the value of any system of governmental institutions due regard must be had to the true functions of government and to the limitations imposed by nature upon what it is possible for government to accomplish. We all know, of course, that we cannot abolish all the evils in this world by statute or by the enforcement of statutes, nor can we prevent the inexorable law of nature which decrees that suffering shall follow vice, and all the evil passions and folly of mankind. Law cannot give to depravity the rewards of virtue, to indolence the rewards of industry, to indifference the rewards of ambition, or to ignorance the rewards of learning. The utmost that government can do is measurably to protect men, not against the wrong they do themselves, but against wrong done by others, and to promote the long, slow process of educating mind and character to a better knowledge and nobler standards of life and conduct. We know all this, but when we see how much misery there is in the world and instinctively cry out against it, and when we see some things that government may do to mitigate it, we are apt to forget how little, after all, it is possible for any gov-

ernment to do, and to hold the particular government of the time and place to a standard of responsibility which no government can possibly meet. The chief motive power which has moved mankind along the course of development which we call the progress of civilization has been the sum total of intelligent selfishness in a vast number of individuals, each working for his own support, his own gain, his own betterment. It is that which has cleared the forests and cultivated the fields and built the ships and railroads, made the discoveries and inventions, covered the earth with commerce, softened by intercourse the enmities of nations and races, and made possible the wonders of literature and of art. Gradually, during the long process, selfishness has grown more intelligent, with a broader view of individual benefit from the common good, and gradually the influences of nobler standards of altruism, of justice, and human sympathy have impressed themselves upon the conception of right conduct among civilized men. But the complete control of such motives will be the millennium. Any attempt to enforce a millennial standard now by law must necessarily fail, and any judgment which assumes government's responsibility to enforce such a standard must be an unjust judgment. Indeed, no such standard can ever be forced. It must come, not by superior force, but from the changed nature of man, from his willingness to be altogether just and merciful.

A third consideration is that it is not merely useless, but injurious for government to attempt too much. It is manifest that to enable it to deal with the new conditions I have described we must invest government with authority to interfere with the individual conduct of the citizen to a degree hitherto unknown in this country. When government undertakes to give the individual citizen protection by regulating the conduct of others toward him in the field where formerly he protected himself by his freedom of contract, it is limiting the liberty of the citizen whose conduct is regulated and taking a step in the direction of paternal government. While the new conditions of industrial life make it plainly necessary that many such steps shall be taken, they should be taken only so far as they are necessary and are effective. Interference with individual liberty by government should be jealously watched and restrained, because the habit of undue interference destroys that inde-

pendence of character without which in its citizens no free government can endure.

We should not forget that while institutions receive their form from national character, they have a powerful reflex influence upon that character. Just so far as a nation allows its institutions to be molded by its weaknesses of character rather than by its strength, it creates an influence to increase weakness at the expense of strength.

The habit of undue interference by government in private affairs breeds the habit of undue reliance upon government in private affairs at the expense of individual initiative, energy, enterprise, courage, independent manhood.

The strength of self-government and the motive power of progress must be found in the characters of the individual citizens who make up a nation. Weaken individual character among a people by comfortable reliance upon paternal government and a nation soon becomes incapable of free self-government and fit only to be governed: the higher and nobler qualities of national life that make for ideals and effort and achievement become atrophied and the nation is decadent.

A fourth consideration is that in the nature of things all government must be imperfect because men are imperfect. Every system has its shortcomings and inconveniences; and these are seen and felt as they exist in the system under which we live, while the shortcomings and inconveniences of other systems are forgotten or ignored.

It is not unusual to see governmental methods reformed and after a time, long enough to forget the evils that caused the change, to have a new movement for a reform which consists in changing back to substantially the same old methods that were cast out by the first reform.

The recognition of shortcomings or inconveniences in government is not by itself sufficient to warrant a change of system. There should be also an effort to estimate and compare the shortcomings and inconveniences of the system to be substituted, for although they may be different they will certainly exist.

A fifth consideration is that whatever changes in government ought to be made, we should follow the method which undertakes as one of its cardinal points to hold fast that which is good. Francis Lieber, whose affection for the

country of his birth equaled his loyalty to the country of his adoption, once said:

> "There is this difference between the English, French, and Germans: That the English only change what is necessary and as far as it is necessary; the French plunge into all sorts of novelties by whole masses, get into a chaos, see that they are fools, and retrace their steps as quickly, with a high degree of practical sense in all this unpracticability; the Germans attempt no change without first recurring to first principles and metaphysics beyond them, systematizing the smallest details in their minds; and when at last they mean to apply all their meditation, opportunity, with its wide and swift wings of a gull, is gone."

This was written more than sixty years ago, before the present French Republic and the present German Empire, and Lieber would doubtless have modified his conclusions in view of those great achievements in government if he were writing to-day. But he does correctly indicate the differences of method and the dangers avoided by the practical course which he ascribes to the English and in accordance with which the great structure of British and American liberty has been built up generation after generation and century after century. Through all the seven hundred years since Magna Charta we have been shaping, adjusting, adapting our system to the new conditions of life as they have arisen, but we have always held on to everything essentially good that we have ever had in the system. We have never undertaken to begin over again and build up a new system under the idea that we could do it better. We have never let go of Magna Charta or the Bill of Rights or the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution. When we take account of all that governments have sought to do and have failed to do in this selfish and sinful world, we find that as a rule the application of new theories of government, though devised by the most brilliant constructive genius, have availed but little to preserve the people of any considerable regions of the earth for any long periods from the evils of despotism on the one hand or of anarchy on the other, or to raise any considerable portion of the mass of mankind above the hard conditions of oppression and misery. And we find that our system of government which has been built up in this practical way through so many centuries, and the whole history of which is potent in the provisions of our Constitution, has done more to preserve liberty, justice, security, and freedom of opportunity for many people for a long period and over

a great portion of the earth, than any other system of government ever devised by man. Human nature does not change very much. The forces of evil are hard to control now as they always have been. It is easy to fail and hard to succeed in reconciling liberty and order. In dealing with this most successful body of governmental institutions the question should not be what sort of government do you or I think we should have. What you and I think on such a subject is of very little value indeed. The question should be:

How can we adapt our laws and the workings of our government to the new conditions which confront us without sacrificing any essential element of this system of government which has so nobly stood the test of time and without abandoning the political principles which have inspired the growth of its institutions? For there are political principles, and nothing can be more fatal to self-government than to lose sight of them under the influence of apparent expediency.

In attempting to answer this question we need not trouble ourselves very much about the multitude of excited controversies which have arisen over new methods of extra constitutional-political organization and procedure. Direct nominations, party enrollments, instructions to delegates, Presidential-preference primaries, independent nominations, all relate to forms of voluntary action outside the proper field of governmental institutions. All these new political methods are the result of efforts of the rank and file of voluntary parties to avoid being controlled by the agents of their own party organization, and to get away from real evils in the form of undue control by organized minorities with the support of organized capital. None of these expedients is an end in itself. They are tentative, experimental. They are movements not toward something definite, but away from something definite. They may be inconvenient or distasteful to some of us, but no one need be seriously disturbed by the idea that they threaten our system of government. If they work well they will be an advantage. If they work badly they will be abandoned and some other expedient will be tried, and the ultimate outcome will doubtless be an improvement upon the old methods.

There is another class of new methods which do relate

to the structure of government and which call for more serious consideration here. Chief in this class are:

The Initiative; that is to say, direct legislation by vote of the people upon laws proposed by a specified number or proportion of the electors.

The Compulsory Referendum; that is to say, a requirement that under certain conditions laws that have been agreed upon by a legislative body shall be referred to a popular vote and become operative only upon receiving a majority vote.

The Recall of Officers before the expiration of the terms for which they have been elected by a vote of the electors to be had upon the demand of a specified number or proportion of them.

The Popular Review of Judicial Decisions upon constitutional questions; that is to say, a provision under which, when a court of last resort has decided that a particular law is invalid, because in conflict with a constitutional provision, the law may nevertheless be made valid by a popular vote.

Some of these methods have been made a part of the constitutional system of a considerable number of our States. They have been accompanied invariably by provisions for very short and easy changes of State Constitutions, and, so long as they are confined to the particular States which have chosen to adopt them, they may be regarded as experiments which we may watch with interest, whatever may be our opinions as to the outcome, and with the expectation that if they do not work well they also will be abandoned. This is especially true because, since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the States are prohibited from violating in their own affairs the most important principles of the National Constitution. It is not to be expected, however, that new methods and rules of action in government shall become universal in the States and not ultimately bring about a change in the national system. It will be useful, therefore, to consider whether these new methods if carried into the national system would sacrifice any of the essentials of that system which ought to be preserved.

The Constitution of the United States deals in the main with essentials. There are some non-essential directions such as those relating to the methods of election and of

legislation, but in the main it sets forth the foundations of government in clear, simple, concise terms. It is for this reason that it has stood the test of more than a century with but slight amendment, while the modern State Constitutions, into which a multitude of ordinary statutory provisions are crowded, have to be changed from year to year. The peculiar and essential qualities of the government established by the Constitution are:

First, it is representative.

Second, it recognizes the liberty of the individual citizen as distinguished from the total mass of citizens, and it protects that liberty by specific limitations upon the power of government.

Third, it distributes the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which make up the sum total of all government, into three separate departments, and specifically limits the powers of the officers in each department.

Fourth, it superimposes upon a federation of State governments a national government with sovereignty acting directly not merely upon the States, but upon the citizens of each State, within a line of limitation drawn between the powers of the national government and the powers of the State governments.

Fifth, it makes observance of its limitations requisite to the validity of laws, whether passed by the nation or by the States, to be judged by the courts of law in each concrete case as it arises.

Every one of these five characteristics of the government established by the Constitution was a distinct advance beyond the ancient attempts at popular government, and the elimination of any one of them would be a retrograde movement and a reversion to a former and discarded type of government. In each case it would be the abandonment of a distinctive feature of government which has succeeded, in order to go back and try again the methods of government which have failed. Of course we ought not to take such a backward step except under the pressure of inevitable necessity.

The first two of the characteristics which I have enumerated, those which embrace the conception of representative government and the conception of individual liberty, were the products of the long process of development of freedom in England and America. They were not invented by the

makers of the Constitution. They have been called inventions of the Anglo-Saxon race. They are the chief contributions of that race to the political development of civilization.

The expedient of representation first found its beginning in the Saxon witenagemot. It was lost in the Norman conquest. It was restored step by step, through the centuries in which Parliament established its power as an institution through the granting or withholding of aids and taxes for the king's use. It was brought to America by the English colonists. It was the practice of the colonies which formed the Federal Union. It entered into the Constitution as a matter of course, because it was the method by which modern liberty had been steadily growing stronger and broader for six centuries as opposed to the direct, unrepresentative method of government in which the Greek and Roman and Italian republics had failed. This representative system has in its turn impressed itself upon the nations which derived their political ideas from Rome and has afforded the method through which popular liberty has been winning forward in its struggle against royal and aristocratic power and privilege the world over. Bluntschli, the great Heidelberg publicist of the last century, says:

> "Representative government and self-government are the great works of the English and American peoples. The English have produced representative monarchy with parliamentary legislation and parliamentary government. The Americans have produced the representative republic. We Europeans upon the Continent recognize in our turn that in representative government alone lies the hoped-for union between civil order and popular liberty."

The Initiative and Compulsory Referendum are attempts to cure the evils which have developed in our practice of representative government by means of a return to the old, unsuccessful, and discarded method of direct legislation and by rehabilitating one of the most impracticable of Rousseau's theories. Every candid student of our governmental affairs must agree that the evils to be cured have been real and that the motive which has prompted the proposal of the Initiative and Referendum is commendable. I do not think that these expedients will prove wise or successful ways of curing these evils for reasons which I will presently indicate; but it is not necessary to assume that their trial

will be destructive of our system of government. They do not aim to destroy representative government, but to modify and control it, and were it not that the effect of these particular methods is likely to go beyond the intention of their advocates they would not interfere seriously with representative government except in so far as they might ultimately prove to be successful expedients. If they did not work satisfactorily they would be abandoned, leaving representative government still in full force and effectiveness.

There is now a limited use of the Referendum upon certain comparatively simple questions. No one has ever successfully controverted the view expressed by Burke in his letter to the electors of Bristol, that his constituents were entitled not merely to his vote, but to his judgment, even though they might not agree with it. But there are some questions upon which the determining fact must be the preference of the people of the country or of a community; such as the question where a capital city or a county seat shall be located; the question whether a debt shall be incurred that will be a lien on their property for a specific purpose; the question whether the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be permitted. Upon certain great simple questions which are susceptible of a *yes* or *no* answer it is appropriate that the people should be called upon to express their wish by a vote just as they express their choice of the persons who shall exercise the powers of government by a vote. This, however, is very different from undertaking to have the ordinary powers of legislation exercised at the ballot-box.

In this field the weakness, both of the Initiative and of the Compulsory Referendum, is that they are based upon a radical error as to what constitutes the true difficulty of wise legislation. The difficulty is not to determine what ought to be accomplished, but to determine how to accomplish it. The affairs with which statutes have to deal as a rule involve the working of a great number and variety of motives incident to human nature, and the working of those motives depends upon complicated and often obscure facts of production, trade, social life, with which men generally are not familiar and which require study and investigation to understand. Thrusting a rigid prohibition or command into the operation of these forces is apt to produce quite

unexpected and unintended results. Moreover, we already have a great body of laws, both statutory and customary, and a great body of judicial decisions as to the meaning and effect of existing laws. The result of adding a new law to this existing body of laws is that we get, not the simple consequence which the words, taken by themselves, would seem to require, but a resultant of forces from the new law taken in connection with all existing laws. A very large part of the litigation, injustice, dissatisfaction, and contempt for law which we deplore results from ignorant and inconsiderate legislation with perfectly good intentions. The only safeguard against such evils and the only method by which intelligent legislation can be reached is the method of full discussion, comparison of views, modification, and amendment of proposed legislation in the light of discussion and the contribution and conflict of many minds. This process can be had only through the procedure of representative legislative bodies. Representative government is something more than a device to enable the people to have their say when they are too numerous to get together and say it. It is something more than the employment of experts in legislation. Through legislative procedure a different kind of treatment for legislative questions is secured by concentration of responsibility, by discussion, and by opportunity to meet objection with amendment. For this reason the attempt to legislate by calling upon the people by popular vote to say yes or no to complicated statutes must prove unsatisfactory and on the whole injurious. In ordinary cases the voters will not and cannot possibly bring to the consideration of proposed statutes the time, attention, and knowledge required to determine whether such statutes will accomplish what they are intended to accomplish; and the vote usually will turn upon the avowed intention of such proposals rather than upon their adequacy to give effect to the intention. This would be true if only one statute were to be considered at one election; but such simplicity is not practicable. There always will be, and if the direct system is to amount to anything there must be, many proposals urged upon the voters at each opportunity.

The measures submitted at one time in some of the Western States now fill considerable volumes.

With each proposal the voter's task becomes more complicated and difficult.

Yet our ballots are already too complicated. The great blanket sheets with scores of officers and hundreds of names to be marked are quite beyond the intelligent action in detail of nine men out of ten.

The most thoughtful reformers are already urging that the voter's task be made more simple by giving him fewer things to consider and act upon at the same time.

This is the substance of what is called the "Short Ballot" reform; and it is right, for the more questions divide public attention the fewer questions the voters really decide for themselves on their own judgment and the greater the power of the professional politician.

There is, moreover, a serious danger to be apprehended from the attempt at legislation by the Initiative and Compulsory Referendum, arising from its probable effect on the character of representative bodies. These expedients result from distrust of legislatures. They are based on the assertion that the people are not faithfully represented in their legislative bodies, but are misrepresented. The same distrust has led to the encumbering of modern State Constitutions by a great variety of minute limitations upon legislative power. Many of these constitutions, instead of being simple framework of government, are bulky and detailed statutes legislating upon subjects which the people are unwilling to trust the legislature to deal with. So between the new constitutions, which exclude the legislatures from power, and the Referendum, by which the people overrule what they do, and the Initiative, by which the people legislate in their place, the legislative representatives, who were formerly honored, are hampered, shorn of power, relieved of responsibility, discredited, and treated as unworthy of confidence. The unfortunate effect of such treatment upon the character of legislatures and the kind of men who will be willing to serve in them can well be imagined. It is the influence of such treatment that threatens representative institutions in our country. Granting that there have been evils in our legislative system which ought to be cured, I cannot think that this is the right way to cure them. It would seem that the true way is for the people of the country to address themselves to the better performance of their own duty in selecting their legislative representatives and in holding those representatives to strict responsibility for their action. The system of direct nominations, which is

easy of application in the simple proceeding of selecting members of a legislature, and the Short Ballot reform aim at accomplishing that result. I think that along these lines the true remedy is to be found. No system of self-government will continue successful unless the voters have sufficient public spirit to perform their own duty at the polls, and the attempt to reform government by escaping from the duty of selecting honest and capable representatives, under the idea that the same voters who fail to perform that duty will faithfully perform the far more onerous and difficult duty of legislation, seems an exhibition of weakness rather than of progress.

ELIHU ROOT.

(To be Continued)

THE HOPE OF THE AMERICAN WAGE-EARNER

BY W. JETT LAUCK

It is obvious that the so-called American wage-earner is largely the architect of his own fate. There are certain individual and personal qualities which he must cultivate if he is to prosper and receive his full measure of economic welfare. An intelligent and progressive attitude must be assumed toward the industrial situation in which he finds himself placed. The importance of skill, efficiency, and industrial training must be recognized. False economic doctrines which would restrict output or lead to other industrial crimes must be abandoned. Intelligent leadership must also be developed which will not arbitrarily and ignorantly attempt to control the labor supply or which will not be carried away with the consciousness of its own power.

These facts are apparent as well as fundamental and basic. The future welfare of the wage-earner is primarily dependent upon them. There are certain other external factors, as it were, in the industrial situation which are the result of legislative enactment or the lack of governmental regulation and control, and which at the present time block the progress of the industrial worker. Unless they are effectually dealt with, the wage-earner cannot work out his manifest destiny. Although he may acquire an attitude and a mode of thinking and action which are in perfect accord with the accepted teachings of the economists, the case of the industrial worker is hopeless unless the artificial barriers which have been placed in his path are removed. Some of the obstructions are the result of improper financial and industrial policies. Others are the outcome of certain tendencies which have attended the re-

cent and marvelous expansion of our manufacturing interests. The salient fact has been the development of the machine to a point where it is predominant and man subordinate.

Mechanical genius and invention have practically eliminated the elements of human skill formerly required in manufacturing and mining. It is undoubtedly true that there are still occupations in all branches of industry which involve skill and responsibility, but the significant fact is that the constant invention and installation of new machinery have gradually reduced the number of skilled occupations. Where ten workmen of training and experience were formerly required in the mining of coal or the making of iron or steel, it is no exaggeration to say that at the present time not more than one is necessary. Cotton-mill machinery is largely automatic. Glass bottles and plate and window glass are no longer made by hand. Steam locomotives are now being equipped with automatic stokers. In all of the basic industries the machine has become the leading factor. Because of the improvement of machine processes, workmen of little, if any, experience may be employed. A man who never saw a mine may be made an efficient mine-worker within several weeks. A woman or girl may within a short time become a satisfactory weaver or spinner in a cotton-mill. After a few weeks of training, the wives or daughters of the wage-earners in our mining and manufacturing districts are able to tend satisfactorily the machines which turn out hosiery and knit goods, silk, cigars and tobacco, and a thousand other articles of general consumption. It is within the bounds of conservatism to say that more than three-fourths of the workers in our industrial establishments are unskilled or do not possess any training or experience of extended duration or apprenticeship.

The resultant change in the character and qualities of the operating forces of our mines and mills is obvious. As the machine has come to be predominant, the skilled and expensive workman of former years has been rendered unnecessary. Unskilled and untrained wage-earners now appear in greatest numbers among our industrial workers. The native Americans and the Germans, Irish, English, and Scandinavians have practically disappeared from the operating forces of our mines and factories. Their bargaining

power, based on industrial training both in this country and abroad, has been gradually rendered ineffective by the use of improved machinery. These older classes of industrial workers were also unable to compete with the low standards of living and the working conditions brought about by the ignorant and untrained immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, who were enabled by the installation of mechanical and automatic devices to do the work in industrial plants which formerly required employees of skill and experience. As a consequence, about one out of every two wage-earners in the principal branches of manufacturing and mining of the country at the present time are Southern and Eastern Europeans of comparatively recent arrival. Four-fifths of our industrial workers north of the Potomac and Ohio and east of the Mississippi rivers are of foreign birth. Only one out of every five is a native American.

Several exceedingly significant tendencies are to be observed as the result of this developmnt of an unskilled operating force for American mines and factories.

In the first place, industrial workers find it very difficult to organize and to act collectively, or to maintain the strength of labor unions which have already been established. This situation arises from the diminishing bargaining power of the individual worker. The majority of the employees of mines and factories are ignorant and necessitous. They are adjuncts of the machine. They may be easily replaced, and the supply of those who may take their places is practically unlimited. As a consequence, many of the labor organizations which were formerly based on distinct occupations in various branches of mining and manufacturing have been demoralized and disrupted, and a movement has been developed to form industrial rather than occupational unions. The United Mine Workers, one of the strongest labor organizations of the present day, is a forcible illustration of this tendency. The revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World proceeds along industrial rather than occupational lines with its organizations. At the last annual convention of the American Federation of Labor a similar procedure was strongly but unsuccessfully urged. The noteworthy fact is, however, that with the remarkable improvements in machinery the former requirements of training and efficiency among industrial workers

have been largely rendered unnecessary, the wage-earning classes have grown, numerically speaking, to be more and more unskilled, and, as a logical result, the ability to organize and to present a collective demand for higher rates of remuneration or better working conditions has been greatly impaired.

In the case of industries where strong and militant labor unions have been successfully maintained, the tendency has been for these organizations to add a further burden, unintentionally it is true, to the unskilled and unorganized workmen. Each addition to the cost of production brought about by an advance in wages to organized workers has lessened the possibility of an increase in rates of pay or a betterment of the working conditions to the large body of unskilled employees in the same industry. The employer must necessarily recompense himself for an advance in his manufacturing costs either by reducing or maintaining the established wages of unorganized workmen or by higher prices for his product. The unskilled worker, therefore, has to accept his existing status or to pay higher prices for his subsistence, and, in either event, the advantages obtained by organized wage-earners frequently result in an exploitation of their unskilled brethren. As regards wages, this condition of affairs is forcibly illustrated by the existing situation in the transportation industry. The railroads are unable to raise the price of their product, or, in other words, their freight rates, without the authorization of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission. They must recoup themselves for advances in operating costs by economies or greater efficiency in conducting transportation. During the past decade the organized employees in the transportation industry have secured considerable advances in rates of compensation and numerous concessions in working conditions, while the wages and salaries in the unorganized branches of the railroad service have remained at a very low level and conditions of employment have not, comparatively speaking, improved. Obviously, the railway employees outside of the unions have had to suffer because of the advantages obtained by the organized workers, even though these advantages may have been fully warranted by the financial and operating performance of the railways.

Moreover, the larger proportion of industrial workers, unable to enforce their demands or being content with low

standards of living, have not participated, as they should, through higher money wages, in the benefits, or the greater productivity of industry per units of capital and labor invested, through the installation of improved machinery. It is also equally true that the advantages of more economical production have not come to them through lower prices. Organization and control of markets and certain artificial barriers, such as the tariff, have enabled producers to maintain a higher level of prices. The use of machinery and large-scale methods of production have also stimulated the growth of large industrial communities. The result has been an increase in pressure upon the land for means of subsistence to support a constantly growing urban population, which has in turn caused a natural but unprecedented advance in the level of prices.

The commercial policy of the Federal Government during the past half century, and the financial practices of the large corporations which have had their origin within comparatively recent years, have probably been two of the most serious external factors opposed to the economic advancement of the American wage-earners.

During the past three decades one of the strongest arguments put forward in behalf of the high tariff system was that it protected the American industrial worker against competition with the products of the comparatively cheap labor of foreign countries. The policy of protection was lauded as the means of maintaining high money wages and a satisfactory standard of living among American industrial workers. It was not until the last few years that the sham of this claim was exposed as the result of several extensive industrial investigations under the auspices of the Federal Government. The so-called American industrial worker was shown to be practically non-existent. The free entrance into the country of the much-despised and discussed pauper labor of Europe was found to exist alongside a policy of exclusion of commodities manufactured abroad. While the American manufacturers were securing large profits from their control of domestic markets, the American wage-earner, it was discovered, was being displaced or rapidly subjected to the low standards of work and living of a cheap and seemingly inexhaustible labor supply from the south and east of Europe. The pretense that a protective tariff working in conjunction with a policy

of unrestricted immigration was of benefit to American wage-earners was shattered. The fruits of such a misguided policy, as shown by contemporaneous industrial conditions, proclaimed its folly. The traditional plea for a protective tariff in the name of the American wage-earner has therefore probably been heard in this country for the last time. Public opinion has been educated to a point where such hypocrisy will receive the condemnation which it deserves.

Another economic crime, which has been even more injurious to the interests of the American wage-earner than the protective tariff, has been the flagrant practices of corporations in the form of overcapitalization. The increased earnings from the introduction of improved machinery and less expensive methods of production by manufacturing, transportation, and mining corporations have been rapidly absorbed by the issue of new securities. Actual and potential earnings have been quickly absorbed by the interest charges caused by the flotation or distribution of stocks and bonds, which in many cases have consisted of an outright bonus to the holders of corporation securities, or have not represented an equivalent amount of proceeds added to the value or earning capacity of industrial or transportation properties. As a consequence, although greater productivity has been obtained and labor costs of manufacturing and of conducting transportation have been reduced within recent years by the invention and use of improved mechanical devices, a margin of output has not been available for increased wages or larger payments to labor because the gains in operating efficiency have been used to pay unwarrantable capital charges. On the other hand, advances in the productive efficiency of labor have been set aside to give a substantial or market value to fictitious stock flotations. At the time of the organization of one representative- industrial corporation the common stock had no tangible value back of it. During the past three years, however, more than six hundred million dollars, or the equivalent of three times the total annual pay-roll of this corporation, has been appropriated from net earnings for the purpose of conferring a market value upon this originally fictitious capitalization. One of our largest transportation companies during the past thirty years has appropriated more than three hundred million dollars from its

surplus earnings for the purpose of adding to the value of its property, and the resultant increase in earning capacity has been largely capitalized and distributed in the form of bonuses to stockholders. More than five million dollars annually is taken from the operating revenues of another trunk line for the purpose of paying dividends upon more than ninety million dollars of watered stock, which does not represent one dollar added to the value or earning power of this railroad system. These are but typical examples of the extent to which the earnings of manufacturing and transportation corporations, which have arisen from the increased productivity of labor and capital, and which should have been devoted to the payment of higher wages to or the shortening of the hours of labor, or the improvement of the working conditions of employees, have, on the contrary, been improperly used to pay dividends or to give a market value to worthless securities. The practice of overcapitalizing our industrial corporations has imposed a perpetual burden upon the wage-earning classes and has constantly placed a formidable barrier in the way of their economic advancement.

It is, therefore, plain that several fundamental reforms must be had before the American wage-earner can be assured freedom of opportunity and the chance to work out the full measure of economic welfare which is his rightful heritage. Special privileges and monopoly rights arising from a protective tariff policy which have made possible a control of prices by a large group of manufacturers, should be withdrawn by proper legislation. Corporations should also be prohibited from issuing worthless securities which cause an absorption of earnings through indefensible capital charges. A large share of the industrial output, which now goes into illegitimate dividend and interest payments, should be given to labor through higher rates of compensation or lower prices of articles of general consumption. To establish firmly an American standard of work and living, to guarantee a proper distribution of the benefits of our marvelous natural resources and our wonderful industrial progress, and, at the same time, to maintain the spirit of enterprise and the stimulation to industrial progress and efficiency, it is also absolutely necessary to impose some limitations upon the numbers of immigrants who are rapidly entering the country. Unless there

is a restriction of immigration, the situation for the American industrial worker is without hope. A policy of permanent or absolute exclusion is not imperative. All that is essential is to limit temporarily the number of incoming aliens so that the foreign workmen already in our midst may be industrially assimilated and educated to the point where they will demand proper standards of living and will be constrained by the economic aspirations of the native American. In the face of the existing and never-ending influx of immigrant wage-earners, there is no ground for expecting any noteworthy improvement in the working and living conditions of the employees of our mines and factories. Organized effort is rendered almost impossible. Industrial workers of both native and foreign parentage, because of the constant extension of the use of improved machinery and the decline in the demand for the qualities of skill and experience, have been gradually losing the opportunity to help themselves by concerted action. They are also rapidly passing beyond the reach of those altruistic persons who would assist them for the reason that one group of workmen is no sooner raised toward a higher economic status than the competition of the next wave of immigration completely inundates them and causes a downward tendency in methods of living and in conditions of employment.

It is clearly apparent that a restriction of immigration would be in reality an arbitrary curtailment of the existing labor supply and might be attended by a reduction in the remarkable industrial expansion which has been characteristic of recent years, but it is also equally true that the measure of the economic welfare of the citizens of an industrial and commercial nation does not consist in the number of tons of coal produced or the tons of pig-iron, steel rails, or yards of print cloth manufactured. The real indication of material prosperity is to be found in the extent to which the wage-earners in mines and factories share in the industrial output which is partly attributable to their labors, and unless there is a limitation placed upon the inexhaustible supply of cheap foreign labor of low standards and aspirations which is now coming to this country, it is perfectly clear that the American wage-earner cannot hope to participate properly in the results of our industrial progress. Moreover, although the present sup-

ply of unskilled labor would be lessened by a restriction of immigration, it cannot be questioned that the higher wages and better standards of living which would be the logical outcome, would attract to our shores skilled and highly trained workmen from Northern and Western Europe who, under present conditions, have ceased to immigrate to the United States. The return of this more efficient class of wage-earners would have the effect of reducing labor costs of manufacturing and of making possible a greater diversification of industries. In addition to the prevailing system of manufacturing comparatively low-grade articles upon a quantitative basis, the tendency would be toward the promotion of industries for the production of more finished and special commodities which are now sold in our own and the world markets by foreign manufacturers.

The present situation is also developing social and political dangers which demand immediate action. The hopelessness of the wage-earner under existing conditions leads him to receive radical teachings with increasing eagerness, and to follow blindly the revolutionary programmes of overzealous political, social, and economic propagandists. The remarkable spread of Socialism in all its forms, the extraordinary growth of such un-American organizations as the Industrial Workers of the World, together with the recent strikes in Lawrence, Massachusetts, Paterson, New Jersey, and other industrial communities, are but an earnest of what may be expected in the future unless some attempt is made to improve existing industrial conditions.

Not only the economic welfare of the American wage-earner but the maintenance of our political and social institutions are threatened, and the necessary preliminary, or the first step toward amelioration of the present condition of industrial affairs, should consist in the adoption of a policy of restricted immigration. Without such action, all other measures will be futile.

W. Jett Lauck.

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF MR. BRYAN

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

None of President Wilson's Cabinet appointments had for Englishmen a greater interest and importance than his selection of Mr. W. J. Bryan for the Secretaryship of State. The text-book theory is, I believe, that an American President is free to pick his Cabinet officers as he chooses. But no one holding a high elective position is ever really free. There are always political debts that have to be paid and personal claims that can hardly be resisted. Every British Prime Minister who is engaged in the business of Cabinet-making, is made to feel the pressure and influence of a certain number of honest and titled incompetents who have to be included and cannot be got rid of; and the case, I imagine, is not any easier with an American President. To an observer three thousand miles away it seemed clear from the first moment of his nomination that Mr. Bryan would prove one of President Wilson's problems. No man could prefer so strong a title to recognition. For seventeen years Mr. Bryan had been by far the most prominent figure in the Democratic ranks. Last summer at the Baltimore Convention his intervention largely determined Mr. Wilson's nomination. Throughout the campaign he worked for the party candidate unsparingly, and having thrice led the Democrats to defeat he was clearly entitled to be consoled for their triumph as handsomely as possible. The highest office in the gift of the President, the office that places its occupant at only two removes from the White House itself, was not regarded in England as by any means an excessive or unmerited consolation. At the same time one could not quite forego the amusing but profitless impertinence of speculating whether, had the circumstances been different, Mr. Bryan is precisely the kind of man whom President Wilson would have preferred as his Secretary of State. Frankly, if

one may fall back on the terminology of the theologians, Mr. Bryan's elevation to the Secretaryship of State struck one as a case neither of predestination nor free will but of necessity. He has suffered much from his contemporaries. A man of really dramatic personality he was soundly beaten by the abysmally commonplace Mr. McKinley; a few years afterward he underwent the galling indignity of being deposed to make room for Justice Parker; later still, Mr. Roosevelt, whom Mr. Bryan had largely made possible, retaliated by making Mr. Bryan superfluous; and now President Wilson by a master-stroke of irony that in any other man might almost have raised suspicions of malevolence, has given him an office, has placed him where concealment is impossible and revelation inevitable, has brought the rhetorician to the supremely disquieting test of action and administration, and has vested in him the chief direction of the foreign affairs of his country. And Mr. Bryan has embraced his doom with the same "valor of ignorance" with which he espoused Free Silver. "I think," he observed a few weeks ago "that President Wilson may be able to do things that I could not have done and I know I can help him as much as he could ever help me."

Both in its personal and its international aspects the appointment is one that may well challenge attention. It marks a very definite stage in the development of a highly theatrical career, and it coincides with, and may do a good deal to reinforce, a quite considerable change in the spirit and aims of American foreign policy. Every one will watch with interest to see how Mr. Bryan, who has hitherto been chiefly known as a talker, bears his first experience of contact with big affairs, and how the advent of a man of his decided views and dominating personality will affect the course of American action in Mexico and South America, in the Philippines and the Far East. For Mr. Bryan, say and think what one may about him and his manifold limitations, is at least a remarkable figure. His career has been so far typical of America as to be unimaginable outside of it. A man of six and thirty, whose active life had been divided between an Illinois farm, a law office in Lincoln, Nebraska, and four years in Congress, unknown and wholly without distinction, he was suddenly raised, by a flashy and opportune speech delivered with incomparable art before an overwrought Convention, to the leadership of his party. In June, 1896, scarcely any of

his countrymen outside his native State had ever heard of him; in November, 1896, six millions of them voted for his election to the Presidency. Not many of them, as I remember, understood or even cared to understand what precisely was meant by "Free Silver," "the parity of the metals," "the ratio of 16 to 1," and all the nauseating rest of it. But they felt vaguely that things were not right, that wealth was too powerful, Wall Street too truculent, and Labor overborne and oppressed; and they used Mr. Bryan with his youth and fire and eloquence, to register their protest. They chose, I think, a fitting instrument. Mr. Bryan's outstanding, one might even say his solitary, service to his country is that he voiced the popular unrest with an effectiveness that compelled a hearing. That is a much better thing to do than to ignore or deride it or to attempt to drive it underground, assuming, of course, that the unrest is real and justifiable.

Personally I feel no difficulty about making that assumption. The discontent in America in 1896, so far as my observation went, was both real and dangerous. It had been accumulating since the Civil War; it was the obverse side of that headlong reckless industrial exploitation that set in after the peace. From 1866 to 1896 was the golden age of American capitalism. The country grew feverishly; immense fortunes were amassed; and both commercial and political ideals suffered in the process. The Republicans used their long lease of office to surround themselves with a stout hedge of plutocratic interests. They never seemed to doubt that America was made for the millionaires and that the politicians were their natural allies and henchmen. They were as blind to the gathering signs of unrest as the French aristocracy before the Revolution. Trusting to their "machine" and relying upon their intimacy with the money power, they turned politics into a branch of Wall Street finance, and manipulated all fiscal, social, and economic legislation for the benefit of the big corporations. It was essentially as a protest against waste, corruption, the organized robbery of the tariff, and the conception of government as an affair of friends, that Mr. Cleveland was elected. Looking back, it seems to me that his two terms of office were a period of incubation, that the Democratic party had not yet "found itself," and that the conservatives who dominated its councils had no intention of allowing the measures they

had advocated on the stump to be written on the statute-book. Several years of bad trade and poor harvests, culminating in the crash of 1893, and a succession of labor disputes, marked with all the peculiar ferocity that Americans throw into their attack upon and their defense of Capital, conspired to give the Radicals their chance. The mortgaged farmers of the West and the hungry dissatisfied artisans of the towns were in the mood for almost any solution that promised relief. I repeat that so far as a foreign onlooker could judge, the deep social and economic unrest in America seventeen years ago was both genuine and legitimate. The national growth for a generation and more had been lop-sided and badly needed rectification. The scale had inclined too palpably and unfairly to the side of the Haves and badly needed trimming anew. It did not seem to me, as I wandered about the country in those years, that the popular discontent received from the East either the sympathy or the understanding it deserved. The capitalists regarded it as a menace to be crushed. The New York papers for the most part rebuked or satirized it. Mr. Bryan at least took it seriously. He was in emotional sympathy with it; not by reason—reasoning has never been his strong point—but by instinct he appreciated its height and depth; and with the fervor of his impassioned rhetoric he forced America to appreciate it too.

That, I maintain, was to render a real public service. Mr. Bryan was able to render it because of his complete identity with the ordinary Western American. He was and is one with them in training and thought and instinctive ways of looking at things; he was and is what any one of them might be, had they that little extra something—in Mr. Bryan's case eloquence and what Americans prize, I think, almost too highly in their leaders, " magnetism "—which in a country of rather average averages, where nearly all have passed through the same educational mill and are on pretty much the same intellectual level, is enough to raise even an essentially commonplace man above his fellows and give him a commanding authority. It is, I think, an integral part of any " explanation " of Mr. Bryan to bear in mind that while the sum total of American intelligence is undoubtedly impressive, it is more by reason of its quantity than its quality. I mean that the educational system of the country has rather raised a great and unprecedented number of people

to the standard of what we in England should call middle-class opinion than raised the standard itself, and that as a consequence the operative force of American politics is middle-class opinion left pretty much to its own devices and not corrected by the best intelligence of the country. And middle-class opinion, especially when left to its own devices, is a fearsome thing. It marks out the nation over which it has gained control as a willing slave of words, a willing follower of the fatal short cut, a prey to caprice, unreasoning sentiment and the attraction of "panaceas," and stamps broadly upon its face the hall-mark of an honestly unconscious parochialism. Such, to be quite candid, appears to me to have been too much its effect in America. I know of no country where a prejudice lives so long, where thought is at once so active and so shallow and a praiseworthy curiosity so little guided by fixed standards, where a craze finds readier acceptance, where policies that are opposed to all human experience or contradicted by the most elementary facts of social or economic conditions stand a better chance of captivating the populace, or where men who are fundamentally insignificant attain to such quaintly authoritative prestige. Mr. Bryan is the product of this environment and eminently qualified to make the most of it.

It took a long while for Bryanism to make itself understood. In its essence it was, of course, a social protest. It was a sort of Chartist agitation fighting under the banner of currency reform. Even in 1896 Free Silver was no more than the ornamental buckle on its shoe, bearing somewhat the same relation to the true Bryanism that polygamy bears to Mormonism. The movement at bottom was a duplication under four or five different heads of the eternal struggle for the emancipation of Labor and the return to some older, more equitable, and usually fabulous democracy. That the currency heresies of the Bryanites were really heresies they themselves now admit. That they were right in their fundamental attitude toward the far more vital questions of social and economic progress few Americans now, I think, would be found to dispute. In 1896, however, the national mind was beclouded by such puerile generalization as "the East stands for gold and honesty, the West for silver and knavery." Believing Bryanism to be a gospel of public immorality and spoliation, Americans voted it down. But a good deal of water has flowed under the bridge since then.

In one way the fortune of events has singularly befriended Mr. Bryan. The "revolutionary" of a decade and a half ago is perceived to-day to have been merely the pioneer. Neither England nor America, I imagine, would care to repeat to-day all that they said about the Chicago platform in 1896. It was a time of hysteria and unreason. As one reads it over to-day there is not much smell of gunpowder about the document that for months convulsed the world. Its denunciation of the Trusts, its onslaught upon "government by injunction," its demand for the imposition of an income-tax and for the revision of the Tariff, its "attack" upon the Courts, have all since then been echoed by Mr. Roosevelt, whose Radicalism, indeed, at more than one point has gone further than Mr. Bryan's ever went, and at all times was immeasurably more effective. Most of the proposals that were "incendiary and anarchistic" in 1896 are among the commonplaces of American politics to-day. Some of them have even found their way to the statute-book; and the American people, especially in the first eight years of the new century, comparing Mr. Bryan's words with Mr. Roosevelt's deeds, began to perceive that they could not well applaud the latter while professing to be horrified by the former. The two men, indeed, differing in methods and temperament and above all in opportunities, were essentially at one on the main question. In the America of to-day you are either for Privilege or against it. Mr. Bryan and Mr. Roosevelt are both against it; and the reflex action of Mr. Roosevelt's popularity while engaged in carrying out a largely Bryanite programme, had the effect of convicting Mr. Bryan of no worse crime than that of having been a decade or so ahead of his time. It was Mr. Bryan who first conveyed the Promethean spark with which President Roosevelt lit so far-shining a blaze, who first opened that campaign of democracy against plutocracy in which Mr. Roosevelt proved himself a foremost standard-bearer, who first blazed the trail for that American Radicalism along which Mr. Roosevelt marched with such clattering prominence. Looking at the vast changes that have overtaken the spirit and personnel of American politics in the last seventeen years, at the progressive subjugation of the railways and the Trusts, at the passing of the income-tax amendment and the amendment establishing the popular election of United States Senators, at the new prominence that is now given to

the " condition of the people " question, at these and many other reforms that have almost the sweep of a revolution, Mr. Bryan might fairly exclaim, " I am the prophet who first smote the rock." Were he to put forward any such pretension multitudes of Americans, who twelve or fifteen years ago glibly called him an anarchist, would, I believe, acknowledge and ratify it.

And with all this Mr. Bryan in the last few years seems to me to have become better as well as more widely known. The fanaticism of his earlier days has given place to a broad, good-humored charity. He has borne himself under the trial of successive defeats with a smiling manfulness. Even as late as 1908 his hold on the rank and file of the Democratic party was not only unshaken but virtually unchallenged. In that fact alone there was the record of an achievement without parallel in American politics. Mr. Bryan, indeed, has broken many records. He is the only American who ever captured the Presidential nomination by a single speech. He was the youngest Presidential candidate ever put forward by either of the great national parties. He is the only American who has been thrice nominated for the Presidency after being twice defeated. With no prestige of success to support him, derided by nearly all the men of substance in the community, at once the jest and the puzzle and the despair of the intellectuals, he was nevertheless, and as recently as five years ago, not only the leader of his party but its despot. In any country that would be a phenomenon sufficiently remarkable. In America where popular favor is inordinately fickle and the habit of placing a man on a pedestal at one moment and under it the next is almost second nature, it is not less than amazing. Nor has it affected the Democratic Party alone. Among all classes and all parties there has grown up a feeling toward Mr. Bryan which, in its kindliness and its desire to be just, amounts, for those who remember the passion and dementia of 1896, to a veritable revolution. His bitterest opponents to-day would not deny that he believes all he says, though they might add that the more wrong-headed it is the more ardently he believes it. There is a pretty well universal acknowledgment that he is no self-seeker, that his politics spring from his convictions, and that he fights for them with unimpeachable dignity and fairness. Against his private life and his personal character there has never been the smallest whisper

of accusation that was worth a moment's attention. He is a thoroughly good man and much too elementary to be either cynical or sophisticated. His rhetoric moves on a high plane, if not of practicality, and statesmanship, at least of idealism. No one, not even Mr. Roosevelt, has dispensed the sonorous platitudes that Americans love more lavishly than he. His oratory is not of a kind that we should stomach in England, but it is at all events more finished than it was and not less facile. Moreover, Mr. Bryan has made the most of his chances. He has capitalized his political prominence and built up a respectable fortune by hard work as a lecturer and journalist. His weekly paper, *The Commoner,* was reputed at one time to have a circulation of over 200,000, and would, perhaps, have been an extremely profitable property but for Mr. Bryan's honorable scrupulosity in the matter of advertisements. It is, however, his lecturing tours that have chiefly kept him in the public eye. He has developed of recent years a strong inclination for religious subjects, and I find it easy to believe that the business of expounding Christianity in a simple, old-fashioned, utterly unscientific and unenlightened way is really more congenial to him than political or economic discussion. The pulpit, the Sunday-school, the Y. M. C. A., and the innumerable semi-social, semi-religious societies that seem to find their predestined home in the United States, have occupied him during the past decade even more than the party platform. No man living has ever addressed such vast or such varied audiences. I suppose there is hardly a county in the whole Union in which he has not spoken; and among those who, like himself, are better at feeling than at thinking, he always makes a good impression. His two trips abroad were followed by his countrymen with an affectionate interest; and the attention shown him by the rulers and statesmen of Asia and Europe, to whom he was a decidedly novel experience, gratified their national pride. Hearty, affable, sincere, a genuine democrat, deeply religious, of an ardent and aspiring temperament, and not offensively vain, I do not wonder at his immense popularity. Put Gladstone's or O'Connell's tongue into the head of the average Sunday-school teacher, and you not only get Mr. Bryan, but you get a mixture that always and everywhere appeals to the taste of the masses.

But more than this is needed to make a man a statesman. Mr. Bryan has proved himself, and for that I honor him, an

effective voice of protest against social and economic inequalities and injustices. But has he proved himself anything more? He can at times diagnose general conditions with a rough-and-ready accuracy that is due to the keenness of his sympathies and not to the keenness of his perceptions. He has stirred up many questions, but he has never yet found the right, or anything approaching the right, answer to any of them. He has sensitiveness, a generous heart, a great fund of idealism, and a creed that looks kindly on the under dog. But balance, knowledge, perspective, a sense of the feasible, a distrust of empiricism—in all these qualities which are the very stuff of statesmanship flattery itself would have to admit his deficiency. He belongs to the type of men whom Nature in her perversity has framed to ruin countries from the best of motives and with the highest intentions. He is a stimulating and even now and then a captivating orator and the sheer sincerity of the man always holds his audience. But did any one ever try and read his speeches in cold print without being half ashamed to think that they could even for a moment have been imposed upon and carried away by so much half-baked and erratic speciousness? Mr. Bryan would have cut an imposing figure, would have been a man of real power, in the French Revolution when rhetoric, shallow metaphysics, and an ardent temperament were supposed to qualify a man for the business of government. But in such a land as the United States and at such a time as the present his ineradicable defect as a would-be statesman comes in to vitiate all he says and does—the defect of a flat inability to rise above the most elementary level of reflection, insight, and comprehension. I must have read thousands of his speeches and articles, but I cannot recall that he has ever suggested a single practical remedy for anything; and I know that he has suggested scores of remedies that would have aggravated the very disease they professed to cure. Recall the prescriptions he has written out for the ailments of the body politic—in the whole range of political quackery I know of nothing even to compare with them. He began by advocating the monstrous, the almost incredible, device of Free Silver. In 1900 he was opposing "Imperialism" for reasons that have been proved by experience to be destitute of even the remotest connection with realities, one of his great arguments against it being that it would give birth to a "militarism" which would be used for the further

oppression of the American working-man. Besides this Mr. Bryan has declared himself in favor of a law prohibiting any corporation from doing business outside its own State without permission from Federal authority. He has not only advocated the annihilation of the Trusts, but has proposed a Constitutional amendment to that end. He has come out at various times in favor of abolishing the Presidential veto powers and of electing Federal judges by popular vote for short terms. He has advised the introduction into national politics of the initiative and the referendum. He has advocated the Federal ownership of the trunk railways and State ownership of the State lines. In 1908 he was pledged to one measure that would have given a Government guarantee to bank deposits, to another that would prevent a man from holding directorship in competing companies, to a third forbidding a corporation from doing more than fifty per cent. of its own kind of business, to a fourth compelling any and every concern to sell its goods at a uniform price throughout the continent, and to a fifth licensing such corporations as did as much as twenty-five per cent. of the total of their particular trade.

It was after revolving these and similar flights of Mr. Bryan's statesmanship that a fellow-countryman described him as "the greatest American since Barnum." I have never reconciled myself to the justice of that criticism. His simplicity and sincerity ought alone to protect Mr. Bryan from any such innuendoes. I believe the publicists who labeled him "the Peter Pan of American politics" came nearer the mark. Mr. Bryan has never really grown up. He is to-day essentially what he was when he burst upon the Chicago Convention. I used a few years ago to hear people talking of "the new Bryan." There was not, nor is there, nor can there be a new Bryan. There is a new America, which is a very different thing. But Mr. Bryan himself is unchangeable. With many arts and accomplishments, he seems to lack the faculty of development. In the course of the past decade and a half he has amassed an enormous number of experiences, but no experience. He has honestly tried to improve his mind; he has traveled all round the world in an effort to see and weigh things for himself. But the experiment did not prove other than a barren one. How could it? Travel is pre-eminently one of those exercises of which the intellectual profits are directly proportioned to the intellect-

ual capital sunk in it. You get from it what you bring to it. Mr. Bryan went abroad as the average Western American, with all the ingenuousness of mind and nature that belongs to the title. As a Western American he returned, having seen everything and understood nothing; and a Western American he remains, undiluted and unbroadened, with the same facile command of sloppy metaphysics, the same untutored artlessness of attitude and outlook. To Englishmen, in particular, his position in American politics has long been an insoluble puzzle. They have altogether failed to detect in him the smallest evidence of a gift for administration or of that power of sober, common-sense judgment which is the first of all executive qualities. Impulsive and empirical, they have never been able to understand his hold over his own countrymen. All the Englishmen whom he encountered during his visits abroad were at one in pronouncing him a shallow and vapid thinker, incapable of seeing deeply into anything. The Sunday-school air which he carried about with him, and the Sunday-school point of view which seemed to color all his opinions, left his acquaintances in England gasping. They liked him personally; they felt the appeal of his eloquence and of his frank and friendly nature; but they placed him as the last kind of man that Englishmen would ever think of electing to public office; and they were not in the least surprised when Americans in 1908 reached for the third time the same conclusion. The man of instantaneous and annihilating remedies, the man who is convinced that he can make a new heaven and a new earth every session, is the man of all men whom we in England have learned most to distrust; and it completely bewilders us to explain the influence he so often wields in America. It was not at all that the Englishmen who met Mr. Bryan were swayed in their judgment of him by the memory of his Free Silver campaign, and his efforts to run the Filipinos and the Boers in harness, and the vapid nonsense he talked and wrote about British rule in India. What determined their estimate of him was the discovery that he lacked almost all the gifts and qualities that go to form the political instinct. How exhaustively he lacks them was shown on one occasion in a very striking fashion. I dare say many Americans will recall with pleasure a book, published some twelve years ago, that purported to be the comments of a Chinese official on Western civilization. Even to those who had never been to China, it was self-evident

on the face of it that no Chinaman was its author. But Mr. Bryan not only went to China and traveled through it, but came back without the least suspicion that the volume was not what it pretended to be. He actually sat down and wrote an answer to it—and an incredibly thin and vacuous answer it was—solemnly defending Western life, polity, and religion against the strictures of this impudent Oriental. Nothing could have marked Mr. Bryan's intellectual equipment with more precision. It revealed, as indeed did all the letters he wrote on his travels, his prime and impregnable defect, his inability to think and to comprehend.

It was, therefore, with the feeling that there would probably before long be something to talk about, that Englishmen heard the news of Mr. Bryan's selection for the Secretaryship of State. They have not been disappointed. Before he had been in office two months Mr. Bryan had outlined a plan for insuring international peace. That was very much what every one expected he would do; and whatever the fate of his proposal it is clear that the United States has put forward in him a stalwart and well-meaning champion of conciliation as against force in the intercourse of nations; a man who means, if he can, to revive the Gladstonian tradition of regarding international problems first of all from the standpoint of morality and ethics; one who is passionately convinced that statesmanship to-day has no higher mission than to enlarge the boundaries of national self-realization, to search for a way out of the hideous tangle of armaments, and to foster the many influences that are gradually combining in a world-wide crusade against war. That is a fine ambition though it may permissibly be doubted whether the United States, with her happy remoteness from the sharp contentions of Europe, is the country or whether Mr. Bryan is the man to help on its realization in any tangible fashion. However that may be, the application of the ideals which Mr. Bryan has repeatedly avowed to the specific problems that confront the American Secretary of State at this moment is bound to be followed by foreign onlookers with interest and may have some considerable consequences. One's instinct is to think that so long as Mr. Bryan retains his present office there will be little talk of American intervention in Mexico; that the American protectorate over Cuba will be lightly exercised; that steps of some sort will be taken to procure or to promise self-government for the Fili-

pinos under an international guarantee of neutrality; that the "dollar diplomacy" associated with the recent Republican régime will be abandoned; that the Monroe Doctrine will be again restricted to a purely passive and defensive rôle; that the United States will gradually withdraw from politico-commercial "adventures" in the Far East; and that the spurt in European armaments will not be allowed to influence American preparations for defense. On these high matters, it is true, Mr. Bryan's is not the only, or even necessarily the deciding, voice. But his influence in shaping American policy will be very great, and the conflict which is almost certain to ensue between his instincts and prepossessions on the one side and the facts and necessities of the situations that will face him on the other ought to add an interesting chapter to the psychology of politics.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

GOLD AND PRICES

BY ALBERT S. BOLLES

THOUGH the rising tide of prices began nearly fifteen years ago, the origin and force of the movement are still imperfectly understood. Whatever the causes may be, as they are the outcome of human action, they can be learned by patient inquiry. Notwithstanding the importance of knowing these causes, no thorough inquiry has yet been undertaken to ascertain what they are. Much indeed has been written on the subject, but mostly of a speculative, theoretical character. Some economists, who are wedded to the so-called quantitative theory of money, have not hesitated to proclaim that the increase is chiefly due to the larger gold supply and expanded credit resting on this new and enlarged gold production. This assertion is not founded on fact, as we hope to show; and is working harm in deluding many, and checking a more thorough inquiry into the matter.

The gold theorist usually starts with a wrong premise. He asserts that if a bushel of wheat sells for a dollar to-day, and fifteen years ago it sold for only eighty cents, gold has lost one-fifth of its purchasing power. But if some other commodity sells for eighty cents to-day which fifteen years ago sold for a dollar, has the purchasing power of gold increased? Can gold affect the prices of two marketable commodities differently at the same time, raising the price of one and lowering the price of the other? Yet we know that the prices of things are constantly varying upward and downward; also that there is a more general trend upward at one time and downward at another; meanwhile the stock of gold is always increasing.

Suppose the prices of ten articles have remained nearly the same for fifteen years, at the end of that time the price

of one of them is advanced fifty per cent., while the prices of the others remain unchanged, would not the statement be nearer the truth, that the price of that particular article has risen than the statement that the purchasing power of gold had declined? If its purchasing power was just as effective with the other nine articles as before, is there any reason for the supposition or assertion that with one of them, the owner demanded more gold for some reason pertaining to the gold that was given therefor? Is not the familiar explanation the correct one, the owner demanded more gold, not by reason of any happenings to the metal, but by reason of the greater scarcity or other change pertaining to that particular article?

If this be solid ground, let us advance a single step. If gold alone or gold and credit combined were the chief cause of the advance in prices, it would affect everything bought and sold in the same manner. Consider the prices of grain, for example. The advances, instead of showing equality, show great inequality. And when we pass from one group of commodities to an entirely different group, the advances are still more unequal; in some of them there have been no advances at all. During the Civil War, the value of paper money measured by the gold standard depreciated. At one time the premium on gold, which was another way of measuring the depreciation, rose to 185 per cent. But prices rose generally and had some correspondence with the reduction in the value of paper money. The correspondence was closest in imported commodities, as the importers paid in gold. The prices of other commodities did not rise as quickly and uniformly, yet the rise was far more rapid and uniform than the advances at the present time. In those war days it was the common knowledge or belief that the advances were due to the enlarged demand, as the government was an enormous demander, and the inflated paper currency. And the people knowing these things, and realizing that the rising current swept over all, manifested no such dissatisfaction as they do to-day over the glaring unequal advances.

Is not the following observation of an eminent French economist, Neymarck, unanswerable? "There is no denying the increase in the production of gold; it has kept up for a hundred, for fifty, for twenty, for ten years, always progressing. And yet, during the interval, in France and

abroad, there have been crises caused by the going down of prices—a fall in food products, in the price of land, in mineral products, coal, iron, etc. How did it happen that the gold production, which, they say, is the cause of the rise in prices nowadays, could not stop the fall in prices then?" This, however, is only an introductory questioning of the position of the gold theorist; we will now proceed on a different line of contention.

Prices are agreements made between buyer and seller in which the human will is operative. They are not wholly the result of outside or extraneous forces, especially of the quantities or qualities of things bought and sold. Doubtless these are elements in sales, but too much importance has often been given to them, thereby obscuring the truth. If an economist can once get himself into the way of thinking that the value of a thing depends on its quantity, then he is within the region of fixed scientific deductions, and the desire to get within this realm is so strong among some economists that they ignore or minimize the part played by the human will in making exchanges and thus fall into error, of which this last, the effect of the increased supply of gold on prices, is one of the greatest.

As all prices are the result of bargaining, we need not resort to the quantitative theory, nor to any other, to learn why steel rails have been sold for the last eleven years at the unvarying price of twenty-eight dollars per ton; or why the price of refined sugar has been kept so uniform by the producers since the creation of the Sugar Trust in 1887. For several years prior to 1887 prices in this country had had a downward tendency, notwithstanding the constantly increasing gold supply. The decline in all manufactured products was ascribed chiefly to excessive competition. The profits in most branches of manufacturing were very small, in many cases there were none, and bankruptcies thickly lined the shore of industrialism. Out of this condition of loss and chaos the trusts arose. The first of these was the American Sugar Trust.

The margin on granulated sugar was immediately raised half a cent a pound, and within a few months another half cent. The margin, on the completion of the Spreckels independent refinery at Philadelphia, fell to the old figure and remained there for more than two years. Then this refinery was purchased, the margin was restored and has

been retained with few important changes until the present year.[1] The most noteworthy break occurred in 1897 when Mr. Arbuckle started his independent refinery. The contending producers again locked horns and put their prices down very considerably. The competition, however, did not last long, peace was made, and ever since the Sugar Trust has maintained its rates.

If there be any truth in the gold theory, why has it not acted on the prices of sugar? With the increased gold supply sugar ought to have felt its vivifying touch. A cynic might say that perhaps the Sugar Trust advanced prices at the start enough to cover all contingencies, including a larger monetary supply. Of course there is nothing in this. But the other statement is true, if the increased gold supply has affected prices generally, it ought to have affected the prices of sugar. And if they are beyond or outside the gold sphere, is not this equally true of many other things? If sugar prices are fixed by a virtual monopoly, which is a fact, may not the same statement be asserted with equal truth of many other things?

Indeed, does not the same assertion hold of all the trust associations? Consider iron and steel, for example. Prior to 1895 there had been a long series of lean years. In 1898 iron and steel prices began to advance, the outcome of a revival of business followed by a greater demand for iron and steel products especially from the railroads. Let us not forget, however, that through this long dull period gold production was steadily increasing. Yet no one had felt its vivifying breath in reviving trade and advancing prices. The advance came quickly after a long Arctic Night of quiet and gloom in the business world.

The United States Trust was formed and prices were pegged still higher. It was the belief of that great concern, and doubtless it was correct, that it could advance prices

[1] PRICES OF GRANULATED SUGAR PER POUND SINCE 1893.

1893.....4.87½	1900.....5.05	1907.....4.70
1894.....4.25	1901.....5.50	1908.....4.60
1895.....4.00	1902.....4.75	1909.....4.55
1896.....4.87½	1903.....4.65	1910.....5.05
1897.....4.25	1904.....4.35	1911.....4.60
1898.....5.12½	1905.....6.10	1912.....5.40
1899.....5.00	1906.....4.60	1913.....4.35

A discount of one per cent., and during the last two years one of two per cent. from these prices has been allowed.

still higher if it wished; but wisdom forbade lest new competitors be enticed into the field. Now what possible relation can be discovered between these prices and the increased gold supply? The managers of the trust fixed those prices and when they did so were not influenced by the increased gold supply. All the trust had to do was to demand higher prices, and it obtained them; it made the products; consumers could not get them elsewhere, and must have them, that is the whole story. There were two limitations: the minimum limit, which was the cost of production, and the maximum limit, or price for which they could be obtained elsewhere. Within these extremes the trusts were omnipotent as price-makers of the commodities they respectively produced.

Let us give one more illustration. Since steel rails have sold for the uniform price of $28 per ton, why has the price not varied with the increased gold supply and enlarged credit? Why have they not gone up, say, to $35 or $40 per ton? Simply because the trust knows that the price is as great as the railroads will pay, and that it would not be wise to attempt to raise them. Yet if gold possesses such a dominating influence as a price-making factor, surely it ought to have made its power felt among the steel-rail makers as well as among other manufacturers.

Let us now turn to advances in the price of labor. That a large percentage of working-men have become organized is familiar knowledge; also that their organizations have proved effective agencies for demanding and obtaining higher wages. What has the increased gold supply had to do with these advances? Probably the labor leaders know and care as little about it as the Icelanders; they surely have never used it as an argument in support of their demands. We all know in a general way what methods they have pursued; that the increased gold supply has never figured in any negotiations; and that strikes, intimidations, and similar arguments have been the effective means employed. They are ever busy formulating new demands, and frankly say that this is the object of their organizations, and are as little affected by gold production while exploiting their respective fields of controversy as the farthest star.

There is another aspect in price-making by the trusts that should not be overlooked. Several years ago when the wave of prosperity somewhat subsided, prices did not decline as

in the former days of unrestricted competition. Why not? Were they sustained by the magical power of the increasing gold supply? Why did it not have the same effect during the long decline prior to 1895? What did the trust managers say when they were questioned, as they were on many occasions? They declared unhesitatingly that in their opinion a concession of prices would not stimulate demand to any appreciable extent; to lessen them, therefore, would be to sacrifice profits without any corresponding improvement to trade. And so for several years of slow business, prices of finished products were but slightly changed, because the price-makers held such a firm grip on the markets.

As an illustration of this statement, the following table is presented, showing the prices of pig-iron in which there was keen competition, and the prices of tin plates that were manufactured by a few concerns which could maintain prices:

January	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Pig Iron	$16.00	$20.50	$12.81	$16.11	$17.30	$22.58	$17.00	$15.40	$17.40	$14.09
Tin Plates[1]	4.00	3.60	3.45	3.55	3.50	3.90	3.70	3.70	3.60	3.67

[1]Box of 100 pounds.

One other reason for the advance, especially in agricultural products and cotton, should be given: the larger capital and credit now commanded by these classes of producers. For a long and seemingly hopeless period indebtedness threw its heavy shadow over them. The cotton crop too often was mortgaged in advance to secure the necessaries of life; the farmer was obliged to sell his grain soon after maturity to pay his interest. That was the golden period for consumers and money-lenders. There could be no delay. Credit pressure was a silent juggernaut ever rolling toward the indebted farmer and cotton-grower. To-day, possessing ample capital and credit, they have stopped throwing their products on the markets, but hold them until they can obtain their own terms. Moreover, this is a permanent change in price-making, a new vantage-ground in favor of the producer who is diligently surveying the field with the view of improving its effectiveness.

How far do these trust organizations cover the field of production? There are nearly 350 of them, conducting over 5,000 plants, and having a capital exceeding $7,000,000,000. It would be easier to show what they do not produce than to describe in detail the vast variety of products covered by their protecting wings.

As trusts and cotton-growers and farmers do not cover the entire field of production, what shall be said about the advance of prices by other producers? They have generally followed in the wake of the trusts. Thus when the American Sugar Trust was formed for several years there were a few independent refineries, but they advanced their prices very promptly, keeping them in harmony with those fixed by the trust. Nor was this mere accident; it was the result of agreement. And in doing so they were actuated by two cogent reasons. One reason was to escape the wrath of the trust and the danger of overthrow. The other reason was immediate profit, for they had had a series of lean years and were eager to enhance their gains. For both reasons, therefore, besides several minor ones that might be mentioned, they kept close to the trusts in their prices, and in other ways sought to lessen the antagonism between them until their absorption.

The same fact applies to the independent iron and steel producers, and also producers generally outside the trusts. They have worked in harmony with the trusts because their interests could be best served by such a policy, which included, among other things, the preservation, to a large degree, of trust prices. This fact is within the ken of open knowledge and can be fortified with abundant evidence. A single illustration may be given: the wages of working-men outside the labor unions. They get essentially the same prices as unionists, a fact which embitters the latter toward them. These endure, so they assert, all the hardships of a strike, and if won, and an advance is given, the non-unionist is prompt to ask for an advance and usually obtains it. Every one can easily make inquiry for himself. If he should, he would soon learn that unorganized labor everywhere knows of the advances obtained by unionists, and is not slow in asking higher wages, which are usually given. This fact, therefore, can be as easily and strongly established as any other, that a large section of the field of prices outside organized movements have moved upward because of trust action in advancing them. In other words, outsiders in demanding advances have sheltered themselves under the widely spread trust organizations.

We have now covered a considerable area of commodities, and shown that their prices are to a large degree controlled by monopoly. Of course a monopoly may and often does

change prices. And we should not lose sight of the fact that one object of creating trusts was to lessen the cost of production, which in many ways has been achieved. The trusts therefore could, if so minded, have lessened prices to the consumers, in some cases at least, instead of advancing them.

The trusts, however, have not covered the entire area, and what shall be said of the portion still left for survey? The gold theorist may still assert, you have not accounted for the higher general level of prices. Has not the increased gold supply been effective in raising these? In looking over this remaining portion, what is first seen? That there has been but very little advance, if any at all, in the prices of many things. Consider the large salaried class, especially the much larger portion having the smaller salaries. Surely there has been no advance corresponding with the cost of living. Had there been a uniform advance, and at the same time as in other things, the voice of discontent would never have become so loud and general. With this class may also be included railway stockholders. A few railroads have increased their dividends. During the last fifteen years, however, the larger number have maintained the old rates, while the remainder of the larger earnings has been put back into the railroads for the benefit of the public.

In the small remaining part of the area prices have been raised simply because others were getting more, a fact which may be easily learned by inquiry.

A final reason for the jacking up of prices, and one of momentous importance, is that the increase has become so general the people have become hardened to the process and are less influenced by moral or economic conditions in demanding them than they were formerly. Ask your grocer why he has raised his prices. What does he tell you? "Others have raised their prices and I must live." That is the answer. He never tells you that he does so because there is more gold around, more money, with which to pay for things; for he knows nothing about it. He simply knows that others are getting more and so he is determined to ask more. This is one of the worst consequences of the advance, the exchanging, trading conscience has become hardened. A recent illustration may be added. Eighteen months ago crude Pennsylvania oil was selling at $1.30 per

barrel; it has recently risen to $2.40, and it is believed that the producers will work the price up to $3 per barrel. What are the chief causes of the increase? The greater gold supply? Nonsense! The diminishing supply and the increasing demand of the automobilists for gasolene. No substitute for gasolene has yet been found, and the automobilists are at the mercy of those who furnish it. Doubtless some advance in price is clearly justified, but the heavy advance from ten cents a gallon to seventeen per gallon is not founded on gold or credit or any other material cause, but solely on the desire of the producers to enhance their gains.[1]

If there be any truth in the contention that the increase of gold supply has been a patent cause in moving prices upward, why has not the interest rate on gold declined? This should be the logical and natural consequence unless some other causes have supervened. That the interest rate has advanced during recent years no one will dispute. The English and Continental financial publications especially are constantly discussing the problem. If there is any truth in the gold theorist's position, the borrower of gold or capital should say to the lender: "Your gold that you now offer to me has diminished in value, I cannot buy as many goods with it as I could with gold formerly, so you ought to lend it at a lower rate." To which we may imagine the lender would reply: "The demand for capital within a few years has greatly increased, and so, while not doubting the truth of your assertion, I must insist on a higher rate." And if the lender makes such a reply he would stand on solid ground. The enlarged demand comes from two well-defined sources: the need of the merchant for more capital in consequence of the higher prices he must pay for his merchandise, besides

[1] Another illustration may be given. In the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* of February 17th it was said that "in Pittsburg a committee representing the city and the leading business bodies met a committee representing the commission men and complained that 600 cars of produce were standing in the yards and were being held for higher prices. The director of public works reported that he had personally ascertained the facts. The women charged that there is an abundance of food in the city, but that tons of it were rotting because the dealers refuse to sell at lower prices." One may ask, Have not sellers always *desired* higher prices? Is there anything new, therefore, in the attitude or demand of the Pittsburg sellers? The new thing is, they are able in many cases to make their demand more effective than sellers were formerly, by reason of the greater supply of capital and credit they now possess.

the additional capital needed for business extension; the other enlarged demand comes from the railroads and other great enterprises for the extension of their business. These two facts, the enlarged demand for capital and the higher interest rate cannot be reconciled with the present high prices for commodities. We must therefore account for their advance in some other way than the enlarged gold supply. If gold is so abundant as to send the prices of commodities upward, surely it should send the interest rate downward. The new gold supply cannot act on prices for commodities and rates for the use of money in directly opposite ways, sending the price of the one up and the other down. It is true the assertion has been daringly mentioned that the interest rate has been advanced to cover gold depreciation. This is a purely imaginary assertion, contradicted by the entire world of finance and business. It is hopeless to attempt to enlighten any one who will thus disregard plain fact. For if any fact has been established in recent times it is the fact that the lenders of money have advanced rates, not to cover past, present or future depreciation of gold, but because the demand for money, credit or capital, for the reasons above explained, has vastly increased.

If space permitted, another phase of the subject might be considered: the effect on prices caused by the use of a more rapidly circulating medium and also the wider use of credit. If both influences were admitted, they would not strengthen the case of the gold theorist, for against these influences must be set off the greater quantity of gold used in the arts, the vast sums absorbed by India during the last ten years, the larger stocks acquired by our own and other governments, which are not used as a basis of credits and are therefore practically withdrawn from the monetary world, and lastly the greater need for money caused by the enormous expansion of trade. In the face of these well-known facts the gold theorist should no longer content himself with living in the misty land of mere assertion, but betake himself to a patient study of the facts. The inquiry is fraught with the highest importance, and is worthy the attention of every government, ours especially, as inequalities in advances are greater in the United States than in Great Britain, France, in short than in any other country.

ALBERT S. BOLLES.

VESTED RIGHTS: A REFUTATION OF VICE-PRESIDENT MARSHALL'S VIEWS

BY CYRIL F. DOS PASSOS

"THAT this question may not be settled by me, let me ask their lawyers: Suppose a Governor and a General Assembly in the State of New York should repeal the statute of descents for real and personal property and the statute with reference to the making of wills, on their (thoughtless rich men's) death how much vested interest would any relative have in the property which fell from their nerveless hands at the hour of dissolution? The right to inherit and the right to devise are neither inherent nor Constitutional, but upon the contrary, they are simply privileges given by the state to its citizens."—*New York Times, April 13, 1913.*

The foregoing paragraph is an extract from Vice-President Marshall's speech which he delivered before the National Democratic Club in April, and which the newspapers sought to feature in prominent head-lines to the following effect:

"The Right to Inherit and the Right to Devise are not Constitutional and can be taken away."

It is indeed curious that no lawyer has come forward to pick up this challenge and answer it as it should be answered, not superficially, but by a careful examination of the principles upon which the laws of inheritance stand. The reason is only too apparent. The Bar generally, believes Mr. Marshall to be correct. In fact, its views have already been expressed in an editorial in *Bench and Bar* (May, 1913, p. 88), a representative legal journal:

"While most laymen are perhaps not aware of it all lawyers of course know that neither the power to make a will nor the right to take by descent, is a vested or constitutional right."

And the learned editor also remarks that "no one has yet arisen to challenge the legal accuracy" of this statement.

My study of this interesting question has convinced me that Mr. Marshall's views are erroneous and are contrary

to the best reasoned authorities. If they are sound and are to prevail it must be admitted on all sides that a serious flaw has been discovered in our system of government. Unless corrected immediately, these views will soon spread over our entire community, and not impossibly find definite adoption in some of our statutes. Such a belief is far more dangerous than that which has but recently stalked over the land under the name "Judicial Recall." That unfortunate panacea if adopted would only poison one branch of our institutions and might not immediately spread its infection to other parts; in time it might even die a natural death. On the other hand the views of Mr. Marshall, if adopted, would destroy our institutions at one blow. There can be no question but that a revolution—a justifiable revolution—would immediately follow the abolition of the rights to devise and inherit, in which law and order would stand opposed to anarchy and socialism.

The authorities in this country, apparently sustaining Mr. Marshall's views, are principally the so-called inheritance-tax cases, of which Magoun *v.* Illinois, etc., Bank (170 U. S. 283) in the Supreme Court of the United States, and Matter of Delano (176 N. Y. 486) in the New York Court of Appeals are examples. In the former case the court, speaking by Mr. Justice McKenna, says:

> "The right to take property by devise or descent is the creature of the law, and not a natural right—a privilege, and therefore the authority which confers it may impose conditions upon it."

Even stronger language is used in the latter case, where it is said:

> "The privilege of making a will is not a natural or inherent right, but one which the state can grant or withhold in its discretion."

But in spite of this seeming authority in Mr. Marshall's favor, I venture to suggest that the inheritance-tax cases are not decisive of this question for a very obvious reason. Those cases did not involve the question at issue here, *i. e.*, the right to devise or inherit; the only question they involved was the right of the State to impose a tax upon property transferred by will or intestacy. In none of them, and in no reported case I have been able to discover, has a statute abolishing the right to devise by will, or the right to inherit in case of intestacy, been before a court or has such a law even been passed by a legislature. Unless such

a case has been decided by a recognized and authoritative tribunal, the matter, so far as it is a legal question, remains open and undetermined. For this reason, under the familiar legal doctrine of *stare decisis,* these apparently conclusive authorities in Mr. Marshall's favor have no value whatsoever. That doctrine, properly applied, is limited to the right principle on which a particular decision rests and does not extend even to the application of such principle. It relates only to the principle itself. If the facts in a later case are different the doctrine of *stare decisis* does not necessarily apply. Here the facts are essentially different. In the inheritance-tax cases the taxing power of the State was at issue. Here, as will be shown, a property right is at issue. The taxing power is recognized to be almost entirely within the discretion of the Legislature. The Legislature has power to tax all kinds of property, whatsoever, whether tangible or intangible. Thus it may, in its discretion, tax a share of stock as personal property, or it may tax the right to transfer that share. In the latter case the tax is usually assessed upon the market value of the certificate. While theoretically the naked right of transfer is of equal value in both cases, yet as a matter of fact the value of the right of transfer depends upon the actual value of the property transferred. So, conceding the power of the State to impose inheritance taxes and to fix the amount of the tax by the value of the property transferred, it does not follow by any means that the rights to devise and inherit can be abolished.

Another argument, which is found in the history of the law in England, and which has specific reference to wills, should be answered at this place. It is frequently asserted that in England, at least, wills had their origin in the statute of 32 Henry VIII. This is not the fact. Wills were known and recognized by the Saxon law long before the Conquest. They seem to have disappeared or to have gone out of use, however, during the reign of William I. as being inconsistent with the feudal system introduced from the Continent by that Prince.[1]

At the outset of this discussion, it is important to grasp and firmly keep in mind the true meaning of " inherent " and " constitutional " rights. I understand by an inherent

[1] Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law before the Time of Edward I., Book II. Ch. VI. " Inheritance " Section 3 " The Last Will."

right nothing more or less than a natural or absolute right; one that inheres in us under the laws of nature as human beings. By a constitutional right is meant a right protected or conferred by the Constitution, either State or Federal. Both classes of rights may in certain cases be covered by either term though they are not always synonymous. Thus the rights to life, liberty, and property within certain limitations are both natural, absolute, or inherent, and constitutional rights. This thought was well expressed by Mr. Justice Dixon in Percey *v.* Powers (51 N. J. L. 432, 433) in commenting upon the distinction between natural and civil rights:

"By civil rights, I understand those rights which the municipal law will enforce, at the instance of private individuals, for the purpose of securing to them the enjoyment of their means of happiness. They are distinguishable from natural rights which would exist if there were no municipal law, some of which are abrogated by the municipal law, while others lay outside of its scope, and still others are enforceable under it as civil rights."

It is of course understood that civil rights in their broader sense include constitutional rights, though they may, and indeed often do, include other rights not protected by the constitution.

The question then presents itself, how are natural rights to be known and ascertained? The answer is, by the study of the law of nature. The law of nature has been defined in substance as that prescribed by the Creator, and is said to be discoverable by the light of reason (Blackstone's Commentaries, Book I., p. 39). He says further on, that this law prescribes "that man should pursue his own true and substantial happiness" (p. 41).

Upon the merits, then, what can be said in favor of a natural or inherent right to bequeath property by will or to succeed to it by reason of intestacy? In the first place, I maintain that the power of disposition is inherent in the right of property itself. It is one of the most important elements which go to make up the value of property. Would a law be sound or constitutional which forbade the transfer of property *inter vivos?* If not, why then make an exception in the case of transfers *mortis causâ.* There is no real distinction. An apparent distinction arises from the fact that the visible or physical transfer does not take place at the moment of dissolution. But the actual and legal

transfer does take place at that very moment. There is no hiatus during which no one has a title to the property. The right of the property is of course protected by our Constitutions, State and Federal. If this argument be sound, such protection alone is sufficient to refute Mr. Marshall.

What is one of the principal reasons which leads men to acquire and hold property? Is it not to provide for their families during their lives and for their wives and children after their death? Can there be any doubt but that such is the first wish and desire of every man? Does not that laudable ambition govern his actions in daily life, and is it not one of the strongest reasons for making him a good, valuable, and law-abiding citizen? Take away from men this incentive and you strike with a single blow at the very foundations of society. You do away with all republican ideas and institutions—institutions protected by express words in the Federal Constitution which provides that "The United States shall guarantee to every state in the Union a republican form of government." (Article VI. Sec. 4.)

The origin in England, and the fate in the United States, of the doctrine of primogeniture furnishes another illustration of the natural intentions of mankind as to the distribution of their property at death. Primogeniture, or the right of the eldest son to succeed to the real property of his intestate father to the exclusion of his brothers and sisters, was introduced into England by the feudal system. It is supposed to have been unknown, or not in use, among the ancient Germans or the Anglo-Saxons prior to the Norman Conquest. But such a doctrine of descent was "considered to be incompatible with that equality of right and that universal participation in civil privileges, which is the constitutional policy of this country to preserve and inculcate" (4 Kent's Commentaries, p. 383). If such are our sentiments and constitutional policy, how can it be claimed that we have no vested right to devise property by will or inherit it in case of intestacy? The very repudiation of the doctrine of primogeniture by every State in this country shows too clearly to be misunderstood—the deep-rooted belief in equality of inheritance and the accomplishment of a long-felt desire to reinstate the original, and indeed the natural, rule of our mother country in place of the artificial one instituted by the feudal system.

Some may come forward and say, "Yes, that is all well enough, but you overlook the taxing power, inherent in every government," and further, "The taxing power is omnipotent—the power to tax is the power to destroy." It is upon this theory that the Vice-President bases his conclusion. Such an assertion I must deny. It will not stand examination. It overlooks the true ends and purposes of all government. Government is instituted among men for the purpose of securing to them civil liberty, which indeed is only natural liberty so far restrained by just and equal laws as is necessary for the good and advancement of the whole state. When government exceeds those ends it becomes tyrannical and it is the right of the people to terminate it—and that even by revolution if need be. If property were to be taxed out of existence the government would have reached its end. An apt illustration is the French Revolution, one of the chief causes of which was the excessive and prohibitive taxes exacted by the upper class from the lower.

Constitutional lawyers have overlooked the fact that there are natural rights unmentioned by Constitutions and other organic laws, but which the Legislature would not for an instant dare to assail. It will suffice to refer to but one or two. Take for instance marriage, not the formal or ceremonial marriage, but the relationship established between man and woman. Is not this a natural right? While we frequently call it a civil contract, yet it has its origin in nature and was given this appellation only to remove it from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Marriage or the family relationship is certainly a natural right of the highest order and recognized as such in every State. Can any one point to a guarantee of that right in any organic law? Yet will any one be bold enough to assert that it could be wiped out by a legislative fiat? Closely related to marriage, and indeed its chief end, is the right to have children. Can that be limited or enforced by human laws? Has such a right any protection in any of our Constitutions? No one will deny that, for reasons of health and public policy, reasonable limitations may be put upon both these rights. It would undoubtedly be proper to provide that certain persons suffering from incurable diseases should not marry. It would also be proper to provide a statutory form for the celebration of marriages and to

compel persons to procure a license for which they may even be forced to pay a small license fee or tax. But will any one have the temerity to maintain that this tax could be so increased as to prohibit marriage? Does not that dispose of the argument that the power to tax is the power to destroy? Would not such a law abolish our republican form of government and strike deep into our civilization?

After pursuing these views upon the subject, it is interesting to examine the opinions of various eminent writers upon the subject of natural law.

James Lorimer, a Scotchman, published his second edition of *The Institutes of Law, a Treatise of the Principles of Jurisprudence as Determined by Nature,* in 1880, so that it is a recent work and therefore represents modern thought. Under the chapter entitled "Of the Rights and Duties which Nature Reveals," we find this statement (p. 229):

"(g) *The right to produce and multiply our being involves the right of transmitting to our offspring the conditions of the existence which we confer.*

"As regards our children and our direct descendants, the right of transmitting property springs as obviously from the right of transmitting life, as the right to possess property springs from the right to possess life. . . . We are entitled not only to live, but to live humanly; and the life which we are entitled to transmit is not bare existence in the abstract, but human existence. . . . What is commonly and quite correctly regarded as a duty to our children, is thus at the same time a right inherent in ourselves, which we are entitled to assert as against other created existences; and our laws of inheritance, as well as our laws of property, have thus their root in the subjective *persona,* and their validity when seen simply from the subjective side."

"(i) *The right to be involves the right to dispose of the fruits of being,* mortis causâ. (p. 233).

"The right of executing *mortis causâ* dispositions would at first sight seem to be excluded by a doctrine which declares that all rights originate in life, that they continued to be measured by life and terminate with life. . . . And here the first consideration which presents itself is that a *mortis causâ* deed is a transaction, not between a dead man and a living man, but between two living men,—the man who gives at the moment of giving, and the man who receives at the moment of receiving, are both in possession of the powers of life—to the extent, at all events, of being capable of consent. The only difference between it and what are usually known as transactions *inter vivos* arises from the fact that the one man must have lost his power of giving before the other can exercise his power of receiving. But this difference loses its importance when we consider that, substantially, the same thing takes place in every transference. In the very act of transferring a pound of tea, we shall say, the proprietor, *quâ* proprietor, expires—his proprietorship ceases, just as much as if he had

dropped down dead. . . . As regards their origin, there is thus no difference at all between rights of transmitting the fruits of life *inter vivos* and *mortis causâ.*"

The following is a brief extract from the opinion of that celebrated judge, Lord Mansfield, delivered in the case of Windham *v.* Chetwynd (1 Burr 414 at 419):

"First—Considering the matter *at large;* let me observe that the power of devising ought to be favored.

"It is a natural consequence of property, and the right a man has over his *own.* It was a right by the law of the land before the Conquest and down to about the time of *Henry the 2d—*"

Looking from England across the channel to Continental Europe we find the work of J. J. Burlamaqui on *Principes du Droit de la Nature et des Gens.* This famous author needs no eulogium to establish his authority. In his third book (Ed. Paris, 1820), at page 193, he says:

"OF WILLS.

"XII. . . . The power of disposing of one's effects by a will, follows naturally from the right of ownership and from social order. For in the first place, every one will concede that any one can transfer to another *inter vivos,* from hand to hand, either absolutely or subject to certain conditions, the ownership which he has over his own property. If that is true, why should he not be permitted to transfer in case of death? *Secondly,* The intended destination to his successor which an owner has of his goods must give the latter certain rights even during the testator's lifetime; and if he preserves his intention until his death and the successor accepts, the transfer of property becomes absolute; and no one could without injustice take possession of the goods of the deceased adversely to the successor. *Thirdly,* If the goods of a decedent belonged after his death to the first occupant, which would be equivalent to the right of pillage, the result would be a source of disorder, quarrels, and inconveniences. Children and other persons, for whose maintenance the deceased was bound to provide, by reason of natural obligation, would often be deprived of that which he had intended them to own, and which he had acquired by his labor and saved it by his care.

"It is on these foundations that the majority of nations have placed the power of the testator as a natural right by which one to a certain extent reconciles himself to the necessity in which he is placed of abandoning his goods by death."

"OF SUCCESSIONS AB INTESTAT. (P. 203.)

"XV.—But if some one dies without having disposed of his goods to whom should they belong? It cannot be presumed that under these circumstances the proprietor intended to abandon his goods to the first occupant and leave them as it were to the right of pillage. This would be equally contrary to the natural inclination of men, to the good of families, peace of society and to duty. It is certainly more reasonable to think

if some one who dies *ab intestat* his intention is that his goods should pass to those who were dearest to him if we are to judge by the natural feelings of mankind and even by their sense of duty. It is by following this principle that the majority of nations have established, by means of laws of successions *ab intestat,* that the goods should pass to the nearest relatives of the deceased.

"Nature itself points out this rule. It inspires us with the inclination of working for the good and interest of our family, in the most advantageous manner possible, hoping to leave it in a prosperous condition.

"Duty joins itself to inclination in regard to children whose up-bringing and education are strongly enjoined by nature itself upon fathers and mothers, which in addition inspires them with the most tender sentiments. Those children are therefore the first, as they are the nearest, successors of a person who dies *ab intestat.*"

To the same effect is Henri Ahrens' *Course de Droit Naturel ou de Philosophie du Droit* (16th Ed., Leipzig, 1868, Vol. 2, p. 298).

There are many more authorities upon this interesting question. To quote from them all would be both tiresome to the reader and unnecessary for the purpose of this paper. Suffice it to quote a sentence from an opinion of that learned jurist, Mr. Surrogate Fowler, delivered in the Matter of Gedney (N. Y. L. J. May 13, 1913), when this article was in course of preparation.

"The question, whether inheritance is an inherent right or a grant from public society, has been already considered by such great jurists as Theophilus, Cicero, Grotius, Vinnius, Cujas, Puffendorf, Bynekerschoek, Leibnitz, Doneau, Lord Mansfield, Montesquieu, Merlin, Toullier, Proudhon, and other equally great jurists and philosophers of all times and places, and the best thought of the world at the present time is generally conceded to be expressed by the conclusion that the right to dispose of property after death is a natural and inherent right of mankind which cannot be taken away by the state. It is said by one of the greatest of the world's jurists, Troplong, that no country is entitled to be regarded as free where a right to dispose of property by will does not exist."

In the foregoing pages I have endeavored to show that the right to devise and inherit are not only natural rights but also rights protected and guaranteed by the Constitutions of this country. These rights do not appear to be of equal obligation, for the right to inherit in case of intestacy can, of course, only be effective where no devise has been made. It has been shown that the inheritance-tax cases do not apply or control this question because they do not involve the present issue; that the statute of wills was only declaratory of the common law; and that the taxing power, if pushed to its logical conclu-

sion, would be destructive of all government. On the other hand we have seen that the right of property, admitted in all quarters to be a natural and inherent right, involves in its very nature and as one of its most important elements the right to transfer that property; that there is no essential difference between a transfer *inter vivos* and one *mortis causâ* for the very good reason that in either case the right of the original proprietor expires at the moment of transfer, and finally that the right, not absolutely and beyond control, but under proper legislative supervision has been recognized by all states that are entitled to be called in the least degree civilized and has been denied by none. It therefore follows that these rights are property rights and as such fully protected by the identical wording of the Federal (Fourth Amendment), and New York State, Constitutions (Art. 1, Sec. 6) which provide:

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

Cyril F. Dos Passos.

WHY IS A REVOLUTION?

BY PAXTON HIBBEN

As a nation, we find self-analysis painful. We do not cheerfully face disagreeable facts about ourselves. We are loath to believe that our progress to the position of eminence which we occupy in the world has been one of surprising rushes, interspersed with long periods of culpable torpor. As a nation among nations, we prefer not to act at all; but when we do, we generally act before we think. We do our thinking afterward, in the form of explanation and adjustment. We are peculiarly averse, however, to acknowledging this, even to ourselves. Instead, we affect an infantile irresponsibility touching our larger obligations. We are credulous only of what we wish to believe. In the last resort, we ridicule and belittle whatever disturbs our national self-absorption.

It is in this spirit of vexed levity that we have come to regard the frequent outbreaks which take place in our sister republics of this hemisphere. Their specter annoys us. Off with its head! Latin-American revolutions are dying out. They are mere opera bouffe. They are a relic of barbarism, cropping out among an essentially lawless people. What possible business is it of ours if our neighbors cut one another's throat? This view of the matter is pleasingly simple and would, no doubt, be a very comfortable way in which to dismiss the subject, were it a true one.

But it is not true. Revolutions in Latin-America, unfortunately, are not dying out. What is more, they have a very defensible reason for continuing; worse still, far from being nothing to us, we are directly responsible for the conditions which inspire them, and our general attitude toward Latin-American countries even now abets and encourages them. Moreover, though the nations of the world look to us and to us alone to do something about it, we

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

have done and are doing nothing whatever of practical value really to solve the problem. Indeed, an attempt is being made of late to clothe this inaction with the dignity of a foreign policy. We spend a great deal of money on highly ornamental Pan-American Congresses; we frequently send special missions to this or that sister republic and, on appropriate occasions, point with pride to the friendly relations which have happily always existed between ourselves and the countries to the south of us. But the Latin-American revolutions continue; human beings are shot; property is destroyed; our citizens are abused and put upon—and we are satisfied to take no action.

The newspaper that reports the outbreak of a revolutionary movement in this country or that gives few, if any, details. The extent of the havoc wrought by revolution is known only to those who have seen. A revolution may indeed be a rather rough-and-ready means of changing the administration; but it may also be a horrible war of extermination. In countries like Paraguay and El Salvador, wars of this latter character have reduced the male population to a proportion of one man for about eight women. Participants have told me of battles after which every helplessly wounded man of either side was killed by the victors —there were, of course, no field hospitals; there rarely are. Defeated leaders have been beheaded and their heads carried in triumph by the victorious army; prisoners have been shot in companies, their faces to an adobe wall; non-combatants have been robbed, raped, and murdered. And these things happen to-day, just as they did five hundred years ago.

Less than two years ago don Agusto Leguía, President of Peru, was hunted out of his palace and dragged through the streets by a mob. They stood him up before the stone base of a monument to one of the liberators of the country, in a public plaza of Lima, and made it very clear to him that he must resign the presidency of the republic there and at once. A screaming negro stood over him, a naked machete in hand, begging to be allowed to behead him. But the President did not resign. Just at this juncture some of the army of the republic, which receives its pay from the President, turned into the plaza. When the smoke had cleared away, somewhat bloody but unharmed, don Agusto Leguía made a colonel of the lieutenant

commanding the soldiers and returned to the profitable business of being President of Peru.

Not many months ago the regular election to choose the successor of Señor Leguía was held in Peru. There were two aspirants to the office: don Guillermo Billinghurst and don Antero Aspíllaga. The business of Peru stopped for the four days of the election, while armed mobs paraded the streets; houses were burned, dramshops were looted, and a number of people were shot. After it was all over neither Señor Aspíllaga nor Señor Billinghurst was President of Peru. Don Agusto Leguía was still tenaciously clinging to that office and it required some three months to persuade him of the election of Señor Billinghurst, his own candidate. All of this happened just a little while since—but there was nothing about it in our newspapers.

For four years, General Eloy Alfaro was President of Ecuador—a popular man at first and the leader of the Liberals. Under him, as his Minister in the adjacent country of Colombia, served General Julio Andrade. At the death of President Estrada, Alfaro's successor, Generals Eloy Alfaro and Leonidas Plaza fell to fighting over the succession to the presidency. General Andrade joined Plaza against his former chief; and Plaza, thanks to him, was victorious. Alfaro and his associates were shot, beheaded, dragged through the streets, and publicly burned by mobs. General Plaza was provisional President; General Andrade was one of his Ministers. Within two months, Andrade, who had served Alfaro, who had served Plaza against Alfaro, plotted to overthrow Plaza and seize the presidency himself. General Plaza did not hesitate; he had Andrade shot.

The *dénouements* of these two incidents took place about a year ago, in countries both of which are nearer the Panama Canal than New Orleans is; in the two countries we have, invested, almost fifty million dollars.

Now we of the United States do not understand this sort of thing at all. People who behave in this shocking way either are unbalanced people, whom one cannot take seriously, or they are wanton triflers with the sacred principles of democracy. In any case, to us it seems both very needless and very uncivilized. The people of such countries must be totally unfit for self-government and, when we think of them at all, we conceive them as being more or less black, scantily clothed, and very excitable. Even those of us who

should have knowledge of such matters consider our Latin-American neighbors as sentimental, impractical people, unstable, and lacking in any fundamental sense of honesty or of justice. That it may be just possible that there is another side to the medal does not occur to us; nor has what the Latin-American, in his turn, thinks of us ever occupied the attention of either the people of the United States or the State Department long enough really to be found out.

This is unfortunate. For there are about seventy-five millions of people in South and Central America and the independent islands of the Caribbean, whose imports already reach the sum of a billion dollars annually; and we, who are nearest them, sell them less than a quarter of what they buy abroad. But it is unfortunate for a much more vital and far-reaching reason than any commercial one.

Almost ninety years ago we guaranteed, politically, to the countries of Europe, and by inference to all the world, what Mr. Monroe called "the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it"; and since that time we have repeatedly reasserted that guarantee, as specifically as it were possible to put it into words. In recent years indeed we have added a very admirable and unequivocal statement, for all who run to read, of what we consider decent and proper behavior on the part of the people of those countries, and of the pains and penalties consequent on a failure to conform to this standard—albeit we have done very little to enforce the penalties. By this, our national guarantee, we have assumed a very grave responsibility toward all the nations of the world—a responsibility which they naturally look to us to discharge with honor and without chicanery. We have not always done so; rather we have sought to evade our responsibility, so long as its discharge insured us no immediate material benefits. But as the world's trade with Latin-America grows, and as the stability of the governments of the Latin-American republics passes from a matter of purely local to a matter of international concern, it is plain that we must either maintain our guarantee fairly, or we must purge ourselves of our responsibility as publicly as we assumed it. Twice in the past two years representatives of European powers have asked our Government what we intended to do about the wretched state of affairs in Mexico; our assurances were in the nature of excuse and avoidance. Yet our first duty

is unquestionably toward those countries whom we have informed that we could not view any interposition for the purpose of controlling in any manner the destinies of the Latin-American republics in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward us. And our second duty is to the people whose independence we thereby guaranteed. Both are very positive obligations. They cannot be discharged by mere words. They cannot, with honor, be shifted, evaded, or denied.

In his message of December 6, 1904, the President of the United States said:

> "All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power."

No one could desire a cleaner statement of the duty accruing to us under the Monroe Doctrine. It is in the discharge of this duty that we are culpable. It is charged, and it is true, that we have, especially recently, attuned our performance of this moral obligation to the advantage of certain influential business interests. We have exercised the police power only where its exercise has profited certain American investors; where the disturbance of present conditions, however bad they may be, would upset the financial arrangements of those who are heard with respect in Washington, we have been blind to both chronic wrongdoing and impotence. Of this the Latin-American republics have not been ignorant and of this such countries as Guatemala and Colombia have taken what advantage they may. Only a just contempt of us in Latin-America can result from any exercise of our police power which is not absolutely consistent and absolutely impartial.

Now this can be accomplished in one of two ways: we can either coerce each and every turbulent Latin-American republic into conducting its affairs as we think they should be conducted (and that is not so impossible as one thinks),

or we can go about achieving our ends and those of civilization in a more Machiavellian manner. Assuming a general antipathy to the use of force as the sole means of maintaining stability, order, and prosperity in Latin-America, any other course requires first of all that we understand our Latin-American as he is, not as we should like or have grown accustomed to think him; as the astute adviser of princes instructed his diplomats, we must learn the character of the people with whom we have to deal in this affair. British, Germans, French, Scandinavians, even Italians, we know; they form part of our heterogeneous political entity. But with the character of Portuguese and Spaniards we have little experience; far less with the racial precipitate resulting from four centuries of adding this blood to that of Indians of such totally divergent types as those which people the lands to the south of us. We must ask, then: what *is* the Brazilian, the Costa Rican, the Venezuelan, and the rest—and why does he behave as he does? And we must find out.

We know that he lives under much the same idealistic application of the theories of Rousseau that handicap us, and that he comes no nearer their realization than we. If his failure in this respect seems more conspicuous than ours, he is at least more candid about it. Our political hypocrisy may confuse us; he knows that his is but the lip service of any real liberty. He is the individualist undefiled. That communistic end toward which our democracy is stumbling, to him is the veriest mirage; one cannot imagine a Latin patriot even conceiving government of the people, by the people, for the people. His is an absolute rule of the majority, not by any means necessarily a majority of votes, but of those units of political domination which we, ourselves, have found to be vastly more potent than mere numbers. But where the divisions of our political units are along the lines of class, occupation, habitat, and, to some extent, principle, his follow the more individual considerations of family, church, ambition, and profit. With him as with us, political conviction is oftenest mere prejudice; but with him active participation in politics is primarily a business—and it is the most paying business open to him.

To the prosecution of this business he brings a singleness of purpose, a personal fearlessness, and a boldness and

shrewdness of method not to be despised. To achieve his end, which is simply a comfortable livelihood without too much effort, he affiliates himself with one of the two or more political parties, theoretically divided upon liberal and conservative lines, but actually without any other fundamental distinction than the position given the Church. In allying himself with a party, however, he is neither sentimental about it nor does he deceive himself respecting the function of political parties in democratic government; with him, a party is a means, not an end; his affiliation with one party lasts so long as it is useful to him—no longer.

For, with the exception of the Church problem, to which there are very evidently two sides, the declared political purposes of opposing groups of politicians in Latin-America are in seeming disagreement merely upon matters of administrative and governmental expediency, while the real source of the opposition of parties lies in the designs of the individuals identified with them. In a word, there are but two political camps in a Latin-American republic: those who are in power and who profit therefrom, and those who are not in power but who desire and will go any lengths to achieve what their opponents possess. To these respective ends, each party seeks to distinguish itself with as clever and as able leaders as possible, and to conciliate as many units of political influence as it can. Of the latter, the Church and the army are the more valuable, but classes of people following certain occupations are also important, and much more readily tractable. Thus, in the Argentine Republic, the wheat and cattle kings wield enormous influence, as do the banana-planters in Costa Rica and the mining interests of Bolivia.

If, then, by some injudicious administrative measure, the politicians in power in a given country alienate from their support the Church, the army, the bankers, or some wealthy and influential family, the unit of influence so estranged is added to the ranks of the opposition; and the separation of this one political unit from the party in power may very well serve to turn its majority of such units into a minority. In that event, the Government must, of course, and does, change at once. The change may be, and in some countries generally is, effected peaceably; but in far the greater part of the Latin-American republics, and at some time in every one, the exact practical value of a political disaffection from

the ruling party is to be ascertained only by a direct return to the very bases of democracy, the arbitrament of force. To the Latin-American, therefore, revolution is often the sole logical method of deciding which disputing group of professional politicians shall hold office. It is more than that. It is often, too, the sole practical method of giving this decision effect.

In this lies the *raison d'être* of revolution in Latin-America, in his own eyes. From his birth to his death, he is everywhere confronted with conditions, not theories—and he must and does, for his intellectual salvation, make theories to fit the conditions. From the pulpits, the hoardings, the specious columns of a prolific press, the people of Latin-America tell themselves that this is the way to liberty—and are persuaded. Why should they not be? What they have is evidently neither freedom nor even security; their only hope is in constant change whence, one day, may emerge the desired state of happiness. Plainly, then, it is not that the people are turbulent and unstable, as we pretend; it is rather simply that they are so literal, so relentlessly logical in their pursuit of the Rousseauistic ideal of democracy with which we saddled them. We of the United States have been content on more than one occasion—the last very recently—to accept the rule of a President chosen by a minority of all the people. Our course may have been both wise and practical, but no one will maintain that it was not more a betrayal of the principles of representative government than, for example, the disastrous Chilean revolution of 1891, fought between the executive and the legislative branches of the Government.

It would appear from all of this that revolution in Latin-America is neither a mischievous habit nor, at bottom, chronic wrong-doing and impotence; that, quite the contrary, it is a not unwarranted means to a very desirable end. To pretend that revolutions in Latin-America are mere wantonness is unfair and unreasonable; to pretend that they have ceased or are ceasing to exist is stupid. More than a year ago the representative of the division of Latin-American affairs of the State Department endeavored, in a public speech, to create the impression that revolutions in South America are mere specters " decked out with the paraphernalia of melodramatic exaggeration by the facile pen of our well-informed press," as he put it. As a matter of fact, the service of our

well-informed press is not, unfortunately, sufficiently complete to give any adequate idea of the revolutions which do occur; but our diplomatic service is, and our Government cannot be ignorant that, during the past four years, in seventeen of the twenty Latin-American republics there has been one or more armed rebellions against the existing Government, all of which—an average of more than five per year—resulted in destruction of property and loss of human life. Of the remaining three more pacific countries, one is under a virtual United States protectorate. Certainly it is not by the folly of seeking to deceive ourselves as to the facts nor by any sweeping condemnation of all political unrest in Latin-America that we can be of aid to the countries so harassed. If we would discharge the duty which we have imposed upon ourselves by the Monroe Doctrine, we must acknowledge and understand conditions, and then endeavor to meet them as they are.

I have said that the primal justification of revolution to the Latin-American is that it is often, in his conception, the sole practical method of learning which of two claimants has a real majority of those units of influence upon which the right to rule, in any democracy, is based. The Latin is nothing if not logical and, in America at least, he rejects as purely academic the suggestion that this conflict be decided by a counting of votes. Aside from the indisputable fact that the great mass of the people are totally incapable of an intelligent exercise of the suffrage, to the lucid mind of the Latin a trained and equipped army is worth something like five times its numbers in simple citizens of the republic. As the right of the majority to rule is based upon the conceded ability of the majority to maintain itself by force, any majority not obtained by counting the soldier as the equivalent of five civilians is merely a paper majority, a fiction of theorists. There is no grown man in any Latin-American republic who might not have seen this proved, in his own country. He believes, with Lincoln, that a majority always changing easily with popular opinion, is the only true sovereign of a free people; but he insists upon a point which we pass somewhat lightly over: the willingness of the majority to change *easily*. If it will not, he claims on any and every occasion, if he so choose, the right of appeal to the first principles of majority rule which we ourselves exercised in 1861. And

the practical result of these appeals when made only fortifies him in his conviction that, in computing working majorities, the weight of mere numbers is of very minor significance compared with the possession of money, arms, the influence of the Church, or a score of other decisive factors of public opinion.

One can scarcely charge, on these grounds at least, that the Latin-American is impractical or even undemocratic. Neither is he sentimental. No devotion to the theory of popular government has ever yet led any Latin-American statesman to try to saddle an apathetic proletariat with the responsibility for the errors of those to whom government is a business and a source of profit; he is not a political welcher. Neither does he use popular suffrage to confuse the political conscience of the common people, by forcing ballots on every conceivable subject. The part of the plain people in his democracies is a very real one indeed, but it is not played by making marks on a large sheet of paper covered with printed names, nor by lifting little ratchets and throwing over a lever. They do not vote; they do not care to vote. Their ancestors did not rebel against Spain or Portugal to be eternally bothered with casting ballots. They objected principally to the imported office-holder and all his train; they hated to produce wealth year after year simply to see it disappear from the country. They still feel that way—hence their savage bitterness toward the foreigner. But whether Dr. Eduardo Ramírez of Concepción or General Abraham Martínez of Santa Rosalia comes to power is a matter of complete indifference to the peon. He knows that there is no real basal disagreement in the purposes of the two; but he knows, also, that neither General Martínez nor Dr. Ramírez will ever forget to reckon with his mob. Sailing too close to the wind of popular indignation is one of the surest methods of political and often actual suicide; the judgments of the common people may be infrequent, but they are swift and terrible.

Here, then, is one kind of true democracy. No political leader may rest secure in the consciousness that there can be no further expression of the will of the people for two or four years. Revolution is not only a means of distinguishing a working majority and a method of securing to such a majority the control to which it is entitled; it is also the unfailing redress of an oppressed or neglected proletariat.

So far, revolution may seem an excellent institution which it would be absurd to discourage. That is not, however, the impression I would give. I desire merely to make it quite clear that the frequent revolutions in Latin-America are neither wholly indefensible nor evidences of any fundamental lack of reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters on the part of those who have recourse to them. They are, indeed, simply a means to the realization of a conception of democracy neither better nor worse, but different from our own — a conception essentially Latin, which we only retard our purpose by condemning offhand. The fear of revolution is one of the safeguards of liberty in any country; it is into the seeming intemperance of Latin-Americans in their appeal to this last resort that we must inquire.

Certain dramatists and short-story writers to the contrary notwithstanding, there is nothing of opera bouffe in a Latin-American revolution. Grotesque they may be. There is something ludicrous about the proportion of officers to common soldiers. A combination of gold-braided coats and bare feet is certainly fantastic. But the arms of this curiously dressed, undisciplined rabble are as efficacious as those of a properly uniformed private in the German army. Their work is death in Central America as elsewhere. Indeed, a battle-field is rather more ghastly there than if the struggle had taken place in the Balkans, or anywhere else in Europe. There are few of the conveniences of modern warfare in Latin-America. There are, however, all of its horrors. One would think, then, that a people who had once passed through the disastrous experience of a revolution would be willing to sacrifice something of the principles of democracy rather than again face poverty, disease, and death in that form. And so, of course, they would, were it not for another element of the problem. Primordially, revolutions in Latin-America may have been the manifestation of a much more admirable and a much less compromising devotion to liberty than is ours—or theirs, either—today. For with them as with us the commercial spirit of the age has poisoned the ideal of democracy. The reasons of Latin-Americans for their revolutions were originally, and may sometimes yet be, of the highest. But the practical cause of the frequency of revolution now is much more often that there is profit in it.

And by profit I do not mean merely the financial profit of the man who is dictator for a few years and who escapes unassassinated with what he has been able to secure by one means or another; I mean that there is some profit in it for every one, save the rare man of peace and the foreign investor. Those who are defeated have had a congenial, not very exacting, if extra-hazardous employment, for so long as they have been able to maintain the struggle. They have requisitioned their supplies from the estates through which they have passed; they have secured funds by robbing the Government customs-houses and *estancos,* by collecting imposts and levying taxes. The very peon in the ranks has fed of the fat of the land and looted grogshops for his drink. He had nothing to lose, to begin with, but an adobe cabin and an acre of ground somewhere; to these he returns in any case, if he be alive at the end of the war. Whether he is fighting or not, he must work from dawn to dark to keep body and soul together; generally speaking, he is better fed and better clothed, and his work is much less arduous as a soldier than as a laborer. As for the officers who make up the immediate supporters of the revolutionary leader, they have not fared badly, either, considering that they have daily risked their lives. They are no more ruined than if they had gone into an unsuccessful mining deal or put an unfortunate bank at baccarat at the club. They have played for a big stake and they have had no little excitement—which is not the least of their compensations, as he will agree who has known the unrelieved monotony of places like Guayaquil or Tegucigalpa. On the whole, no one who has engaged in the revolution and come out alive has lost anything but time—which is no great loss in Latin-America.

But the profits of the victors are limited solely by their ability to exact money from every available source without rousing sufficient hostility to be turned out of office. The fortunes accumulated by such captains of revolutionary industry as José Santos Zelaya and Cipriano Castro are stupendous; both began with nothing. One financial genius, who was acting President of a South-American country for only two months, cleared a million dollars so cleverly that he was able to continue to live unmolested among the people whom he had robbed. Few if any Latin-American countries are so developed that colossal fortunes may not still

be made in exploiting them; these are the rewards of sucess in politics.

If the greedy politician must resort to revolution to secure his opportunity, he knows at least that the game is worth the candle. There is no country in Latin-America in which the spoils of office are not almost incredibly great, no country in which the frankest corruption is not inseparable from the administration of the Government and the conduct of business having to do with the Government. The very condition of impoverishment in which constant revolutions leave these countries is one of the most potent factors in the perpetuation of revolutions; for the state of economic uncertainty which they induce affords the ambitious no other means of livelihood even comparable to politics. So long as the Latin-American can defend his course, as he does defend it both to himself and to every one else, by reference to the indisputable ethical and logical justifications of revolution which I have been at some pains to analyze, and so long as revolution is at all hazards a profitable and, when successful, the most profitable commercial enterprise open to him, there is no valid reason to expect him to desist.

It may be just enough to contend that the only substantial remedy for all of this is to be found in a truer conception of democracy, in the education of the people, in actual exercise of the franchise, and the consequent assumption by all classes of the responsibilities of representative government. No doubt this is so. But it is no truer in Latin-America than it is in the United States. It cannot be done in a day nor a decade; and it can never be done by working on a basis of conditions as they exist in Latin-America at present. Yet the fact that the regeneration of Latin-America will require much time and infinite patience is not a reason why great material good should not result from more immediate though empirical reforms. On the contrary, were peace and stability of government assured, by whatever agency, in every country of Latin-America, as they are assured in Panama and Cuba, there is every ground for believing that a reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters must follow. Indeed, with the unquestioned brilliancy and logic which, much more than with us, governs his conduct, one might hope to achieve through the Latin-American a better solution of the prob-

lems of popular government than any yet reached. But the Latin-American is far too practical to undertake this for purely sentimental reasons; so long as existing conditions support him in reasonable comfort, he will no more set about altering them than would we; and it is idle to try to flatter or beguile him into it. Change, if there is to be any, must come from without—and must come whether the Latin-American like it or not.

We only deceive ourselves in considering him either impractical or sentimental in this, his peculiarly astute improvement of the position in which we have placed him; and in so much as we deceive ourselves, we are incapacitated for any useful action in correction of conditions. The Latin-American will continue, not without reason, to despise our curious guilelessness, to play our gullibility, to profit of our tergiversation, our sentimentality. Why should he not? It is we who have placed and kept him where he is, and it is the foreign—principally the European—investor who suffers, who patiently rebuilds between outbreaks what the politicians in their struggle destroy. The Latin-American knows that the despite which he may put upon the European is nothing to us; and he knows that the hands of the European are tied by the Monroe Doctrine. We, of the United States, bear the responsibility of this false situation; ever since the Monroe Doctrine guaranteed the integrity of the republics of Latin-America, what they might do with their liberty has been our problem, not theirs. "We could not view *any* interposition for the purpose of . . . controlling *in any manner* their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition *toward the United States.*" The italics are mine, but the words are those of President Monroe's message.

Our purpose was avowedly selfish; the advantage that the Latin-American republics have taken of the example we set has not been less so. Of this we are estopped from complaining; but neither need we delude ourselves. There is not and never was anything altruistic about the transaction, and it is preposterous to expect the Latin-American to display a large high-mindedness where we, his mentors in liberty, have shown none. With him his unique situation is as much a practical business opportunity as the European wars of the early part of the nineteenth century were to us. It is only by recognizing this, by ceasing to be sentimental

over it, and by handling the problem of actual, existing conditions—for which we are largely responsible—with clear-headed and unhesitating business acumen, that we may honestly discharge instead of shirk our duty. Mr. Roosevelt's message of December 6, 1904, is all the ground that we need to proceed upon; the nations of Europe, the Latin-American republics themselves await our action. That any course we may decide to adopt be consistent, impartial, unflinching and pursued to its logical end — this alone is required for success. And this alone can inspire in our Latin-American neighbors a respect which, hitherto, we have neither deserved nor received.

PAXTON HIBBEN.

THE BLUE MERTENSIA

BY MADISON CAWEIN

This is the path he used to take,
  That ended at a rose-porched door:
He takes it now for old time's sake,
  And love of yore.

The blue mertensia, by the stone,
  Lifts questioning eyes, that seem to say,
"Why is it now you walk alone
  On this dim way?"

And then a wild bird from a bough,
  Out of *his* heart the answer takes:
"He walks alone with memory now
  And heart that breaks.

"And loss and longing, witches, who
  Usurp the wood and change to woe
The dream of happiness he knew
  Long, long ago.

"The faery princess, from whose gaze
  The blue mertensia learned that look,
Retaining still beside these ways
  The joy it took. . . ."

He listens; conscious of no part
  In wildwood question and reply.
The wood, from out its mighty heart,
  Heaves one deep sigh.

MADISON CAWEIN.

THE YOUNGER NOVELISTS

BY MRS. W. L. COURTNEY.

EVERY publishing season brings its crop of novels by established favorites, and reputations already made advance, recede or mark time. But it was characteristic of the spring season of 1913, and surely appropriate, that it marked a very distinct advance in the case of some reputations not so securely established. Mr. H. G. Wells and Mr. Maurice Hewlett gave us their fresh work in the autumn, and there was nothing very new to say about it. Mr. Arnold Bennett has been resting on his oars and turning his attention to dramatization. But such comparative new-comers as Mr. Gilbert Cannan and Mr. Hugh Walpole have been going ahead and producing work, which from many points of view is rather remarkable.

First we note that the fashion for the long novel tracing the hero from his cradle to his grave still holds. It is difficult to say who began it. There was Mr. De Morgan of course, but he was more of a survival and an anachronism than a pioneer. He had graduated in the school of Dickens and Thackeray, and *Joseph Vance* was merely the late germination of seed sown in boyhood. Probably Mr. H. G. Wells is more responsible than anybody else for pretty nearly all the latest developments of English fiction, so we may as well give him the credit, or discredit, of the leisurely psychological development so much fancied at present. Any way he wrote *Tono Bungay* and *The New Machiavelli,* which devote at least a third of their pages to the hero's boyhood and adolescence—particularly adolescence—even if he stopped short of the romance in eight volumes (or is it ten?), which our neighbors across the Channel have been enjoying as *Jean Christophe.*

Whether Mr. Wells began it or not, it is quite certain that his most prominent disciple, Mr. Arnold Bennett, fostered

it, and it is equally certain that it still remains the ideal of promising novelists. Mr. Gilbert Cannan's *Round the Corner* and Mr. Hugh Walpole's *Fortitude* both proceed at a very comfortable pace, the first giving us the life-history of a family, the second of an individual. There are other and more deep-seated resemblances between the two books; there is a care and a conscientiousness about detail which is a reproach to the facile work of the later Victorian novelists, and there is a common readiness to probe to the bottom of the deeper problems of life, which does the writers infinite credit. But there are differences no less striking. Mr. Walpole's work is conscientious, but it is also self-conscious; indeed it comes perilously near sometimes to being priggish. Mr. Cannan's is so conspicuously un-self-conscious, that it risks being obscure. His story seems to develop on its own lines independently of its begetter. You wonder now and again whether he quite knows what he is after; probably he does not, for his subject takes him and shapes him, and if the result at its worst is obscurity, at its best it comes very near the grand impersonality of all great art. There are some pages near the end of the book describing the last journey of the shallow, boastful business man, whose bubble has exploded and whose sins have found him out, which Mr. H. G. Wells has only once equalled, in that wonderful chapter of *Tono Bungay,* describing the death of Mr. Ponderevo.

But this is to anticipate. What Mr. Cannan sets out to do is to give us the life of Francis Christopher Folyat, scion of a county family, who is cheated of his chance of a commission in the army through the favoritism of his mother—"who had been the celebrated Miss Cresitter, and she never forgot it." Forced to give way to his younger brother he enters the Church, does his duty as a curate, marries, takes family preferment, begets and rears a large brood of healthy children in a West country rectory, allows his wife to involve him in unnecessary pretentions and expenses, and on the late dawning in him of a deeper sense of spiritual things, insists on removing to Manchester, or as he calls it "going to the poor." Thenceforward he leads a spiritual and intellectual life apart, the spectator rather than the sharer of his family's development, an enigma to his shallow, self-deceiving, genteel, and peevish wife, in the world but not of it, a saint in the making, understood best, though even then imperfectly, by his eldest son Serge, and his youngest

daughter Annette. It is with Serge that Mr. Cannan has taken most pains, and it is part of the irony of art which, like the wind of the spirit, blows where it listeth, that Serge is only half successful, whereas the portrait of the younger son Frederick is a little masterpiece. Serge had run away in boyhood; he returns early in the Manchester days, a traveled Ulysses, a philosopher, and an artist, who looks at his father with tolerant understanding and has but one touchstone to apply to all life's difficulties, that it is only happiness which matters. He sits in his attic and paints, and lets who will come and talk to him, taking no active part in shaping events but ready to lend a helping hand to all who need it. The most positive thing which he does is to become the loving friend and counselor, never the lover, of the girl of the people whom Frederick has got into trouble, teaching her that she must hold fast to love and happiness for the sake of the child that is coming and helping even Francis Folyat to advance a step in saintliness by showing him that there is a higher law than the church-made law of insisting on the sense of sin.

Frederick, on the other hand, who inherits his mother's commonness and insincerity and inveterate habit of self-deception, leads the city clerk's existence with the city clerk's ideas of "seeing life." He gets this girl into trouble not because he is led astray by love or passion, but because such experiences are part of his creed. We remember in passing Mr. Ponderevo's "affair," due not so much to inclination as to a sense that he owed it to his growing wealth and position to have somebody to give illicit diamonds to. When consequences ensue, Frederick resents them as a personal grievance; other young men do these things and get off scot-free, and he is more than relieved when Serge and his father decide against a forced marriage, though they are careful to tell him that it is not for his sake but for the girl's. His marriage later to the girl his mother provides for him, his weak selfish treatment of her, his need for self-glorification, his hunger for her forced admiration, his absolute incapacity to understand that the other girl, whom he had first wronged, does not want anything more to do with him and is not going to help him to think himself a fine fellow for offering her a tardy, sentimental reconciliation which involves treachery to his wife, his whole histrionic, feeble, invertebrate career, with its flashy success in business, end-

ing in fraud, despair, and suicide, has been drawn by a master hand. This alone would give Mr. Cannan a right to rank among great artists, even if he cannot always in future keep his art at that high level. Take the passage describing Frederick's start on his last journey:

"He was rather a long time packing the little handbag he always took with him to town. She (his wife) went to remind him that it was getting late and found him with his hand in a drawer. He shut it hastily and asked her to fetch his tobacco-pouch from upstairs. When she came down again he was waiting for her at the front door. She walked to the little iron gate with him and they kissed. As he reached the kerb he turned to look at her and saw the old ladies and gentlemen at their windows, and he felt with a twinge of shame that for years he had been a spectacle without knowing it. . . He thought Jessie looked rather ill, tired, old, and bony. It was absurd for them to kiss in public. . . Everything seemed absurd, fantastical, and unreal. The world was presented to his eyes in sharper outline than he had ever seen it before. It was bathed in a cold gray light. It had nothing to do with him. It was going on. He felt stationary. That his body was moving was nothing. His thoughts were not moving. Everything was absurd. The new sharply outlined world, with its curious interwoven activities (he saw how they were dovetailed), was moving on. The world with which he had been concerned—the world in which he had been miserable, elated, crestfallen, amused, disgusted—the world in which he had known affection and companionship and spite and jealousy—was moving backward, sinking from under his feet while he himself stood on the verge of a nonsensical dawn that had its light from a setting sun. Away from him, backward and forward, everything moved faster and faster, making him dizzy, intolerably dizzy, sick and cold with it."

But it is the whole chapter that deserves to be quoted, not a single passage. That and the final scene, when, grown old and tired, Francis Folyat has gone back with his wife and the last of his family to the West country, and there gives back his life to the spirit who gave it. Serge comes in at the last, the understanding soul who breathes the author's comments on life, who knows that "life is good," even all the more good inasmuch as it is rounded with a sleep.

There is much more in the book than could be here set down. There is the story of Annette, the youngest girl, and the poem of her love for Bennett Lawrie; there is the portrait of old James Lawrie, bacchanalian artist and glorious, if inebriate, lover and eulogist of life; there is the uglier picture of faded womanhood in the elder daughters' inveterate pursuit of husbands; and there is the sordid tragedy of Minna's marriage. Indeed the book is rich in characterizations with some of the richness of life itself.

Folyat's wife in her way is as much a masterpiece as his youngest son. The people of the story come and go, cross and intermingle like persons in the streets of a city, and one can well believe that their creator himself watches them with detached interest and sympathy, in short with that impersonality which belongs to the true artist. It is not Mr. Cannan telling a story; it is a piece of life making itself articulate through Mr. Cannan's mouth.

Mr. Hugh Walpole's book is a very different matter. He has taken infinite pains with it, and to use a simile almost too hackneyed for repetition, but in this instance entirely apt, it is very good "in parts." There is the Cornish part, and there is the bookshop; those stand out as living pictures. And there is some clever observation of the ways of literary tea-parties with incidental portraits of literary celebrities, which, if Mr. Walpole will forgive the criticism, is good photographic work, not art. And besides this there are long portions of the book, which even the author's conscientious pains have failed to make live, the public school, the Bloomsbury boarding-house, the life with Clare in the little bijou house on the Chelsea embankment. In some measure the defect is due to the author's own strenuousness. He refuses to let his subject lead him, he absolutely declines to shirk anything, or exercise any preference as to what he shall put in or leave out. You can see him metaphorically girding up his loins, taking his morning cold bath and going through his physical exercises so that he may spare neither himself nor us any detail, for instance, of that dreadful scene of the beating of Peter by his father, dwelt on not because Mr. Walpole has any love of cruelty—that one never feels for a moment—but because the critic in him judges it to be necessary for the development of his story. But a critic is one thing and a selective artist is another, and the measure in which Mr. Walpole lets the first take the place of the second is just the measure of his failure to make his story living. All of which is perhaps only a longer way of saying that his bane is self-consciousness.

He sets out to tell the story of a boy whose destiny is to become a writer. Peter Westcott is the only child of a stern and cruel father and a repressed and delicate mother, and all the happiness his childhood knows comes from the winds and the waves and the rocks of his Cornish home, and from the society of Stephen Brant, the great, burly fisherman,

whose strength and affection are both a comfort and an inspiration to the trembling, imaginative boy. With the death of the mother, whom he has only at the last learned really to know, and with his defiance of the father whose cruelty is degenerating into mania, Peter's childhood ends. Before that period we have had a picture of his school life, valuable in so far as it illustrates his type by contrasting him with other types of boys, but surely almost unnecessarily distasteful in its main outlines. The emancipated Peter, offered a job in London by a queer, foreign secondhand-bookseller, Mr. Zanti, a friend of Stephen's, comes to London and spends his days in a dark little shop in Soho and his nights in a somewhat idealized Bloomsbury boarding-house. The little shop is a meeting-place for Anarchists, whom Mr. Zanti harbors out of a romantic zeal for adventures. When one of them turns theory into action by a futile attempt on the life of the old Queen, Stephen turns up in the nick of time and carries off Peter. The pair of them nearly starve down in Houndsditch, until Peter is rescued by the good offices of his friend, Norah O'Monoghue from the boarding-house, the delicate, hard-worked girl, who has cheered him on to write a novel and has got a firm of publishers to undertake to bring it out. From a serious illness Peter recovers to find himself staying in the house of Bobby Galleon, a married schoolfellow, and about to be launched into literary society as the author of *Reuben Hallard*. Bobby is the son of a great novelist, Henry Galleon, who encourages Peter and teaches him reverence. But Peter is ensnared first by success and later by Clare Rossiter, the spoiled and pretty daughter of a fashionable doctor. His headlong wooing of Clare carries her off her feet into a marriage, which is blissful happiness at first for both and then disillusionment for Clare. She is selfish and she is afraid, afraid of pain, afraid of Peter's earlier friends, afraid of the darker strain in him, which we are led to suppose, though this is very imperfectly worked out, is his heritage from his forefathers. At a critical moment a handsome schoolfellow, rather too reminiscent of Dickens's Steerforth, comes back into Peter's life and robs him of his wife. And at the last we have Peter back in Cornwall in the company of the dying Norah O'Monoghue, the woman who truly loved him, but whom by one of those tragedies of mismating not infrequent in life, but much more frequent in novels, he had allowed to eat her heart

out in solitude. No happy ending of the conventional order, but a stern and strenuous insistence on the key-note of the book, that you judge a man by what he can endure, that the moral of life is fortitude. It is a fine moral, and our only quarrel with Mr. Walpole is that he lets the moralist in him get the better of the artist, that he is always disciplining and dragooning his subject instead of letting his subject lead him, and that in consequence not a few of his characters seem to be more figments of the author's fancy than living men and women. This is especially true of the women. Clare and Norah are not women, they are a young man's ideas about women, which is a very different matter. Some of the literary ladies of the tea-parties are cleverly observed, but there is no woman in the book who is a real creation, and for this reason we are not so deeply touched by the tragedy of mismating as Mr. Walpole intended us to be. Perhaps, too, we should be more stirred by the call to fortitude if we could rid ourselves more completely of the notion that we are being preached at. But Mr. Walpole is young and has the high seriousness of his age. If he can mellow into the riper philosophy of middle life without losing the single-mindedness of youth we shall have fewer purple patches and a more all-pervading sense that it is life which matters.

One hardly knows whether a writer whose work has been more than fourteen years before the public can rightly be classed among the "younger novelists." But Miss May Sinclair's spring novel *The Combined Maze* is so pre-eminently a tragedy of mismating that it seems to come in appropriately, the more so as it has so many of the qualities which Mr. Walpole lacks, though it is a much more concentrated and definitely limited piece of work than *Fortitude*. It is the story of Ranny Ransome, a young clerk with very clearly defined ideas about physical fitness and a "decent" standard of behavior. His god is his body, and when he is not sprinting along the streets at night to keep himself "fit," he is at the "Poly" gymnasium executing prodigies on the parallel bars. There he meets with Winny Dymond, leader of the band of women gymnasts at that self-same institution and by day cashier and bookkeeper in a respectable linen-draper's at Wandsworth. The *milieu* is one with which Mr. Wells has familiarized us, but it is to Miss Sinclair's infinite credit that whilst her Ranny is as real and as thoroughly

individualized as anything Mr. Wells ever drew, her Winny and later her Violet, the girl who seduces Ranny though technically herself seduced, are much more finely touched in than Mr. Wells's women. Miss Sinclair knows her own sex as very few men can know it; the remarkable thing is that she also knows the other. The life-likeness of her male characterization has been a feature of all her novels, even the earliest. Her men are not portraits, they are creations. Can the same thing ever be said for a young man's women?

Ranny's standard of "decent" behavior lays it down that a man who cannot afford to marry for years and years has no right to try to nail a girl down and condemn her to the weariness of waiting. This Winny divines, and with a scrupulousness no less fine refrains from showing even the faintest trace of a coming-on disposition, which could make self-abnegation harder for him. But her friend, Violet, has no such scruples, and when her wiles have got her what she wanted finds that as a matter-of-fact she has got more than she wanted, for Ranny is determined to do the "decent" thing and whirls her into an immediate marriage before any ill can befall. The result is one of those tragedies in humble life which every suburb could show, a tragedy of domestic discomfort, discontent, unwilling child-bearing, child neglect and worse, ending in unfaithfulness and degradation. To crown all, when Ranny is at length in a position to purchase freedom and Winny, there is the return of the faithless, faded, depraved, common woman, who had been the ruin of his life. So that Ranny and Winny must just go on as they are, she the faithful, devoted friend, he the apostle of "decent" behavior. It is all very skilfully and delicately done, touching sometimes the deeper springs of emotion, as in the passion of frustrated maternal love poured out by Winny upon Ranny's neglected children, sometimes perhaps a little over-insistent upon detail in itself significant but apt to lose its significance by repetition. Miss Sinclair must beware of a fault which is growing upon her of duplicating her effects, giving the same idea in more than one form and adding strokes that do not make the picture clearer. And beautiful as is the theme of maternal love, whether satisfied or frustrated, one cannot help feeling sometimes that it has had more than its share lately of the novelists' attention.

One more novel may be noticed by way of contrast. Mr. Charles Marriott has graduated in the school of Meredith,

perhaps even of Henry James, rather than in that of H. G. Wells. He believes in very delicate analysis, minute touches, which produce no immediate effect but little by little and almost insensibly advance our knowledge of the characters portrayed. The only point which *The Catfish* has in common with the work of Mr. Wells's disciples is that it too traces its hero from infancy to manhood. George Tracy at four years old is taken by his parents to live at Bourneside, a country estate a few miles out of Barstow (otherwise Bristol). His earliest clear recollection is of his arrival there on a wet and stormy evening, with the sound of rushing water in his ears and after a narrow escape from driving into the river. He grows up an imaginative, remarkable child, highly sensitive to his surroundings, making friends with the waterfall, afraid of the trees in the Grove, never confiding his fancies to any one, so timid of advances to intimacy that he shrinks from ever making any real response to the mother love, which he yet knows to be his greatest treasure. All this early part of the book is beautifully written. The child is wonderfully realized, and the few outstanding incidents such as his sudden outburst of temper and self-protective rudeness, when he feels himself instinctively understood by a little girl, Mary Festing, or his bragging about his prowess in fishing and cricket, the things he does not really care about to hide his really deep concern for the delicate, beautiful flowers he says goodnight to, or his fear of blushing and his desperate efforts to avoid his mother's understanding eyes in church when the deep organ notes appeal to him and the colors stream through stained glass windows. Very finely drawn too is his relation to the father whom he secretly adores, the quiet retired banker with a passion for the land and an almost romantic sense of the duties which it lays upon the manhood of the nation. He has had himself no scholar's education, but he has such a reverence for the people who can talk, the "skirmishers in front," that he wants George to be a scholar and a barrister and sends him to a public school, where his abilities raise great hopes, but where he fails to find himself and only discovers what he does not want. He does not want to be an artist like his boy friend, Miles Darragh, and he does not want to win a scholarship at the university. Finally he asks his father to let him enter the Bank and is sent to its London branch.

Thenceforward his history is less convincing. He does his work well, but finance is not his goal. He makes friends, especially with a gay, clever, worldly woman, at whose house he again meets Mary Festing. She disconcerts and attracts him equally, he feels her uncomfortably intimate, yet he wants to be with her. She represents that inner core of him, which he is always trying to forget, the self which is one with the flowers and hears the waters of Bourneside calling. He struggles to hold aloof, he is helped by a recall to Bourneside and Barstow on the death of his mother, and still more by a short, passionate episode with a Mrs. Lorimer, a married woman of strong sensual instincts, depraved, though he is long in suspecting it, by secret indulgence in drinking. Sudden disillusionment of course follows the shock of discovery, and he resumes a friendship with Mary Festing, which he persuades himself by contrasting it with his recent experience has no element of passion in it, though it continues to make him uncomfortable. Mary, in fact is the catfish of the title, the queer creature known as the " demon of the deep " because it keeps the other fishes lively. But he never knows what is behind her cool, inscrutable eyes, and what caused her one sudden action almost of self-betrayal until long afterward, when he is happily married to Lesbia, the golden, sympathetic, fecund woman—" Aphrodite Pandemos, mother and lover of men " —whom he falls in love with at first sight and marries in three weeks, and who makes him a perfect wife, just because she fills every need of his nature but one, and because she understands, as he has never understood, that to that one little locked cupboard inside him, it is Mary who holds the key. Mary has in the mean time married Darragh, and it is only when all four are perfectly happy that she lets George know why she had waited. There is no subsequent history, for on the next day Mary is drowned saving George's child from the waters of the Bourne, and he knows that at last he understands what those waters have been trying to tell him.

This soul story of the characters is Mr. Marriott's proper sphere. It is there that he is at home and can make full play with the delicate elusive method, which he had already used to such advantage in *The Dewpond, The Intruding Angel,* and the earlier *Mrs. Alemere's Elopement* to select the best of the nine or ten volumes which stand to his credit. What is rather puzzling is his choice of the *milieu,* in which

George is destined to find his proper sphere. It is nothing more nor less than the modern shop, a glorified shop of course, a shop in which a wistful public is given the best of everything, answering to its true subconscious want, but still a big, retail, successful modern business. I have no wish to quarrel with the shop ideal as such, but somehow it comes as an anti-climax. I confess I was not prepared for it, and I felt that either I had been stupid and must go back over the threads of Mr. Marriott's weaving to discern the true figure in the carpet, to use a metaphor which Mr. Henry James once made into an admirable short story, or else that the author really did begin with one intention and ended with another. At first George appeared to be on the high road to be an artist, or a writer; then he was going to be a man of affairs; and though I quite recognize the romantic aspects of modern business, I cannot help still asking myself, "Why that shop?" But if the author wills to have it so, it is his affair and not mine, and I am no less grateful to him for the delicate delineation of his contrasted characters. They are alive, every one of them, even the smallest, and as long as a novelist can make his creatures live, who cares what views he may hold upon politics and sociology? But I wonder whether after all even Mr. Marriott has quite escaped that all-pervading influence of Mr. H. G. Wells?

Mrs. W. L. Courtney.

THE AUTHOR OF "ROBINSON CRUSOE"

BY EDITH WYATT

If one were asked to name offhand the story-book hero most widely known among English-speaking people, one would undoubtedly choose at a guess the vivid figure of Robinson Crusoe.

His fame scarcely differs from that of a celebrity not fictional at all, but historical. Many persons who have never glanced at the book describing his adventures understand quite as concretely and definitely as they understand that George Washington spent a winter at Valley Forge, that Robinson Crusoe owned a gun, a parrot, and a dog; that he was cast upon a desert island; and that he found there a strange footprint in the sand.

Who conceived an image of such enduring charm? Who created Crusoe? For long I had vaguely supposed that the life of Daniel De Foe, the author of our most celebrated fictive hero, was a subject like that of the Wars of the Roses, or all the shipping insurance news in small print on the back page of the newspapers—one of those very well-known and complicated topics which always appear to be made simply for other people to know about. When an accidental circumstance I will describe presently inspired me to face the chilling fog of special information I feared, and to hunt up De Foe's name, in the library, it was a surprise to find that the tale of De Foe's life, after all, apparently required no wide, allied, historical reading for its comprehension, but had been, it would seem, composed by fate for the understanding of any layman.[1]

De Foe was the son of a family of Dissenters: his father,

[1] Mr. Walter Wilson's, thick, old-fashioned biography, Mr. George Saintsbury's monograph, and his various delightful prefaces for Aitken's edition of the novels of De Foe, a sketch of Mrs. Oliphant's, the pages of Greene's *Puritan England*, the appreciations by Sir Walter Scott and Charles Lamb, and De Foe's own personal references in various pamphlets of his, are the chief sources of the account gathered here.

a butcher, at Cripplegate in London. Daniel was a little child of about four, when the city was overwhelmed with the horror of the Great Plague of 1665; and the pestilence pouring through London, one of the most Titanic catastrophes of history was killing people in the streets, literally by myriads—ten thousand, in a week, four thousand, in one terrific night.

It was under these circumstances that the De Foes left London, in the reign of Charles II, at the very time when Pepys was being importuned by his wife to buy her a pearl necklace, and when he says of the government of the Merry Monarch: "At court, there being so much emulation, and the vices of drinking . . . and loose amours that I know not what will be the end of it but confusion: and the clergy so high that all people I meet with do protest against their practice."

The bigotry and partisanship of these Episcopal and Tory churchmen of the ruling powers against the Dissenters were becoming so extreme, that only a few years later it was not safe for a Dissenting or as we should say a Presbyterian minister to be seen in the streets of London: and their religious meetings were held at night, like conspiracies. While De Foe was still a boy, the great Test Act was passed by the Houses of Parliament. This excluded from all civil offices, that is to say from all governmental honors, and all positions of any considerable standing or power, those who would not become communicants of the Church of England. So that, in sending De Foe to be educated at a Dissenting Academy, his family destined him to a career of social adventure.

Apparently, from Mr. Morton's Dissenting Academy, the boy entered into trade at eighteen as a commission agent for a hosiery house in Cornhill. He seems to have published at about this time a rather dull pamphlet on the gowns of the clergy.[1] From his range, volume, and genius De Foe was to become the most brilliant and influential pamphleteer England, or perhaps the world has ever known. Of his one hundred and ninety productions in this kind, however, he wrote nothing of value, until he was thirty-five or thirty-six years of age, and the seven pamphlets he composed before then may be left unnoticed.

[1] There is some, but very little doubt, as to whether this pamphlet may be certainly attributed to De Foe.

In the mean time, when De Foe was about twenty-five, Charles II died, surrounded on his death-bed by all his unmarried wives and mistresses, and all his natural children but one, his eldest son, the Duke of Monmouth. A few days after the Roman Catholic, James II, came to the throne, the Protestant Monmouth, landed at Lyme to support his right of succession: and here De Foe, in company with great numbers of other Nonconformists and Dissenting tradesmen from the clothier towns hastened to his standard.

Monmouth's popularity rose. Garlands were hung on the doors where he passed. "At Taunton a troop of young girls presented him with a flag and a Bible." His army received constant accession. But it was too untried to withstand the great force of James's followers which faced it at Sedgemoor. De Foe and his companions were now to see King James's victory, and the beheading of their own leader followed by a bigoted persecution hard and senseless enough to outrage even the ruthless Marlborough who was forced to execute it.

Over a thousand Dissenters were scourged and imprisoned. Women were whipped from town to town. Eight hundred Nonconformists were sold into slavery across the sea. Judge Jeffreys passing through the country in the famous "bloody circuit" condemned and hung three hundred and fifty Englishmen. Three of these men had been De Foe's classmates at Mr. Morton's Dissenting Academy. De Foe himself chanced to be released on the singular ground that he was not a resident of the west of England, but had come there from London.

Through the miseries and persecutions of the six years' reign of James II, De Foe was chiefly occupied by his mercantile trade. He became an important figure in the market at Cornhill and owner or part owner of the hosiery house. At the time when Parliament voted the expulsion of James he had been married some time, though we know little of his marriage, except that he had several children, of whom he wrote afterward that he loved them past his power to express.

At the time of the coronation of William and Mary, he rode with an escort of the richest tradesmen of London.

However, his affairs must even then have begun to go wrong, for in 1692 he failed for what was then the very large mercantile investment of £17,000. He made a com-

position with his creditors, gave what he could on his debts, and afterward is said to have paid every cent of his obligation.

It was at this time of his fallen fortunes that he wrote, though he did not publish till two years afterward, *The Essay on Projects* of which Benjamin Franklin said that its opinions had influenced the chief events of his life.

The essay outlines for the better guidance of the affairs of the country a number of policies of such foresight that nearly all of them have since come to form a part of the customs of England—a scheme for a National Bank, for Road Improvements, for a bankruptcy Commission, Aid and Benefit societies, for raising Internal Revenue, and for an institution for the education of women.

But the chief interest of the *Essay on Projects* is its exhibition of De Foe's constant clear curiosity about the management of life and what Samuel Butler calls the Ways and Farings of Men. To be forming a plan—and an admirable plan for establishing a bank for his country at a moment when he chanced to be £17,000 in debt—here was a spirit of no common strength.

The *Essay on Projects* was, even before its publication, the source of a change in De Foe's prospects. An acquaintance brought to the attention of William III, De Foe's internal-revenue scheme. This was in part adopted, and in the furtherance of the plan De Foe was made the government accountant for the tax on the glass industry. Partly through the prestige his occupation gave him, he formed a company for manufacturing the tiles the country had heretofore imported from Holland, and became the manager of this company which was established on the Thames at Tooting. Here he lived in good style and kept a coach and a pleasure-boat.

When it is said that among the nine or ten pamphlets issued by De Foe within the next few years, one was a commentary on the government's protection of vice among persons with means—what we should call police protection—and one an attack on the bribery, stock-jobbing, and corruption prevailing in the disposal of seats in Parliament, it will be seen that exposure by means of special articles published in an inexpensive form is by no means a recent invention.

One of these stock-jobbing Parliaments, in 1701, refused

to consider King William's request for subsidies for that continental campaign against the horrors of the Inquisition, which was certainly then what no military campaign can be now, a part of the liberation war of humanity. One thousand freeholders and electors of Kent sent to the House of Commons, through five representatives, a signed petition asking the House to hear and pass upon the measure. The five Kentish petitioners' request was denied by the House: their petition voted scandalous, insolent, and seditious, and they were cast into prison. Eight days later, as Robert Harley the Speaker was entering the House of Commons, De Foe, guarded by sixteen gentlemen, handed him a letter headed with this note: "Mr. Speaker: The enclosed memorial you are charged with in behalf of many thousands of the good people of England. . . . You are commanded by 200,000 Englishmen to deliver it to the House of Commons."

The inclosure was De Foe's famous Legion Letter. It demanded the release of the petitioners and the hearing of their petition; and stated the grievances of the nation at the hands of the present Parliament, and the legal rights of the electors to control their representatives.

It concludes eloquently:

"Thus, gentlemen, you have your duty laid before you, which 'tis hoped you will think of; but if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the resentment of an injured nation. For Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliaments than to kings.

"Our name is Legion and we are many.

"Postscript. If you require to have this Memorial signed with our Names, it shall be done on your first order, and personally presented."

Wilson says:

"The Paper struck such a terror into the party in the house that from this time there was not a word ever spoken of proceeding against the Kentish Petitioners, and the members of that party began to drop off and to get into the country."

When Parliament adjourned a few weeks later, the Kentish gentlemen were released; and the succeeding Parliament considered and indorsed the grant of subsidies for the King.

De Foe's yeoman service to his party in all this, brought him back much of the favor he had lost by a pamphlet on the Test Act written two years before—a pamphlet now destined to have in connection with his next considerable piece of public work a very strange effect upon his future history.

Since the time when Dissenters had been excluded from all government offices unless they took the Sacrament of the Episcopal Church, or were fined for breaking the law, many had evaded the stringency of the act by assuming government office, and fulfilling the provisions of the ordinance by an occasional attendance at Episcopal churches for receiving Communion. This practice was called Occasional Conformity. As the good feeling between Episcopalians and Dissenters increased in William's reign, Occasional Conformity became more frequent, and Dissenters more and more pharisaical and complacent in their assent to a rite in which they had no faith. De Foe who seems, in holding his own office, always to have stoutly paid his fine, and never to have asserted a belief not his, criticized adversely his party's and sect's increasing custom in an essay which roused wide indignation throughout England.

Four years afterward, when King William died, and his sister-in-law Anne, a strong though not a bigoted Episcopalian came to the throne, her coronation roused the Tory party and the Established Church to introduce in Parliament a bill excluding Dissenters from all participation in the government of England upon any terms. It was called the bill against Occasional Conformity; and, naturally, caused a party struggle of the fiercest virulence.

At this moment De Foe struck the bill a body blow by a highly original device. This was an anonymous pamphlet, purporting to be written by an Episcopalian: and is an ironical though well-merited statement of the High Church position. It is called "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters."

"Shall any law be given to such wild creatures (as these Dissenters)? Some beasts are for sport, and the huntsmen give them the advantages of ground: but some are knocked on the head by all possible means of violence and surprise. . . . If one severe law were made and punctually executed, that whoever was found at a Conventicle should be banished the Nation, and the preacher hanged we should soon see an end of the tale."

As De Foe afterward tells us: "The case the book pointed at was to speak the first person of the party and then thereby not only speak their language but acknowledge it to be theirs: which they did so openly that confounded all their attempts afterward to deny it, and to call it a scandal thrown upon them by another."

This is exactly what happened. The High Church party applauded with delight and entire gravity the arguments

and plans of "The Shortest Way." One of the Tory leaders wrote: "Next to the Holy Bible and the Sacred Comments I take it for the most valuable piece I have." The more moderate of the High Church party were, however, so shocked at the unfairness of spirit on their own side the pamphlet had revealed and proven, that they would not push the Bill against Occasional Conformity. It was defeated in the House of Lords.

The world is very literal-minded. Not only the Tories, but the Dissenters misunderstood "The Shortest Way." They were raising a great hue and cry against the anonymous Episcopalian author, when it became known that he was a Dissenter, that he was Daniel De Foe. At this both parties turned the more furiously against him. De Foe was proclaimed an enemy of the State who had stirred up sedition. A reward of £50 was offered for his arrest.

The government proclamation and advertisement gives us the clearest description we have of his appearance, that of "a middle-aged, spare man about forty years old, of a brown complexion and dark-brown colored hair (but wears a wig), a hooked nose, a sharp chin, gray eyes, and a large mole near his mouth."

Upon his arrest he received an unfair trial with treacherous counsel. He was sentenced to pay 200 marks to the Queen, to stand three times in the pillory, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. The moderate Harley was out of power. William Penn appeared before the House of Commons to plead in vain for a commutation of this mean and brutal sentence.

De Foe was pilloried on July 29th in 1703 at Temple Bar: during the next day at Cheapside, near the place where he had once ridden so proudly with the escort of William and Mary: and through the 31st at Cornhill, where he had once been an owner of one of the richest textile houses in the trade of London. On each occasion, admiring and cheering crowds guarded him to and from his punishment as though it had been a position of state. They hung the pillory with garlands: and placed tables in the streets, where they sat drinking his health and singing the satirical "Hymn to the Pillory" which De Foe had composed in Newgate: and was now cried and sold from the sidewalks of Cheapside, Cornhill, and Temple Bar.

Inspiring is defiance in the face of squalid adversities.

Undoubtedly it was the sheer pluck of De Foe's character that stirred popular enthusiasm. Probably only a very few persons in the cheering throngs understood that De Foe was pilloried because while he had ridiculed the Dissenters for their conformity when this had been a mere demoralizing hypocrisy among them, he now opposed the Episcopalian's effort against this same conformity of the Dissenters, because the Episcopalians' effort was the expression of a hateful bigotry and tyranny.

De Foe remained in Newgate for two years. In this space of time, on account of his absence from his tile-factory he became again a ruined man. His family fell into poverty. He occupied his hours in prison by an unlucrative but absorbing undertaking. From the walls of Newgate he sent out by his devoted printer, at first once a week, and then three times a week, a periodical called *The Review*. This sheet presented at regular intervals for the first time in the print of our language public and domestic topics of general interest. It is impossible to say whether one feels more glory or more shame for journalism in the fact that our first newspaper was written and edited by a man imprisoned in the interest of a just testimony to truth.

In the following year, Harley again came into power in Parliament: and at once released De Foe, and found government employment for him as an agent in the negotiation of the Union with Scotland.

Now for more than ten years De Foe was engaged in serving the government in this capacity, in publishing his *Review* and in pamphleteering. In a fairly short time after his release he had again repaired his fallen fortunes.

But it must not be thought his prosperity was peaceful. This, a writer of De Foe's temper of mind, a follower of truth irrespective of party, and a discusser on these terms of the affairs and politics of his time, could hardly have expected or perhaps desired in a world whose standard of honor was even more than to-day simply a standard of continuous and undiscriminating partisanship.

Says Windsor:

"Though a Protestant, when the bill for preventing the growth of Popery in Ireland had been forced upon the Queen, De Foe took part with the Roman Catholics against the bigotry of Protestantism. Though a friend of Godolphin he was always regarded with esteem by Harley. Though a friend of Harley he refused to support him on the subject of Peace."

This is no road to popularity. De Foe had bitter enemies in all the political camps. At the time of Anne's death, De Foe was so surrounded by controversial and slanderous attacks—one of these last made by no less a person than Alexander Pope—that on his retirement from office in 1715, he published a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to Honour and Justice," explaining his public stand on all the policies and sects he had defended and those he had opposed.

We have said that he retired from his open connection with the government, on Queen Anne's death. But not long afterward he began and continued for many years a secret service of the most singular character for the Crown. The successive ministers of George I privately paid him for contributing to and partly owning, first one Jacobite newspaper, and later as many as three of these Tory journals, on a secret understanding of his with the administration that he would as he says "take the sting out of them."

Much controversy has surrounded the ethics of this piece of conduct on De Foe's part. Controversy and disapproval may rage as they will. In his letters on the subject De Foe clearly prides himself on his masquerade among "the enraged High Tories." There can be no doubt that he loved to lead national parties by the nose. He did not in the least object to being the center of brilliant and novel political schemes, and was clearly all his life long the kind of man—so often darkly disapproved by persons of more native obscurity—who "does not mind attracting attention." This trait easily accounts for the peculiar irascibility and somewhat self-righteous air of slight displayed against him by many of his contemporaries.

De Foe was now in his sixtieth year; and while in the thick of his Jacobite journal scheme, he wrote and published anonymously his first work of fiction—*Robinson Crusoe*. At the age of sixty he set forth on the pioneer work of a great English novelist—literally the first English novelist. For the next eleven years he exercised in fresh fields his ruling passion for original design.

The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, the Journal of the Plague Year, the Memoirs of a Cavalier, History of Colonel Jack, the Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders. Roxana or the Fortunate Mistress, all these following narratives of the next decade are unique and creative compositions executed with first-hand force and conviction.

Impossible in this brief account of the work of De Foe to describe his other tales of lesser merit, or the many pamphlets, books of travel, and writings in other forms also produced in this period of his life.

Every one knows *Robinson Crusoe*—the footprint—the death of the goat—the making of the umbrella and the table and the chair—the inimitable conversations with Friday—and the return with the rescued captain and his crew, among them a man who chanced also to be named Robinson. (It may be parenthetically remarked that this last touch alone would reveal a born master in methods of realizing a scene to his readers in all the bright mosaic of the curious colors of life.)

Every one knows *Crusoe.* Less familiar is the *Journal of the Plague Year*—a history of the Plague purporting to have been written by a citizen living in London during the pestilence. No one who reads it will, I think, question De Foe's editorial power of synthetic statement, of choosing well the various materials, voices, journals, letters, and official documents that make the truth of a great actual story really live in the public mind.

The dread of contagion—the horror of the frequent tolling bells and dead-carts—the silent streets—the lines of the doorways of the afflicted houses guarded by sentinels, and marked with a tall red cross—the presence of pain and mortality—and then the rising breath of relief, the lessened fatality of the disease, the lessening numbers of the sick—the returning of the citizens who had fled the stricken city—and at last again the merciful flow and hurry of London's full normal activity. All these are experiences the reader lives in the *Journal of the Plague Year:* and here De Foe shows at its height his genius for writing like Legion.

Like the writing of Legion too is the *Memoirs of a Cavalier.* Battle after battle, siege after siege—Magdeburg, Leipsic, Augsburg, Naseby, and Marston Moor—armies marching and counter-marching, camp and slaughter and rapine—you sit and watch all this passing before you with the full consciousness of the presence and movement of multitudes.

In *Moll Flanders, Colonel Jack,* and *Roxana,* as in this war-chronicle, and in the *Journal of the Plague Year,* De Foe is a guide through the wilds of civilization. No swamp of misery is too miasmatic or tangled for him to push

through. He will walk among the worst jungles of the wretchedness, cruelty, and brutishness of men. Some one has said that many of the novels of Zola are indecent but moral: and the same discrimination may be truthfully repeated of these three tales of De Foe's. It would I think betray a shallow lack of human sympathy and imagination on De Foe's part, if he had told these stories to the reader without conveying any sense of shock. It is right that they should be as shocking as they are.

The Life of Moll Flanders[1] is the autobiography of a thief, of a middle-class woman a parish-charge and a waif, educated to be a servant, wronged by one master, married by another who dies, and then by a husband who deserts her. In her poverty she falls among pickpockets and evil and vicious companions. She is condemned to the gallows for attempting to steal two pieces of flowered silk. Through the efforts of a clergyman her sentence is commuted, she is transported to the American colonies, and here contrives to work out her salvation on land of her own with her deserting and returned husband.

Colonel Jack is the autobiography of a thief who reforms rather early in life—at the age of twenty-six—becomes a planter, then a half-hearted Jacobite and adventurer—and at last goes back again to the soil and an evangelical repentance.

The beautiful Roxana is the most considerable creature portrayed in any of De Foe's vivid narratives of vicious lives. After Roxana with her five children is deserted by her husband, a conceited brewer, she abandons the children to various hard fates with his relatives, and becomes the mistress of a jeweler who dies, leaving her a large fortune. The account of her days is first that of a triumphant progress attended by royal lovers and patrons through vice till she wearies of it; and then, in the guise of a Quaker widow, through respectability to a marriage with a rich and noble merchant. When he learns her past, he can forgive everything but her meanness to the children. This estranges him completely. He goes away from her, settling on her the merest provision for the necessities of life. After his death, she rashly ventures this in unwise speculation; loses it all;

[1] Within the last decade M. Marcel Schwob's translation of the *Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders* has been one of the most successful books of the day in France.

and is thrown for debt into the debtor's prison where she dies.

Undoubtedly in all these epic stories of human warfare, success, and defeat there are passages both dull and crass—moments when one feels that the author's habit of constant mental reference to the Nonconformist faith limits the free truth of his chronicle. Nevertheless here are epic stories of mortal struggle, moving and vital world-stories unafraid to show all the colors of truth.

In the composition of these great novels De Foe seems at the last, like the Japanese artist of Mr. La Farge's anecdotes to walk into his own painting and disappear. We have little record of the end of his days. He died of a lethargy, away from home. From a sad letter of his to a son-in-law, he appears to have been in poverty from giving up all his estate in trust for himself and his daughters to a son who deceived him. He mentions his religion, however, in this letter, with courage and hope: and it is impossible to conceive De Foe in any circumstances where he would not have found a considerable mental consolation.

One afternoon before I had ever read anything of De Foe's but *Robinson Crusoe,* I chanced to see quoted in a book some one had left lying open on a library table these words of his:

"He that hath truth on his side is a fool as well as a coward if he is afraid to own it because of the multitude of other men's opinions. 'Tis hard for a man to say all the world is mistaken but himself. But if it be so who can help it?"

What makes style? It was as though the voice of Daniel De Foe spoke from the book, as actually as the voice of my friend who now came in ready for walking. And when this chance word led me to read De Foe and his biography, these were the story of a man who would have thought himself a fool not to own the truth he knew.

He could own it by following the cause of the Duke of Monmouth through Sedgemoor and the Bloody Circuit: and in the *Essay on Projects:* and in the defiance of Parliament in the Legion Letter: he could own it by being pilloried for justice to Dissenters and Churchmen alike: and by masquerading as a Jacobite to mitigate the excesses of the Tory press: and by telling in many forms of fiction that true story

which was after all the history of his own life and will be the history of ours—the story of the soul of man in the midst of an unknown wilderness.

When Friday cuts his father's bonds, and Moll Flanders sleeps on the deck-planks of the transport, you breathe with them the wide air of the stories of peoples. You traverse the globe. You are a part of the march of events; of the state of civilization and of the responsible world of men.

Besides this fine pleasure, you feel with Crusoe and Colonel Jack and with Roxana too a quick pride in the human faculty of moving toward the light. This peculiar tone of bright and merciful curiosity and clear-thinking ingenuity throughout De Foe's work is indescribably beautiful and imparts a crystal splendor to all his life's labors. With a deep realization of the struggles, baseness, and injustice of the world, you turn away at last from the spectacle of his brave existence of ups and downs, and from the multitudinous universe his writings present as you turn away from mountain forests in the morning light—refreshed with new wonder and courage.

EDITH WYATT.

A PIONEER OF AVIATION

BY NORMAN DOUGLAS

It was an odd coincidence.

I had arrived in Naples, and was anxious to have news of the proceedings of a certain aviation meeting in the North at which a rather inexperienced friend of mine had insisted upon taking a part: the newspaper reports of daily accidents at these entertainments are enough to disquiet anybody. While admiring the prodigious achievements of modern science in this direction, I wished devoutly at that particular moment that flying had never been invented; and it was something of a coincidence, I say, that stumbling in this frame of mind down one of the unspeakable little side streets in the neighborhood of the University, my glance should have fallen upon an eighteenth-century engraving in a bookseller's window which depicted a man raised above the ground without any visible means of support—flying, in short. He was a monk, floating before an altar; a companion, near at hand, was portrayed as gazing in rapturous wonder at this feat of levitation. I stepped within and demanded the volume to which this was the frontispiece.

The salesman, a hungry-looking old fellow with incredibly dirty hands and face, began to explain:

"The Flying Monk, sir; Joseph of Copertino. A mighty saint and conjurer! Or perhaps you would like some other book? I have many, many lives of *santi* here. Look at this one of the great Egidio, for instance. I can tell you all about him, for he raised my mother's grand-uncle from the dead; yes, out of the grave, as one may say. You'll find out all about it in this book; and it's only one of his thousand miracles. And here is the biography of the renowned Giangiuseppe, a mighty saint and—"

I was paying little heed; the "flying monk" had fasci-

nated me. An unsuspected pioneer of aviation . . . here was a discovery!

"He flew?" I queried, my mind reverting to the much-vaunted triumphs of modern science.

"Why not? The only reason why people don't fly like that nowadays is because—well, sir, because they can't. They fly with machines, and think it something quite new and wonderful. And yet it's as old as the hills! There was Iscariot, for example—Icarus, I mean—"

"Pure legend, my good man."

"Everything becomes legend, if the gentleman will have the goodness to wait. And here is the biography of—"

"How much for Joseph of Copertino?" Cost what it may, I said to myself, that volume must be mine.

He took it up and began to turn over the pages lovingly, as though handling some priceless Book of Hours.

"A fine engraving," he observed, *sotto voce*. "And this is the best of many biographies of the flying monk. It is by Rossi, the Minister-General of the Franciscan Order to which our monk belonged; the official biography, it might be called—dedicated, by permission, to his Holiness Pope Clement XIII., and based on the documents which led to the Saint's beatification; altogether a most remarkable volume. . . ."

And he broke off, in eloquent aposiopesis. Then continued:

"I possess a cheaper biography of him, also with a frontispiece, by Montanari, which has the questionable advantage of being printed as recently as 1853. And here is yet another one, by Antonio Basile—oh, he has been much written about: a most celebrated *taumaturga* (conjurer)! As to this *Life* of 1767, I could not, with a good conscience, appraise it at less than five francs."

"I respect your feelings. But—five francs! I have certain scruples of my own, you know, and it irks my sense of rectitude to pay five francs for the flying monk unless you can supply me with six or seven additional books to be included in that sum. Twelve *soldi* (sous) apiece—that strikes me as the proper price of such literature; for foreigners, at least. Therefore I'll have the great Egidio as well, and Montanari's life of the flying monk, and that other one by Basile, and Giangiuseppe, and—"

"By all means! Pray take your choice."

And so it came about that, relieved of a tenuous but very sticky five-franc note, and loaded down with three biographies of the flying monk, one of Egidio, two of Giangiuseppe—I had been hopelessly swindled, but there! no man can bargain in a hurry, and my eagerness to learn something of the life of this early airman had made me oblivious of the natural values of things—and with sundry smaller volumes of similar import bulging out of my pockets, I turned in the direction of my hotel, promising myself some interesting if not exactly light reading.

But hardly had I proceeded twenty paces before the shopkeeper came running after me, with another formidable bundle under his arm. More books! An ominous symptom—the clearest demonstration of my defeat; I was a marked man, a "good" customer already; it was humiliating, after my long years' experience of the South.

And there resounded an unmistakable note of triumph in his voice as he said:

"Some more saintly biographies, sir. Read them at your leisure, and pay me what you like. You cannot help being generous: I see it in your face."

"I always try to encourage polite learning, if that is what you think to decipher in my features. But it rains *santi* this morning," I added, rather sourly.

"The gentleman is pleased to joke! May it rain *soldi* to-morrow."

"A little shower, possibly. But not a cloudburst like to-day. . . ."

Now as to the flying monk, there is no doubt whatever that he deserved his name.

He flew. Being a monk, these feats of his were naturally confined to convents and their immediate surroundings, but that does not alter the facts of the case.

Of the flights that he took in the little town of Copertino alone, more than seventy, says Father Rossi, whom I follow throughout, are on record in the depositions which were taken on oath from eye-witnesses after his death. This is one of them, for example:

"Stupendous likewise was the *ratto* (flight or rapture) which he exhibited on a night of Holy Thursday. . . . He suddenly flew toward the altar in a straight line, leaving untouched all the ornaments of that structure; and after

some time, being called back by his superior, returned flying to the spot whence he had set out."

And another:

"He flew similarly upon an olive-tree, . . . and there remained in kneeling posture for the space of half an hour. A marvelous thing it was to see the branch which sustained him swaying lightly, as though a bird had alighted upon it."

But Copertino is a remote little place in South Italy, and it may be urged that a kind of enthusiasm for their distinguished brother monk may have tempted the inmates of his convent to exaggerate his rare gifts. Nothing of the kind. He performed flights not only in Copertino, but in various large towns of Italy, such as Naples, Rome, and Assisi. And the spectators were by no means an assemblage of ignorant personages, but men whose rank and credibility would have weight in any section of society.

"While the Lord High Admiral of Castile, Ambassador of Spain at the Vatican, was passing through Assisi in the year 1645, the custodian of the convent commanded Joseph to descend from the room into the church, where the Admiral's lady was waiting for him, desirous of seeing him and speaking to him; to whom Joseph replied: 'I will obey, but I do not know whether I shall be able to speak to her.' And, as a matter of fact, hardly had he entered the church and raised his eyes to a statue . . . situated above the altar, when he threw himself into a flight in order to embrace its feet at a distance of twelve paces, passing over the heads of all the congregation; then, after remaining there some time, he flew back over them with his usual cry, and immediately returned to his cell. The Admiral was amazed his wife fainted away; and all the onlookers became piously terrified."

A similar feat was accomplished in the presence of Pope Urban VIII., who was highly astonished, and declared that "if Joseph were to die during his pontificate, he himself would bear witness to this *successo*."

But his most remarkable flights took place at Fossombrone, where once, "detaching himself in swiftest manner from the altar with a cry like thunder, he went, like lightning, gyrating hither and thither about the chapel, and with such an impetus that he made all the cells of the dormitory tremble, so that the monks, issuing thence in consternation, cried: 'An earthquake! An earthquake!'" At Fossom-

brone he reached what seems to be his outdoor record—two hours without descent to earth.

Sometimes, furthermore, he took a passenger, if such a term can properly be applied.

So once he was observed to run swiftly toward the confessor of his monastery, and, "seizing him by the hand, he raised him from the ground by supernatural force and with jubilant rapture drew him along, turning him round and round in a *violento ballo.*" At Assisi, too, there was a gentleman, a suffering invalid, whom he "snatched by the hair, and, uttering his customary cry of 'Oh!' raised himself from the earth while he drew the other after him by his hair, carrying him in this fashion for a short while through the air, to the intensest admiration of the spectators." The patient, whose name was Chevalier Baldassarre, discovered, on touching earth again, that he had been cured by this flight of the grievous mental malady which had hitherto afflicted him.

Saint Joseph of Copertino lived during the time of the Spanish Viceroys of Naples, and his notoriety spread not only over all Italy, but to France, Germany, and Poland. Among his intimates and admirers were no less than eight Cardinals, Prince Leopold of Tuscany, the Duke of Bouillon, Isabella of Austria, Duchess of Mantua, the Infanta Maria of Savoy, and the Duke of Brunswick, who, during a visit to various Courts of Europe in 1649, purposely went to Assisi to see him, and was there converted from the Lutheran heresy by the spectacle of one of his flights. Prince Casimir, heir to the throne of Poland, was his particular friend, and kept up a correspondence with him after the death of his father and his own succession to the throne.

Toward the close of his life, the Flying Monk became so famous that his superiors were obliged to shut him up in the convent of Osimo, in close confinement, for more than six years preceding his death, in order that his aerial voyages "should not be disturbed by the concourse of the vulgar." And here he expired, in his sixty-first year, on the 18th of September, 1663. He had been suffering and infirm for some little time previous to that event, but managed to take a short flight on the very day preceding his demise.

Forthwith the evidences of his miraculous deeds were collected and submitted to the inspired examination of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in Rome. Their conscientious-

ness in sifting and weighing the depositions is sufficiently attested by the fact that ninety years were allowed to elapse ere Joseph of Copertino was solemnly received into the number of the Blessed—in 1753.

Not long ago, in the late spring, the train took me along the shores of the Ionian Sea into that venerable and fertile land of Japygia, the heel of Italy, which rises in heliotrope-tinted undulations toward the Adriatic watershed. I looked out of the window; old Tarentum and its milk-white palaces were glimmering in lordly fashion across the tranquil waters; a sense of immemorial culture seemed to pervade this region of russet tilth, and olives, and golden corn.

Soon we halted at a small town, in the glowing heat of morning. Here I thought to interrupt my journey and discover how much is still known of the flying monk, who spent some years of his life in a convent on the spot. A prodigy like this, I argued, cannot be wholly forgotten.

They led me to the only monastery now in actual use. In the sacristy of its church, where I was requested to wait, a slender young priest was praying rapturously; and the clock, that stood at hand, recorded the flight of twenty minutes ere his devotions were ended. Then he arose slowly, and turned upon me a pair of large and dreamy eyes, as though awakened from another world.

This was quite a new convent, he explained; it could not possibly be the one I was seeking. But there was another one near at hand, almost a ruin, and now converted into a public asylum for a flock of poor old women; he would gladly show me the way. Was I a German?

"No," I replied; "I came from Scotland."

"A Calvinist," he remarked, without bitterness.

"A Presbyterian," I gently corrected.

"To be sure, a Presbyterian. How many names?"

As we walked along the dusty streets, I set forth the object of my visit. He had never heard of the flying monk—it was astonishing, he said. The flying monk! He would look up the subject without delay. That a Protestant should come all the way from "the other end of the world" to make inquiries about a Catholic saint of whose existence he himself was unaware, seemed not so much to surprise as positively to alarm him.

At the door of the decayed convent my guide left me, with

sundry polite expressions of esteem. I entered a spacious open courtyard; a well stood in the center of a bare middle inclosure, whereon in olden days the monks may have cultivated their fruit and vegetables; round this court there ran an arched passage, its walls adorned with frescos, now dim and faded, depicting sacred subjects. The monastery itself was a somber maze of stairways and cells and corridors—all the free spaces, including the very roof, encumbered with gleaming potteries of every size and shape, that are made somewhere near the premises.

I wandered about this sunless and cobwebby labyrinth, the old women-pensioners flitting round me like bats in the twilight. I peered into many dark closets: which of them was it—Joseph's famous blood-bespattered cell?

"He tormented his body so continuously and obstinately with pins, needles, and blades of steel, and with such effusion of blood that even now, after entire years, the walls of his cell and other places of retirement are discolored and actually incrusted with blood." Which of them was it—the chamber that witnessed these atrocious macerations? It was all so gloomy and forlorn.

Then, pushing aside a door in this shadowy underworld, I found myself suddenly bathed in dazzling light. A loggia opened here, with a view over stretches of gnarled olives, shining all silvery under the immaculate sky of noonday, and bounded by the sapphire belt of the Ionian sunshine and blue sea! Often must the monks have taken pleasure in this fair prospect; and the wiser among them, watching the laborers returning home at nightfall, the children at play, and all the happy life of a world alien to their own, may well have heaved a sigh.

Meanwhile, a crowd of citizens had assembled below, attracted by the unusual novelty of a stranger in their town. The simple creatures appeared to regard my investigations in the light of a good joke; they had heard of begging monks, and thieving monks, and monks of another variety whose characteristics nothing would induce me to set down here; but a flying monk—no, never!

"The Dark Ages," said one of them—the mayor, I dare say—with an air of grave authority. "Believe me, dear sir, the days of such fabulous monsters are over."

So they seem to be, for the present

No picture or statue records the life of this flying wonder,

this masterpiece of Spanish priestcraft; no mural tablet—in this land of commemorative stones—has been erected to perpetuate the glory of his signal achievements; no street is called after him. It is as if he had never existed. On the contrary, by a queer irony of fate, the roadway leading past his convent bears the name of a misty heathen poet, likewise native of these favored regions, a man of whom Joseph of Copertino had assuredly never heard—Ennius, who never so much as tried to fly, but contented him with singing, in rather bad Latin, of the things of this earth.

Via Ennio. . . .

It is the swing of the pendulum. The old pagan at this moment may be nearer to our ideals and aspirations than the flying monk who died only yesterday, so to speak.

But a few years hence—who knows?

NORMAN DOUGLAS.

THE RELATION OF DRAMA TO LITERATURE

BY DONALD CLIVE STUART

Sometimes in journalistic criticism one reads that a certain play has a "real literary value." The phrase causes surprise and the reader immediately wonders whether the play will succeed. He is inclined to bestow silent praise upon the manager for undertaking the dangerous attempt to present a drama of so-called literary value to the modern public; and a few weeks later, when the play is taken off, he indulges in a threnody or a philippic in regard to the decline of dramatic taste, or he may content himself with a satisfied "I told you so!"

The opinion seems to prevail that a play no longer succeeds because of its literary value, but in spite of it. If a manager suspects that a play sacrifices one iota of the action to literary or poetic beauty, he will hardly take the trouble to read it; and he doubts the success of any play which attempts to reach the audience mostly through the lines. Of course, one can assume—and many people do assume—that the modern manager is a creature endowed with the sole faculty of making money. One can indulge in futile, high-browed talk about the degeneration of the drama. One can put the blame on that precious and long-suffering scapegoat called the public—that vague, intangible mass of bad taste which the individual makes the cause of all that is wrong and of which the individual never considers himself a part. There are many ways for the modern literary Pharisee to look down upon those who believe that modern drama is a legitimate form of art. Yet in what relation does dramatic art stand to literature? In a classification of the arts ought modern drama to stand as a subhead under literature, or ought it to stand as an independent head? Ought it to be judged by literary criteria? Few

will be so daring as to claim that modern drama as a whole belongs to that field of art designated as literature. That there may be certain exceptions to this rule does not enter into the question. We are dealing with drama as a whole, not with individual plays. Are most modern plays to be held as almost worthless for the reason that, if judged by the usual canons of literary criticism, they show little if any merit?

If such a problem is propounded, the question naturally arises as to what is meant by the terms literature and drama; and the impossibility of giving satisfactory definitions of those terms must be admitted at the outset. Yet it may be assumed that all people use the word literature in about the same sense; and if it is said that *Hamlet* has both a literary and dramatic value, while Pinero's plays lack literary value, every one will understand what is meant, although every one may not admit the truth of the statement. In regard to the definition of drama, it may also be assumed that ideas are held in common by those who know anything of dramatic art, although it may be necessary to point out that drama exists only while it is being performed. Indications of dialogue and action in written or printed words are no more a play than the architect's plans are a building. Drama in book form is only potential drama. A printed play is to drama what the score is to the opera.

There are two ways in which drama reaches the audience: by speaking to the ear and by speaking to the eye—to use a phrase borrowed from Aristotle. The result is that there are practically two kinds of drama, according to the method employed to represent the story. There is that kind which, in spite of the pleonasm, may be called the drama of action, in contradistinction to the drama of literature. By the latter is meant the drama which gets over the footlights and interests the audience by the strength and beauty of its lines. On the other hand, the drama of action, while it uses dialogue, speaks more to the eye than to the ear in its most dramatic moments and uses action and stage pictures to get the story over the footlights. Most modern drama is of this kind, and whether one approves or not, modern plays are therefore almost devoid of literary interest.

This procedure is by no means entirely a modern development. Aristotle advocated speaking to the eye, and Horace goes a step farther when he says:

> "What we hear
> With weaker passion will affect the heart,
> Than when the faithful eye beholds the part."

Yet the very fact that Horace and Aristotle warned dramatists not to speak to the ear alone, is evidence that, from the beginning, authors of plays have been in danger of forgetting that they must be dramatists primarily—not poets or novelists. It can almost be said that there has been a conflict in drama between action and literary value, and a survey of the history of dramatic art will show sometimes the former and sometimes the latter element prevailing.

In regard to Greek drama, it is difficult to visualize a performance so as to be able to decide how much of the interest was aroused by the lines and how much by the action. The theater and the audience were enormous in comparison with those of the present day; and yet the acoustics were so marvelous that probably all the spectators could hear. The audience could easily follow the story because it was not only familiar with the plot, but also the drama was dear to the heart of the spectator, for it was a part of his religion. Yet under these ideal conditions, how many in this tremendous audience, made up of people from all walks of life, appreciated to any great extent the poetic beauty and strength of the lines, and how many were interested mostly by the mimetic portrayal of the story? How many in that audience caught the full power of the choral odes? Some of them did, no doubt. But did the majority, did the groundlings—to use an anachronism—admire them as do modern classical scholars? In other words, how far did the lines make Greek tragedy a success?

The same question might well be asked in regard to the plays of Shakespeare. If the majority of the Athenian audience caught the full poetic and literary beauty of the lines, it was beyond a doubt the most wonderful audience that ever existed; and one is repeatedly assured by Greek scholars that such was the case. Historians have also held that the Elizabethan audience was of a mental caliber superior to that of our modern audiences; but it is difficult to believe that theatrical audiences have so degenerated, although it is always the fashion for each generation to bemoan the decadence of drama.

A well-known student of Greek drama said that it took him months to read a Greek play, and complete understand-

ing of it came only after years of study. Making all due allowance for the fact that this scholar is not an ancient Greek, his statement is strong evidence that Greek plays contained literary beauties which never reached the audience. One has no right to demand that a spectator study the lines of a play before or after the performance. The appeal must be not only direct and instantaneous, but it must contain an element of surprise. One must not know what is going to happen lest one might lose the full effect of that painful pleasure of dramatic suspense. One must not anticipate one line or action. That is incontestibly the rule of the drama of action and therein lies the power of dramatic art. When a drama is so written as to demand study in book form, one may feel reasonably sure that the spectator catches the appeal of the action and misses much of the literary value. That is probably what happened to the Athenian in the theater and there lies the weakness of such drama.

In the Middle Ages is found a pure drama of action unhampered by literary traditions. It is drama in a primitive form and hence speaks to the eyes. The plays are full of action. Stage directions occur in the earliest plays which have come down to us, and sometimes they occupy more of the page than the lines themselves. This leaves no doubt as to the importance placed upon the action. The *Miracles de Notre Dame*—the most dramatic plays of the Middle Ages—are filled with action, and their appeal must have been to the eyes more than to the ears. The outdoor theater had made that necessary. No one will deny that the mystery plays, with their careful and elaborate scenery, their shockingly real realism, were arousing interest as drama of action. Their literary value is very low even in comparison with the contemporary forms of literature; but, like the Passion Play at Oberammergau, they held the attention, not by their lines, but by the action.

It is the men of the Renaissance who begin to impose literary standards upon the drama. The French dramatists of the second half of the sixteenth century thought they were building plays according to the precepts of Horace and Aristotle; but in reality it was the pernicious, undramatic influence of Seneca which was being brought to bear on them, with the result that they produced, not living dramas, but very cold, lifeless elegies in five acts. These so-called

dramatists had just enough influence, together with the influence of social conditions, to bring drama under the domination of literature. All action, which had been before the eyes of the spectator, is banished from the stage when the rules of classicism are accepted. The messenger takes the place of the action, and the audience is merely told what is happening. The appeal is made no longer through the eyes, but through the ears. The lines become all-important, and in spite of their charm and power one often feels —as Hugo so aptly expressed it—that the most interesting part of the play is going on behind the scenes.

As soon as this literary drama was established, the question arose as to the relative value of words and action; and perhaps the earliest statement of it was made by d'Aubignac in 1657. A seventeenth-century English translation of the passage from his *Pratique du théâtre* reads as follows:

"For there is no small difficulty to judge of the success of a play by the reading of it alone; for very often those plays which read worst are the best when they come to be represented; and on the contrary, likewise, those which seem admirable to the reader are often very defective on the stage, and the reason of this is the difference between conceiving an action as you read and seeing the same thing represented to your eyes. Things fine to say are not always so to see; and the pleasure of reading makes some things agreeable which the vehemency of action makes otherwise; as likewise some that appear weak in reading are strengthened by action."

D'Aubignac does not state the question completely; but he points out, at a remarkably early date, the fact that we have no right to judge and even cannot judge a play by reading it alone. Yet this lesson has yet to be learned by a large class of critics who still insist upon writing dramatic criticism from a literary view-point.

The English critic, Rymer, in 1693, makes a decided advance in the theory that lines are sometimes to be sacrificed to action when he says, in his *Short View of Tragedy,* in regard to Shakespeare: "Many, peradventure, of the tragical scenes in Shakespeare, cry'd up for the action, might do yet better without words. Words are a sort of heavy baggage that were better out of the way at the push of action, especially in his bombast circumstance, where the words and action are seldom akin, generally are inconsistent, at cross purposes, embarrass, or destroy each other." Asking why the famous scene between Othello and Iago

has raised *Othello* above all other tragedies, he says that it is purely on account of the action and that such scenes as this " have made all the world run after Harlequin and Scaramuccio." In other words, such scenes have brought forth modern drama in its present form in which pantomime plays such an important part.

Returning to France, we find Voltaire advocating more action in order to try to save the moribund classical literary tragedy of the eighteenth century. He used the significant phrase " the great art of silence." He called attention to the possibility of representing certain feelings by one word, by an attitude, by a cry escaping at one's grief, by a silence. All that is very modern. Yet he never went so far as to allow the element of action to infringe upon the lines, which is by no means a modern attitude toward drama; and in protecting the literary element at the expense of the action he was trying to break down the very foundations of modern drama. He is explicit and unswerving in his view-point and even bemoans the fact that he has hastened the decadence of literary tragedy by introducing action, for, he says, " A monologue written by Racine is superior to all theatrical actions." Those who have a poetical or literary turn of mind will agree with Voltaire, but the modern dramatist will certainly not let that statement go unquestioned. For example, at the beginning of the second act of Racine's *Britannicus* Nero describes how Junie was abducted and brought to his palace at his command. A helpless woman, surrounded by brutal soldiers, she subdued the brutal emperor by her timid innocence, and with her eyes glistening with tears, in the light of the flickering torches she passed unharmed from his presence. The harmonious Alexandrine lines, such expressions as " I loved even her tears which I had caused to flow " long remain in one's memory. Yet in a modern play this poetry would have been turned into stage directions, and, instead of being described at the beginning of the second act, the scene would have been acted at the end of the first act, possibly without one word being spoken. Who will claim that the modern play would be weaker if thus constructed? Is the modern audience to be criticized because it wishes to see the action instead of hearing it described, even though that description is written by Racine?

Such questions, although they constantly recur, were an-

swered by Diderot even in Voltaire's lifetime when he set forth the theory that dialogue and poetic or literary beauty must be sacrificed to action. Diderot believed firmly that acting is a vital part of the drama and that the success and even the merit of a play depend upon the manner in which it is put upon the stage. He carried his theory so far as "to close his ears to listen to a play"; and if the play got over the footlights to him without the aid of dialogue he put his stamp of approval on it. One can easily imagine the pleasure he would have taken in a moving-picture show. In his letter to Voltaire describing the stirring acting of Mlle. Clairon in *Tancrède,* when for the first time on the classical French stage an actress wore flowing robes, instead of a hoopskirt, and allowed her hair to become disheveled, he tells how she aroused him to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by her silent acting, and he adds, significantly: "Silence and pantomime have sometimes a pathos that all the resources of speech can never approach." He insisted upon the powerful effect of exact scenery and the artistic grouping of actors, and he pointed out that there are whole scenes in which it is infinitely more natural for characters to move than to speak.

Such a theory does not logically reduce drama to pantomime, nor does it claim that the best drama is pantomime; but it simply means that when silence is more dramatic speeches must not spoil it, although they may be as fine as Hamlet's soliloquy. If Voltaire heard such heresy, he would say once more with his smile that withers, "It is easier to put assassinations on the stage than to write fine lines." Yet it is not easy to indicate action which will vividly and powerfully tell the story. It is always the temptation of the dramatist to explain everything by lines, to talk through his characters, to let his poetic muse soar as high as possible. It takes much self-control for a dramatist to impose silence when the action demands it, or to write one sentence or one word instead of a long speech. The modern audience does not want explanation of what it sees. It prefers to draw its own conclusions and to make its own commentaries. Like one listening to music, it prefers emotion to clearly defined thought.

The Romantic drama of the early nineteenth century in France is a combination of the drama of literature and the drama of action. Victor Hugo brought the action from

behind the scenes and placed it on the stage in full view of the audience. His dialogue was in verse because he was a poet at heart and because he did not wish to have this new kind of a play classed with the contemporary cheap prose melodrama. Yet Hugo was vigorously opposed because he insisted upon a concrete, more commonplace vocabulary in place of the abstract, poetic vocabulary of the classical drama. That the classicists' conception of poetry may have been wrong does not enter into the question. They were fighting for a principle—for literary drama against drama of action.

The play *Hernani,* about which the storm and battle raged, contains excellent examples of these two kinds of drama. In the fourth act when Don Carlos is standing before the tomb of Charlemagne he bursts forth in a poetical speech analyzing his emotions. It is a long monologue, but it is dramatic poetry far above the ordinary. The action of the play is at a standstill, and practically the whole speech could be cut without harming the action in any respect. On the other hand, the moment of intense dramatic surprise, suspense, and interest is caused, not by a speech, but by the far-away sound of a hunting-horn which brings the message that young Hernani must commit suicide at that very moment—on his wedding night. When this play is produced at the Comédie Française there is always a burst of warm applause at the end of the monologue of Don Carlos, while at the sound of the horn a movement of emotion and an indistinct murmur sweep over the whole theater. There is no doubt as to which scene is the more powerful, the more enjoyed by the audience. It is quite possible that in the latter scene Hugo might have written a wonderful passage, full of poetry and keen psychology, describing the sound of the horn and its meaning to Hernani and his bride; but Hugo was too much of a dramatist to make this mistake. While we may have lost a strong piece of literature, we have kept a powerful dramatic moment. The real lover of drama has no regrets, and even the most sophisticated will hardly call this a cheap theatrical trick.

Thus dramatists learned to depend upon the action and to speak to the eye primarily, not to the ear. It ceased to be necessary for the builders of plays to have either poetic or literary talent when it was realized that actions speak louder than words. The climax of the drama, the so-called

" big scene " became one of true dramatic interest in which the lines play a secondary part. The " situation " was presented by action and literary interest was sacrificed. Once again the lesson has been learned that drama is inherently action.

Another force has been at work making it impossible for modern drama to enter into that category of art expressed by the nebulous term literature. It is the realistic movement in art. In a modified way all art is an exaggeration or an intensifying of contemporary reality, but drama aims to reproduce the idea of reality more faithfully than any other form of art. If one wishes to know the subject and spirit of the plays of any generation, he has only to discover what that generation considered *real* in its society and life. Thus the drama of the seventeenth century in France was distinctly poetical and literary; and with its long monologues, psychological discussions, and its over-refinement it corresponded to the social conditions and to the contemporary conception of reality. The audience was made up of people who indulged in similar poetical verbiage and long psychological discussions in the *salons*. Racine's plays, for that reason, seemed perfectly real to the audience; and because our manners and our conception of reality have changed, such drama seems distinctly unreal to us and is impossible at the present time. The early nineteenth century was imaginative, lyric, poetical. It was the age of young dreamers. Hernani, René, and Werther are unreal to our cold, practical generation. Their poetic phraseology would seem unnatural to the modern audience. It did not sound strange to the Elizabethan audience to hear a man say to the woman he loved, as he took leave of her:

> "It was the lark, the herald of the morn,
> No nightingale: look, love, what envious streaks
> Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east,
> Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
> Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain-top."

If a modern dramatist could put such lines in a modern play the audience would hardly understand them. It is very difficult to imagine an actor giving such a speech when representing a man in a sack suit about to climb down the fire-escape of a New York flat. In an age of realism, the most real of all arts cannot contain dialogue much above the conversation of every-day life.

It is true, however, that a drama whose scene is laid far away either in space or time may contain a more poetical and literary element. The glamour of distance allows Romeo to speak in the soft cadence of verse; but Pinero's heroes must be unpoetically real. Yet the place of poetic drama has been almost entirely usurped by modern opera. In this form of art also there is a change taking place parallel to the change of the drama of literature into the drama of action. Music is no longer allowed to interfere with the action in opera, just as words are no longer allowed to interfere with the action in drama. The aria no longer holds back the climax. A comparison of *Tristan und Isolde* with *Pélléas et Mélisande* shows in a remarkable way how the musical element is subordinated to the action in the newer opera. Indeed, the development of opera is so strikingly parallel to the development of drama that the one seems to justify the other.

In modern opera, with the possible exception of Wagner—who is no longer very modern—there are practically no passages worthy of orchestral rendition alone. If the scenery, the lines, the action, are taken away, and if left to depend on music alone, modern opera falls to the ground. So in modern drama there are few passages worth reading or worthy of being published or which will find a place in future anthologies of literature. Very often the remark is made that opera is a low form of music; and it might be said that drama is a low form of literature. Ought one to continue invidious comparisons and say that scene-painting and construction are a low form of plastic art? Much is out of proportion and must be out of proportion in order to produce the right effect. The scene-builder deliberately violates the rules of plastic art in order not to produce an absurd picture. Therefore one has no right to judge his work by the common criteria of painting and architecture. It makes no difference whether scene-painting is a high or low form of art, provided it serves its purpose. Thus it makes no difference whether opera is a high or low form of music, provided it serves its purpose of representing dramatic action with a musical accompaniment.

It is possible that we are applying the wrong standards of criticism to opera in subjecting it to purely musical standards; and in the classification of the arts it may well stand as a sub-head under drama and hence it should be

judged by slightly modified dramatic standards. To say that opera is a low form of music is as pointless as saying that a derby hat is a low form of architectural art. It is just as pointless to say that drama is a low form of literature. A play may or may not have a literary value without affecting its value as a drama. If it has a literary value without harming the construction, the play has an added charm; but it does not follow that a play should be criticized for being without a literary element, any more than it should be criticized for being without a musical accompaniment. One has no right to pass final judgment on drama from literary standards; and in all justice modern drama cannot stand in a classification of the arts as a sub-head under literature, but must stand alone as an independent head.

It seems very obvious to say that drama should be judged by standards of dramatic criticism alone; but the trouble is that the theory is not put in practice, and future generations may criticize our drama as we criticize the drama of the past—in book form and almost entirely from a literary view-point. In this way the future critic may do gross injustice to many good plays of the present, as we do injustice to many plays of the past which are now noted merely in foot-notes of histories of literature because they are not "literature," although they contain well-handled dramatic situations. It is easy to imagine the future literary historian of dramatic art passing by the scene in Pinero's *Iris,* in which the nervous fingers of a woman dropping a check-book into a valise dramatically portray in silence her moral ruin; and we can hear the future critic quoting Chantecler's *Ode to the Sun* as a fine bit of drama when, as a matter of fact, it is lyric poetry. The literary critic, who is so modest in regard to his views on painting and music, rarely hesitates to discuss drama. In most colleges the study of the drama is included in courses on literature, conducted by men who have little taste for the theater and who solemnly expound the beauties and faults of plays they never saw acted. It is not at all strange, under such conditions, that very few even of the educated class realize that drama is an art by itself; and that instead of being a simple, obvious form of art, it is one which requires the delicate touch of many skilful, understanding hands before it can fulfil its lofty purpose.

Donald Clive Stuart.

THE MAN IN THE MOON*

BY THE EDITOR

THE wise men who gaze through lenses tell us that the glorious orb of night that serves as our faithful attendant while we go whirling through space is bleak and uninhabitable, destitute of animal or vegetable life, devoid even of atmosphere and illumined by light which, being reflected, is not her own. But we know better. Were we not taught in childhood that she rules the ebb and flow of the tides, that when she waxes full and splendid is the time to plant seeds and trim the children's hair, and that when she wanes we should cut the alders and the spruce to prevent sprouting and to wither the roots? So at any rate the farmers have insisted from time immemorial and still believe; and who shall say that they, whose business it is to know, are less accurately informed than those whose sole occupation it is to take and record mere bespectacled observations? The enlightened and experienced sailors, too—have not they always changed their course or shortened sail to conform to the legends derived from the fancies of their awestruck craft? Who can prove that thousands of human lives have not been saved by religious heed of sagacious teachings ignobly termed mere superstitions?

True indeed it is that the painstaking John Heywood, in his *Proverbs* derived from the earliest colloquial sayings of the English, declared the common understanding that the moon is made of green cheese, but we never really believed that. Nor were we convinced in even our earliest years that the cow jumped over it or that every dog that bayed at it was mad. Our own veracious historian, Diedrich Knickerbocker, too, contemptuously repudiated the theory of the Pauraniacs of Indiana that the so-called eclipses are at-

*Address to the Washington and Jefferson Literary Societies of the University of Virginia.

tributable to the rude and unconscionable swallowing of the sweet regent of the night by some great dragon whom nobody has ever seen.

When quite recently the dainty Japanese maiden sang in the opera, "We're very much alike, the moon and I," the ready inference was that the learned Gilbert had discovered a lady in the otherwise placid orb; and so indeed it may be, since we never perceive her other side. But we insist upon no such imagining. We declare only what we were taught while in the cradle and what we see with our own eyes. We claim to know only the Man in the Moon whose verity is positive because apparent and whose disowning would be shameful in view of his constancy and friendliness. It may be that his eyes are craters, his mouth a cavern and his nose a mountain; we care not. His countenance is none the less expressive and alert with variation. His body quite likely went down the throat of the dragon, but his mind we know is still there, because its illumined mirror constantly confronts our vision.

Would that we could rend the veil that hides the thought behind that beaming face! From it we might derive much useful suggestion to help us on our way. For he is very wise, the Man in the Moon. He must be. Old certainly as the hills from which he is made, unwavering in his watching, owl-like in his intentness, ever calm and clearly patient, how vast must be his store of philosophy, how deep and penetrating the crux of his æons of shrewd and kindly observation! What, mayhap, does he think of us now—of us of America, free and full of life, as we are, in a land flowing with milk and honey, yet restless and discontented from our own complainings and grumbling the day and night through at one another. I saw him the other evening, in all his majesty and glory, rise into view from behind the ocean, and at first I thought he was laughing; but scrutinizing more closely, I perceived that he was only smiling, smiling with eyes as well as mouth, not as if he were in the least contemptuous or disdainful, but quietly diverted by a sense of calm amusement, not unmixed with kindly forbearance and the sweet reasonableness which we associate with gentle and placid natures. And I wondered why.

Can it be possible that the thoughtful Man in the Moon suspects that temporarily we have lost the true perspective which has ever been characteristic of our race and the basis

of our advancement, and that, in consequence, we tend to magnify our ills while simultaneously we minimize or even ignore our blessings? Let us try to put ourselves in his place and gaze upon ourselves from afar, with vision undimmed by contiguity and unimpaired by selfish consideration. What have we lost that we once had that may be considered essential to the welfare of a nation and the happiness of a people? Our priceless heritage is the right of self-government. Our most valued attribute is the ability to exercise that authority over ourselves not merely to our own common advantage, but also as an example for all mankind. Has the title been vitiated or the capacity impaired? Seemingly not. The government at Washington still lives. But recently a complete change, involving, after many years, the restoration to power in large measure of this great section, has been effected without causing a ripple of apprehension. Surely it is a fact of mighty significance that, while centuries elapsed before Scotland could attain her former dominance in Britain, the South resumes virtual control of the United States after barely fifty years without evoking from the most rabid partisan so much as a suspicion of the patriotism or fidelity of any one of her statesmen. On the contrary, it is universally recognized that their installation signalized a revivification of the Constitution which their fathers conceived and established as the bulwark of human liberties. Freedom of worship of God and freedom of schools for succeeding generations are inviolate still. Poverty is rare. Physical suffering that could possibly be alleviated by action of the state is not observable. Never before in the history of the world has so great a nation as our nation been so signally blessed with respect to all things that subserve the happiness, the contentment, and the opportunity of its citizens. And yet it is true that for the time the business of a mighty commercial country is, in a comparative sense, at a standstill, development of natural resources has practically ceased, essential confidence among groups or classes is seriously impaired, and the very air is laden with apprehension of startling and grievous happenings.

Why? What are the bases of these strange forebodings? About what conceptions, real or imaginary, gather the clouds of distrust and anxiety? The tangible fears may be summarized briefly as follows:

(1) Apprehension of war.
(2) Oppression of the poor by the rich.
(3) The tariff and the trusts.
(4) Common extravagance.
(5) The disestablishment of credit.
(6) Effects of popular agitation.

A notable array, surely! One, too, if founded upon reality, sufficient to give rise to solicitude. But is there anything that is new or strange to our country or to any country from the beginning of history? Take the causes of disquietude as enumerated.

(1) Apprehension of war.

Herein we find nothing unprecedented. We have had not only anticipations of wars, but wars themselves, from the day when the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. The Republic was born of strife and was christened in the ashes of conflict. Itself was welded together as a Nation by the most interneciary struggle the world has ever beheld. But a few years ago a once great foreign Power made itself the laughing-stock of the world by testing its decayed prowess against this Titan among nations. What ensued? Only a tightening of the bonds of unity; only a quickening and strengthening of patriotic impulse. The wheels of progress were never clogged, hardly impeded. Why, then, borrow trouble now? Is the Nation less able to withstand the impact of a blow to-day than at any time since it sprang into being? And what are the tokens of danger? Universally, war with Great Britain is regarded as impossible, with France as a negligible consideration, with Germany, a sane and practical commonwealth, as an idle fancy, with Russia as a contingency too remote even for use in fiction.

Remains Japan. At regular intervals fervid imaginations conjure up the specter of the East. But thoughtful minds inquire: What could our neighbor hope to gain from a success which, at best, could be but temporary? Prestige? Glory? These she has, if not in abundance, at least in adequacy. Additional territory or material possessions which she could not hope to retain? Then the Japanese are fools. Have they indicated as much? Rather have they not demonstrated by every word and deed a capacity of judgment, even of forbearance, such as would reflect credit upon the most sober of Anglo-Saxons? Wanton assaults are not often adventured by the less strong upon

the obviously unconquerable unless they be insane. And Japan is not a madhouse. Nor are Japan's statesmen unaware of the fact that the chief hope of every European nation is to find an opportunity to become an ally of the United States. They know full well, though some of our own amateur alarmists may not, that Britain, of all Powers, would never open such a door to dreaded Germany by lending aid to a declared foe of America. War itself, when forced upon us, we have always been able to engage in and emerge from without discredit. Apprehension of war at a time like this, when civilization is moving steadily toward establishment of peace throughout the world, is no more than an anachronistic bugaboo. So long as the Union continues to be a union in fact as well as in name, and maintains its traditional policy of non-interference in the affairs of others, it will be immune to plagues from without. Our real perils are only those which spring from within.

(2) Oppression of the poor by the rich
(3) The tariff and the trusts.

The two, in the public mind, are intertwined, and should be. There is no direct oppression of the poor by the rich. For the first time in the progress of civilization this can be said with truth. History from the beginning of governments to the beginning of the Republic is a seamy record of tyranny of the strong, the rich, the powerful. To this day, in nearly all lands except our own, real dominance is exercised openly by a class. In Russia autocracy still rules; in Germany monarchy " bequeathed by God " still has the final word; in Italy, the nobility; in England, the aristocracy; in Spain, but yesterday, the Church; even in France, clearly a class, the Socialists, hold the balance of power. Here we find no such ascendancy. The individual is still his own master at the polls and in his home. Serfdom is no more. Personal service is not synonymous with political servitude. Ours is still the land of the free; and whatever differences exist respecting the powers of government relate to popular suffrage and the elimination of sex qualification. Neither project involves revolution. Each seeks consideration upon the ground of policy, despite the insistence, in the second instance, of inherent right. Could the Fathers have been assured of so happy a condition among ninety millions of people, can we doubt that they would have felt far more

confident than they did feel that the foundations they were laying with such care and foresight as were within their power to exercise would prove indeed everlasting? Assuredly there is no visible breach in the wall of government of and by the people.

But we are told that a privileged class has grown up under the rose, that mere wealth wields undue influence in legislation, that the few fatten upon the many, that monopoly safe-guarded by law holds individualism in check, that excessive tariffs no longer tend to develop industries, but are become no more or less than evasive taxes, that obnoxious and detrimental Trusts thrive upon advantages thereby obtained. Undoubtedly, to a great extent, these evils did exist, but are they not now being eliminated, by decree of the people, in lawful and orderly manner, without undue confusion or complainings? Moreover, in the light of history, was it not inevitable that a period of amazing development should be dappled by such accompaniments? All great forward movements have been attended by corresponding ills. But because a child has the measles the parent does not kill the child. He seeks to eradicate the disease by the use of remedies suggested by others more experienced than himself, in whose fidelity and judgment he reposes faith. But in him, the parent, lies the authority and responsibility of discriminating between the physician and the quack.

So it is with the American people to-day. As we have seen, they still have the power. Theirs also is the responsibility. Are signs visible that they are evading it? Rather the reverse. Neither of the great political parties is fully unified in proposing remedies. One apparently is rent in twain. But in that fact lies no cause of alarm. The true significance is to the highest degree encouraging. That great problems cannot be resolved in a day, a month, or a year is a patent truth that demands recognition. But vastly more important is the certainty that, in this country, they cannot be resolved at all except through the application of the best intelligence of all the people. Hence the hopefulness in the obvious awakening of minds throughout the land; and, surely, when we consider further that independence and fairness of judgment are the offspring, if not, indeed, essential concomitants, of intelligence, we can find in this arousal no cause of misgiving; rather, springs of hope and faith in all that pertains to progress and civilization.

(4) Common extravagance.

Profligacy caused the downfall of the Roman Empire. Prudence builded England. And we of America are of Angle, not of Latin, stock. By inheritance, then, we are provident as well as thrifty. Our ancestors surely were. To their minds waste was a crime. Frugality was a cardinal principle of their living, but not from choice; from necessity. Had they possessed the means of providing comforts for their families such as now exist, is there reason to doubt that those resources would have been utilized, and to advantage? Moreover, is it not a fact that the luxuries of one epoch become positive requirements of another? Money expended in safeguarding health and strengthening the body is not wasted. Good roads constitute investment, not dissipation. The telephone is not a worthless toy. The motor-car is more than a mere vehicle of pleasure. Both are savers of time and doers of labor. Each, too, serves a highly desirable purpose in facilitating that intercourse among individuals which tends to strengthen a community by gratifying gregarious instincts.

(5) The disestablishment of credit.

Here we find the most obvious cause of prevailing depression. The link that connects Labor with Capital is not broken, but we may not deny that it is less cohesive than it should be or than conditions warrant. Financially, the country is stronger than ever before in its history. Recovery from a panic so severe as that of six years ago was never before so prompt and comparatively complete. The masses are practically free from debt. Money is held by the banks in abundance and rates are low. And our currency is sound as gold because gold is its basis.

Why, then, does Capital pause upon the threshold of investment? The answer is plain. It awaits adjustment of the relations of government to business. That was inevitable. Economic laws are stronger than ordinary statutes and are affected little by executive mandate. Adjustment of the complicated relationship of manufacturing industries to reduced tariff duties cannot be made in a week or, sometimes, in a year. Nor can it be wrought out successfully by fine-spun theory. Practical experience, covering sufficient time to determine the new relative positions of supply and demand, affords the only possible solution. The enactment

of a tariff measure such as that now pending necessarily involves a certain period of industrial depression as a consequence of the inevitable uncertainty of experimentation. It is idle to maintain the contrary and it is equally short-sighted on the part of those in authority to hold out hopes that must, in the light of all experience, prove to be false and consequently disappointing. Far better to be frank with the people and rely upon their good judgment to recognize that so serious an operation, however essential to ultimate health and prosperity, cannot be performed without allowance of time for resuscitation. That is the true and sure way to put into effect a needed reform when merely acting for the best interests of intelligent communities in response to their own command. The time has passed when a political party can succeed through misguidance. It must confide in the common intelligence and must rely upon the common patriotism and the common sense to justify the payment of the comparatively small price requisite to the achievement of a great economic correction. If security lies not that way, fidelity is without shelter and popular government is a failure. And this, we must and do believe, is not the truth.

The one overpowering problem of to-day consists of determining how government can maintain an even balance between aggregations of interests, on the one hand, and the whole people, on the other, protecting the latter against extortion and saving the former from mad assaults.

The solution is not easy to find, for the simple reason that the situation is without precedent. But is not progress being made along sane and cautious lines? But a few years ago the country seemed to be upon the verge of a veritable obsession for government ownership. One political party officially advocated the purchase of coal-mines by the nation. Another demanded that cities acquire all public utilities.

Not so now! Acquaintance with the experience of other countries and reflection upon conditions within our own have convinced a great majority of citizens that while government should and must regulate, it should not and must not own and manage; that while the corporation must not be permitted to dominate and use the state, the state itself must not impair efficiency by possessing the corporation. This I believe to be the crux of American sentiment to-day. It only remains to effect such regulation by law, by fixed and definite

rule, instead of by officials holding the power of favor and discrimination.

Surely no menace to property or to human rights lies in the striving for such a solution. Both will be safeguarded by its certain finding.

(6) Effects of popular agitation.

There have been demagogues always—demagogues in politics, demagogues in literature, even in the arts and sciences. And there has been and ever will and should be clamor. But is there more than common to-day? Contrast the situation with that of recent years. How long is it since the country was infested with tramps, since an army of malcontents marched under the red banner from Ohio to Washington, since baneful strikes prevailed in industrial centers, since railways were tied up, property was being destroyed and homes rendered desolate, since ghastly religious intolerance portended the clash of arms, since even the specter of polygamy threatened the peace of the nation?

To appreciate our blessings of the present, we must recall the perils of the past. And is it not a fact that those which seemed at the time most ominous have disappeared like mists from the face of the sea? Already profit-sharing, through stock ownership, bids fair to identify the interests of labor and capital and solve the problem that has vexed all industrial countries for ages. Demagogues in public office no longer derive political advantage from permitting riot to supplant order. Incendiary talk has subsided without impairing freedom of speech. Polygamy is a relic of the past. Slowly but surely all Christianizing influences are coming to unite in common endeavor.

Agitation we still have, but it is agitation of another sort. Turbulent Kansas is no longer a hotbed of ignorant and blatant populism, but has become the seat of intelligent insurgency. Throughout the entire West unreasoning clamor has been superseded by enlightened resolution. And the splendid Southland has already risen, like Phœnix, from the ashes of despair to the heights of peace and prosperity. Never in the history of the Republic has there been a time when so few vapors clouded the skies. May we not, then, with reason, anticipate fair weather?

Shortly before he died Professor Sumner, the famous educator and great philosopher of Yale, predicted the downfall

of the Republic before the year 1950. Such a prophecy from such a source cannot pass unheeded. But it is not new. Macaulay and Carlyle had like anticipations. Theirs, moreover, formed at a time when the nation seemed likely to break in twain, possessed a semblance of reality springing from accurate perception. Can we say the like of Sumner's? Is there not, indeed, at least equal warrant for John Fiske's expressed belief that sooner than we can imagine the United States will "stretch from pole to pole" and ultimately realize the poet's vision of "a parliament of men and the federation of the world." And if so, how much wider immediately becomes our horizon, how much more vital our acts, how much greater our responsibility! Patriotism assumes a new form. It goes beyond fealty to state or even nation; it becomes an obligation to Christendom, an incentive to the service of all humanity. If it be true, as it surely is, that the strength of purposeful narrowness began to fade under the illuminating rays of forbearance with the inauguration of a new era in this country, then clearly the supplanting force is one to be cherished, not only in our relations with other peoples, but among ourselves. No argument need be made to prove that solidarity is a first requisite of national influence. The indissoluble union finally established by force of arms affords living evidence of America's definite and irrevocable recognition of the statement as a fact.

But it is not a mere political Union that is essential to this solidarity before the world. There must be a Union of purpose, a Union of ideals, a Union of hearts, if the highest and noblest aspirations are to be realized. And this can be effected only through the exercise of the power of Tolerance, not for its own sake alone, but for the higher and finer aspiration to which it tends! Do you know that there is only one quality that distinguishes Christianity from a score of other religions? Other religions require faith of one kind or another; other religions inspire hope; but Christianity puts the seal of its supreme approval upon Charity, greater than either—not the charity of giving, but of forbearance, of tolerance, of the brotherhood of man! Here is the foundation, the very cornerstone, of all of our ideals. Ignore it and you drown in the sea of confusion. Despise it and you adopt distrust of all things, human and divine. Forsake it and you bury conscience and love and all of the sweetness of life. Refuse to see it and a cloud sweeps across

your vision and hides in darkness the sun of inspiration to do for others what you would have them to do for you and those you love. You may not understand, but you *may* believe that:

> "What to thee is shadow, to Him is day,
> And the end He knoweth;
> And not in a blind and aimless way
> The spirit goeth."

The spirit; yes, the spirit of forbearance that goeth to make the world akin by inducing God's children, if not to love, at least to be patient with, one another.

Far be it from me, while standing in the shadow of Monticello, to decry the insight of Rousseau which gave to Kant the principle of a new philosophy and to Thomas Jefferson his vivid inspiration. The rejection of unjust limitations of the natural man is as essential now as when it was engrafted upon our Constitution by the great sage who sleeps yonder. But advancing civilization constantly demands wider vision. Ours is a reading rather than a seeing century. The general movement of thought has recently taken an idealistic direction, and that is well; but true philosophy teaches us the futility of attempting to pluck the fruit of knowledge before it is ripe. Hence the need of infinite labor and patience, the sympathetic appreciation of the opposing opinions of others and the unsparing criticism of our own. These are the essentials of full realization. Hegel knew this and strove nobly to work out in speculative thought what Christianity had already expressed for the ordinary consciousness. So let our philosophy be the philosophy of reconciliation, to the end that our sons and grandsons may ever realize the splendor of their heritage in mere privilege to live and grow and spread their wings in this most blessed of the nations which God has set up on His footstool.

Our own duty is luminous as day. Hold fast to all things that have proven true, but strive incessantly with wide eyes and open minds for the best and finest that is within our natures to achieve. Faith? Yes. It is the foundation of Christianity. Tolerance? Yes. It is the cornerstone of civilization. And finally patriotism. I wonder sometimes if we quite grasp the full significance of what happened last year. Men were chosen to fill places of highest authority—new men standing for what? For new ideas? For new thought? So they declare and so they believe. But I say

to you that the names upon the ballots signified little and the aspiration they personified was as old as the Republic itself. The real triumph was Thomas Jefferson's. His was the mind that evolved the principle of faith in the whole people, and it is to that principle that we returned. The rescue of public authority from an oligarchy and its reincarnation in the freemen of America is the glory of our present day. How trifling seem our petty ills in the face of that mighty fact! And how can you who live here and breathe the spirit of the founder of true Democracy fail to be thrilled in every fibre of your being by the swinging back of the national pendulum to government not of nor for but by the people!

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE INSPIRERS OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

To the discussion of any topic which involves conflicting evidence we should bring, not only a critical, but a judicial mind and must cultivate a sense of proportion toward the relative value of the proofs submitted. Suppose, for example, that a great painter recounts in his memoirs that his model was the wife of a certain Gioconda, a carpenter. Subsequently the masterpiece is stolen and the thief writes its history, telling us, perhaps, that it is the portrait of Vittoria Colonna. Would the public exclaim, "We must believe him for he *had* the picture"? Surely not. Yet similar evidence is used by the "Herbertists" in their controversy over "Who inspired Shakespeare's Sonnets?"

Now unless we are obstinate in wishing to completely exclude one, and uphold the other, of the Herbert or Southampton theories, the two need not necessarily conflict, though the only documents legally "good" as evidence support the older tradition, which ascribes to the third Earl of Southampton the original rôle of that fair youth, prototype of Adonis, and subject of the early sonnets.

These documents are the two poems, the only literature published with the known consent of their author, respectively, in 1593 and 1594, by an editor named Field, native of Stratford. Both "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece" bear dedications over the signature "William Shakespeare" to the Hon. Henrie Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and the text of these two dedications forms a prose epitome of the earliest sonnet sequence "The Love I bear your Lordship is without end—all I have done is yours, all I have to do, is yours, being part of all I have, devoted yours." The promise of consecrating all "idle hours" to a "Grauer Labour" honoring his patron's name is also significant. Indeed, no one thoroughly conversant with these writings can ignore their spiritual analogy with the subject of the early sonnets, the fair youth who is urged to matrimony, in almost the same language and metaphors as are used by the Goddess in "Venus and Adonis,"

> "Speak of Adonis and his counterfeit
> Is poorly imitated after you."

We see in Miervelt's portrait of Southampton at nineteen, just such an interesting and refined type of beauty as the sonnets describe and even those which bitterly arraign the poet's friend coincide with the "wild" life led by the young earl before his clandestine marriage. In corroboration of this external proof and internal evidence indicating Southampton as that friend of "Beauty, Birth, and Wit" contrasted to the poet "In disgrace with fortune and men's eyes," who has made himself "a motley

to the view," we have the almost contemporary testimony of Nicholas Rowe in his "Life." "Shakespeare," he says, "had received Uncommon marks of Favour and Friendship from this Earl (of Southampton) who, at one time, gave him a thousand pounds to carry through a purchase he had a mind to, a Bounty very great and very rare at any time." So unusual, indeed, says Rowe, "That I should not have ventured to insert it if it had not been handed down by Sir William d'Avenant."

Compare this statement with the line "I found, or thought I found, you did exceed the barren tender of a poet's debt" and note also that the stanzas which describe the rival poets are recognizable as referring to Marlowe, Chapman, and Nash, all eager to obtain Southampton's favor.

If we examine William Herbert's title as prototype of the youth in question, we find that his father subventioned a company of players who once presented Henry VI., and that it was to William Herbert, himself Earl of Pembroke in 1623, that Shakespeare's friends and fellow-actors, Hemmings and Condell, dedicated their folio edition of Shakespeare's plays. This may, indeed, indicate Pembroke's interest in the dramatic works, but it is still a long way from proving him to have inspired the sonnets.

The whole Herbert theory is grounded on the publisher Thorpe's dedication to his volume containing these poems printed in 1609, whether from original texts or copies is unknown. It is certain, however, that this edition appeared eleven years after the sonnets were well known in the literary centers of the London taverns, for Francis Meres had already referred to them in his handbook of Elizabethan poetry, *Palladis Tamia or Wit's Treasurie,* published in 1598 and speaking in that year of "mellifluous honey-tongued Shakespeare's sugar'd sonnets among his private friends." Now Thomas Thorpe was a well-known "Pirate Publisher," and his volume bears the following inscription: "To the onlie begetter of these insuing sonnets, Mr. W. H.," and on the concordance of these letters with the initials of William Herbert's name, the whole theory called "Herbertist" is based.

I remember being thrilled at the age of twelve by my supposed discovery that these letters were a misprint, or rather inversion, of H. W., for Henry Wriothesley, and perhaps it is because we become wedded in time to our own ideas that I still believe so at a more advanced age. Graver critics, however, see in the letters W. H. merely a fictitious cipher used to cloak the theft of stolen papers with a semblance of authority; while others think that they refer to "Will Hall" who traffick'd in manuscripts and was consequently dear to the heart of the Piratical Publisher. They point out that the Elizabethan sense of the word "begetter" is more properly "procurer for publication" than "literary inspirer." Be this as it may, it seems to me that all commentators have singularly failed to comprehend the significance of Meres' line, which expressly states that the sonnets were "*among his private friends*" hence, not necessarily addressed to the same person, this fact, indeed, is obvious, for some are to a woman. Critics also ignore another point of interest, even Sir Sidney Lee, who has published a text fac-simile of Thorpe's edition from the "Bodleian" copy, fails to mention that it differs from that of the British Museum, which divides the sonnets into *three distinct*

groups, cutting, by a marginal interpolation, the sequence at No. 127 with the words "Series II." and at 152 "Series III." It is well known that at No. 127 begins the group of sonnets addressed to a dark woman whose identity is almost as eagerly sought for as is the original of the poet's "Better Angel."

> Two Loves I have of comfort and despair,
> Which like two spirits do suggest me still:
> The better angel is a man right fair,
> The worser spirit a woman color'd ill.

Busy searchers are daily employed in looking up the records of Pembroke's mistresses, but if Pembroke is not the man, surely neither is Mary Fitton the woman in the case; besides, in her interesting book, *Gossip from a Muniment Room,* Lady Newdegate tells us pretty conclusively that Mistress Fitton was a straw color'd "Blonde."

There is positively no evidence to link the poet's name with any of "Cynthia's maids," but I have often wondered if better results might not be obtained by following the rules of modern detective science, as laid down by *Sherlock Holmes,* "never follow an obscure clue when a plain one exists." May we not, outside the charmed and improbable circles of the Court, find some record of a married woman whose name was connected with Shakespeare's and might be with Southampton's as well? Her social status would have to be such, that she could come into easy and familiar contact with a young nobleman "of Quality" and a player, a difficult thing in an epoch when the profession of actress was unknown. And yet record exists of just such a woman, the pretty hostess of a popular inn, situated between Stratford and London.

Three almost contemporary notices of Shakespeare's habits, Anthony à Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis,* Oldys' *Choice Notes,* and Aubrey's *Brief Lives* of contemporaries all state that Shakespeare, in his yearly visits to Stratford, stopped at an Oxford inn owned by a wealthy wine merchant, John Davenant, "a great lover of plays and playmaker's, chiefly Master Shakespeare," and presided over by his wife, "a very beautiful woman," says Aubrey, "of excellent wit and conversation very agreeable." He quotes the dramatist's great affection for the two sons of this couple, William, afterward Sir William d'Avenant, poet-laureate, and the eldest, "Parson Robert, who hath told me master Shakespeare hath given him a hundred kisses." The "pretty wit" of the villager is then quoted who replied to William Davenant "then a little school-boy in the town," who spoke of his "God-father Shakespeare," "My good lad, beware how you take the name of God in vain." Nor does the hint of scandal stop there. William Davenant, who at eleven wrote a pretty ode on the "Remembrance of Master Shakespeare," spoke among his familiars of a closer relation to the bard of Avon, by which, says Aubrey, "his mother had a very light report"; and later, when for the sake of greater "fashion" Sir William placed an apostrophe in his name and announced that the d'Avenants were an old Norman family, a satirical contemporary remarks, "Quite useless, all know that d'Avon-ant comes from Avon." There is a peculiar concordance between the picture of the wealthy vintner's wife and the "Hostess of the Porpentine" ("Comedy of Errors") "A wench of excellent discourse, pretty and witty, wild, and yet too gentle." It is not the *truth* of such scandal, but the fact

that slander was current, that makes me wonder whether we should not look in Oxford for traces of the "dark syren." I have very interesting corroborative evidence of this theory which I hope some day to publish.

The same conclusion has been reached through different evidence by Mr. Arthur Acheson, who prints in the appendix to his book *Mistress Davenant* the old satirical poem, "Willobie his Avisa" (1594). This poem contains the first printed allusion to Shakespeare as the author of "Lucrece," and deals with the courtship of the "Brittish Lucrece," Hostess of the George tavern in Oxford, by a young nobleman, Mr. H. W., also called "Harry," and an old player W. S. "Willobie his Avisa" is a dull and scurrilous pamphlet, but the fact that it was forbidden by the London censor shows that it was highly offensive to some one in authority, and it seems quite reasonable to suppose that this lengthy and ponderous dramatic dialogue gives us the key to the personalities, as its story shows in base and vulgar form a parody of the Tragic Drama of the Sonnets.

None who hears the cry of remorse and anguish in Shakespeare's poems can doubt that their author traversed a period of great moral suffering.

The serene atmosphere of his later work seems to attest that he came through the fire tempered and ripened. The facts also sustain this hypothesis and explain his Life's Philosophy, "Men must endure their going hence, even as their coming hither, ripeness is all."

CLARA LONGWORTH DE CHAMBRUN.

A FALLACIOUS THEORY

IN your issue of last December, Professor Fisher of Yale discusses "Is the Cost of Living Going Higher?" He shows that the necessities of life have risen fifty per cent. compared with 1895, and concludes that with the yearly large production of gold the cost may go higher and may become unbearable. He presents as a remedy "The stabilization of the gold dollar." In this he is supported by other authorities.

His theory is fallacious, which it is necessary to show, as its agitation may interfere with, defer or annul the current attempts for currency reform, such as happened through agitation for bimetallism in 1894-95.

I have had occasion elsewhere to point out that any surplus gold goes into new enterprises and into commercially backward countries, and that thus any decline in its value is arrested and redressed.

Professor Fisher proposes "a stable dollar," the ratio of which shall be changed periodically, to correspond with a changed "average" of prices of merchandise as per index numbers. In 1895 we were in panic times—other countries were not. We should properly compare prices with 1910, the period before the complaint began here about the higher cost of living. We would find then that prices of commodities have not changed considerably. Moreover, some of the most important ones in aggregate value, such as cotton and wheat, have declined twenty per cent. in recent years, because of larger "supply," while copper and meats have risen as much and more because of a larger "demand." Remedies running counter to natural laws cannot be effective.

Professor Fisher assumes that the value of the dollar is created by the government. But it cannot command how much the dollar will buy in wheat, cotton, or anything. As to the gold dollar it is worth, of course, as much as the gold contained in it. He further states that the government has "arbitrarily" fixed upon the dollar. It is arbitrary only, if anything done from choice is arbitrary. The government chose to put 25¾ grains 9-10 fine gold into the coin. Whatever the coin had been called would not have changed its content or the value of its quantity.

The government has taken the duty on itself to provide the country with the coins it needs. In order that it may get the necessary gold, it has to waive any charge for the coinage. Jewelers and gold exporters usually pay a small bonus to the Treasury to get bars instead of "dollars." The latter may be abraded a trifle, which may, however, aggregate more than the premium paid—another proof that not the stamp but the gold in the coin gives it value.

Professor Fisher proposes that the Treasury should change the ratio of the dollar as compared with itself, quarterly. To fix a ratio means, as stated by him, that it shall buy and sell at the ratio. Compared with the index numbers of 1895, the ratio would have to be fixed at "over" 35 grains. At whatever it be fixed higher than the 25¾ grains contained in the dollar, the Treasury would have to sell the higher weight for each dollar, while gold-miners would not bring gold of a higher weight and take 25¾ grains for it. He brings arguments to the contrary, yet evidently sees that the Treasury would lose interminably the difference in gold. Therefore he proposes that "we can utilize the gold already in the Treasury for redeeming the 900 million gold certificates" (now 1070 million).

If the Treasury were to pay out more gold from that trust fund than a certificate calls for, it would take it from gold held against other certificates. No wonder that he has to state that "space is lacking for any discussion of the exact way in which it would work." Indeed, it is certain it cannot be "worked" at all. With this impracticability the whole scheme goes to pieces irretrievably. No government can make such losing exchanges.

Professor Fisher's intention is laudable enough. He wants somehow to lighten the people's burden of high-living cost, yet the larger supply of gold enables more people to attain a better scale of living than in past ages when gold was scarce.

In fact, the real complaint is that more than formerly the cost of living is higher *here* than in almost any *other* country. No sufficient explanation of this phenomenon has been given by our economists. It can be distinctly demonstrated, however, that it is due to our defective financial system. Moreover, its defects lead to crises or the menace thereof every year and panics in every decade, eventually followed by "bad times" for the people.

Reform of our financial system is thus the vital issue—not the futile agitation for the fallacy of "a stable dollar."

DAVID OCHS.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

PROBLEMS OF POWER. By WILLIAM MORTON FULLERTON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

IT is perhaps too much to expect that a disquisition upon world-politics should have the coherence of a scientific treatise, or that a writer obviously bent upon the avoidance of doctrinaire theorizing should achieve the effect of philosophical clearness which is often, after all, the specious merit of books that are over-ambitious and fundamentally unsound. Still, it must be said that the title, *Problems of Power* — as suggesting the systematic discussion of a series of definite problems in the light of established principles — promises rather more than the book performs. What Mr. Fullerton gives us is, strictly speaking, neither a thesis nor a history, but a criticism of European politics from Sadowa up to and including the present Balkan crisis. It is the criticism of a man informed, keenly analytical, skilled in the difficult art of giving effective, practical form to somewhat illusive ideas, and of emphasizing truths without overstating them. But the book produces the impression of a series of occasional comments rather than a well-proportioned exposition, and is perhaps more illuminating as to details than enlightening as a whole.

The theme and main premises of the book are plain. The political evolution of modern Europe, as Mr. Fullerton views it, has resulted primarily from the mistaken seizure by Prussia of Alsace and of a part of Lorraine; it has been characterized by the incapacity of the great Powers to solve the Eastern Question; and it has brought about the creation of two hostile groups of virtually allied nations. This political evolution has been modified by two sets of causes: the first consisting of a whole series of economic conditions, the second including national feeling and the growing power of public opinion. On the one hand there is wealth, represented by an oligarchy of bankers to whom modern states, great and small, apply for immense loans, and by great manufacturers and mining proprietors who often combine in international trusts. On the other hand, there is Public Opinion, becoming more and more conscious of its efficacy. Between these two sets of causes there is constant interplay. National feeling, indeed, is at present little more than a self-defensive reaction against those economic and financial conditions which tend to break down the barriers between nations. "The long agony of the several states, which are being gradually throttled by the bonds of international finance and of the labor conditions that have everywhere engendered class war, might be and probably will be prolonged by a series of wars which will aggravate the present tendency of each state to seek to preserve its national traditions and its national integrity; but from any comprehensive point of

view this revival of nationalism the world over is only the death-throe of the principle of nationality." A factor of equal importance is the relation of idealism to economic necessities. In regard to this, "the interesting fact is that modern peoples seem to crave both ideal moral satisfactions and economic well-being. They want reform as much as they want money. . . . It is likely that the growing love of order, the general desire for reform, and the outburst of nationalism, on the one hand, and, on the other, the recognition of the fact that money is to-day the chief instrument of rapid and successful action, are different aspects of the same state of mind."

More or less within the limits of the general ideas, imperfectly outlined in the preceding paragraph, Mr. Fullerton brings together a vast number of illustrative facts and acute observations. His book is divided into four main parts: the first consisting of a review of world history from Sedan to the "Coup d'Agadir"; the second dealing with the domestic crises of the European states and the foreign policy of the Powers; the third treating of economic factors affecting the political attitude of modern states; and the fourth summing up the present situation. What one has to complain of chiefly in a treatise of such scope is a certain lack of obvious logical correlation and a great uniformity of emphasis. It is interesting to read that "no sociological phenomenon has greater importance to-day than the reappearance of Demos in problems which at certain moments in the past have been debated between a responsible few in the ivory towers of diplomacy"; but it is not altogether easy to trace the progress of this idea through the ensuing pages. Again the chapter devoted to American traits and conditions seems superficial and merely journalistic as compared with the deeper analysis of, for instance, the industrial situation and national temperament of France.

The student of international affairs may well find *Problems of Power* an intensely interesting book. No one, indeed, can read it without gaining at least a degree of insight into the European situation, or without absorbing a healthy skepticism with regard to utopian schemes of arbitration, disarmament, and universal peace. The book is skilfully written in that pointed and picturesquely metaphorical style which is perhaps best suited to enliven and clarify a subject tending in the nature of things toward indefiniteness and technicality.

The Psychology of Revolution. By Gustave Le Bon. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

History as viewed from the psychological standpoint in M. Le Bon's latest treatise proves interesting and instructive rather as correcting errors of theory and prejudice than as giving profound insight into the mysterious causes that determine events. "Human nature must be accepted as it is"—this statement, reiterated in many forms and applied to a variety of phenomena, expresses the real theme of the book. In the development of this general thesis certain laws of collective human action are formulated. Some of these seem rather obvious. That "a crowd never has any opinion but that of its leaders"; that emotion in a crowd, and, above all, in an assembly oppressed by fear, is contagious—such truths belong in a sense to common knowledge. M. Le Bon, however, has de-

termined these and other principles with exactness. He applies them with thoroughness and perspicacity to revolutionary manifestations, and especially to the events and men of the French Revolution.

The reader soon becomes convinced of the general value of the psychological method in the elucidation of historic facts. To begin with, being a scientific method, it secures real impartiality. It is, moreover, a destructive solvent of illusions, and M. Le Bon has no difficulty in pointing out many errors both of historians and of governments. We are further inclined to welcome the psychologic point of view by the fact that it measurably frees us from "the banal law that a phenomenon is simply the result of previous phenomena," and, by restoring "the rôle of petty accessory circumstances in great events," restores also much of the dramatic and human interest of historic narrative.

On the whole, M. Le Bon sheds real light upon the events which he discusses, and he quite freely persuades us that psychology is an often-neglected factor, to be reckoned with in the philosophy of history. At the same time we cannot help feeling that his book suffers somewhat from an over-elaborate classification, leading to substantial repetition of ideas, and from a certain pedantry of phraseology which is occasionally exasperating, despite the general lucidity and grace of his style.

Little is gained, it seems, by the inclusion of scientific with religious and political revolutions in the general discussion with which the book begins, though the analysis of religious revolutions, as showing the tremendous power of essentially irrational belief, helps greatly toward an understanding of the analogous political phenomena. Considering the abstract idea of the *People*—"that mysterious fetish which revolutionists have revered for more than a century"—M. Le Bon finds that it may be decomposed into two distinct categories, of which the first includes the majority of workers—which never caused a revolution—while the second consists of "a subversive social residue dominated by a criminal mentality." It is the latter class, of course, which supplies the materials of revolutions.

The next topic of prime importance to be dealt with is the variation of individual character in time of revolution and turmoil—a phenomenon the reality of which is easily established. "These variations of character," writes the author in one of those passages which make us wonder whether a simpler treatment of the whole subject would not have sufficed—"these variations, being conditioned by certain common aspirations and identical changes of environment, finally become concrete in a small number of fairly homogenous mentalities." Of these he distinguishes four. The mystic mentality illustrates the power of beliefs cherished with religious fervor. In the Jacobin mentality the mystic element is allied with feeble reason and strong passions. A Jacobin is not, as has been thought, a pre-eminently reasoning creature. He is simply "a mystic who has replaced old divinities by new gods." The revolutionary mentality is characterized by discontent combined with the mystic tendency; and the criminal mentality hardly needs definition. In treating this part of his subject M. Le Bon says so much that is to the point and says it so well that we are all the more inclined to wish away the formal method and the not mutually exclusive classifications.

The psychology of revolutionary assemblies and of revolutionary clubs is found to resemble the psychology of crowds, an assembly being regarded

as formed of superimposed and heterogeneous crowds. The influence of homogeneous groups upon its members is greatest; but if the group is heterogenous, "this action is still considerable, either because the more powerful groups of an assembly will dominate the rest or because certain contagious sentiments will extend themselves to all the members of an assembly."

In its very origin the French Revolution may be regarded as a psychological affair. The government of Louis XVI., M. Le Bon points out, was far from being absolute. It was supported chiefly by tradition and by the doctrine of divine right. Moreover, it can be shown that the misery of the peasants during the period preceding the Revolution has been grossly exaggerated. The immediate cause which led to the destruction of the *ancien régime* was the jealousy of the bourgeoisie toward the nobles, rather than the intolerable poverty of the laboring classes. Neither can rational thought be accepted as a direct cause. "The actual influence of the philosophers in the genesis of the Revolution was not that which is attributed to them. They revealed nothing new, but they developed the critical spirit which no dogma can resist once the way is prepared for its downfall." Their ideas percolating downward operated simply by destroying respect for tradition and prestige, and not by producing rational convictions.

Having established his general principles and definitions, M. Le Bon proceeds to apply them to various phases of the French Revolution. The result is enlightening and corrective of false conceptions. The author, despite his systematic method, or perhaps because of it, writes somewhat discursively. He detains us rather long while he explodes anew the false ideal of equality and proves that human nature cannot be changed by laws. But his book is generally sound, and it is stimulating even where it is diffuse.

THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG. By JESSE BOWMAN YOUNG. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913.

The full significance, the full tragedy, the whole mechanism of a great battle—these are things hard to grasp. Not only is information scattered and difficult of access, but the entire phenomenon is of a complexity requiring profound study. When, however, it is given us through the labors of another to understand, as a whole and in detail, such a battle as that of Gettysburg, we feel that we are privileged to be present at the most tremendous scene of one of the greatest dramas in history.

Such is the effect produced upon us by Jesse Bowman Young's *The Battle of Gettysburg*. The book has the earnestness, the sense of the grim realities of war, that one expects in the reminiscences of a veteran. It has also a comprehensiveness and thoroughness which could only result from years of investigation and careful study. The author, he tells us, "although but a stripling, was an officer in the battle." Attached to the staff of Brigadier-General Andrew A. Humphreys, he had somewhat exceptional opportunities to be in personal touch with the great movement. His residence in the Cumberland Valley for a dozen years after the war, during which his duties as a "circuit-rider" led him gradually over all the roads traversed by the two armies explains

the remarkable topographical clearness and the pictorial reality of his narrative. In reading it we become aware that we are receiving knowledge obtained as nearly as possible at first hand—we are reading the narrative of a man who has studied every foot of the battlefield and who knows the whole region with the knowledge of familiarity. "Many circumstances," he writes, "tended to reproduce the shifting scenes and manœuvers of the campaign and battle before my imagination, and to inscribe them in my soul." Imaginative maturing of the subject in the author's mind, familiarity with the scene, a constant desire to know the minute details of the truth for one's own satisfaction, these are influences tending to produce a book of unique interest.

Of course the author has drawn freely upon available written sources of information, but his book is far from being in the nature of a compilation. He has made a true nexus of his facts, and his carefully-thought-out opinions as well as his fresh assembling of material give his narrative historic value. With the enthusiasm of the historian who lives in the events which he describes, Mr. Young has gathered up and sifted traditions, anecdotes, every sort of fact that would add to the human interest of his book. He has sketched the career and character of every person of importance who took part in the engagement on either side. With an extraordinary approximation to completeness, he has determined the personnel of both the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia. He has shirked no side of his subject. The causes that led to the battle, the motives and plans of the commanders, the pivotal issues which the engagement decided, all are discussed with thoroughness and insight. In the narrative of the battle itself he succeeds remarkably in making a difficult matter plain, without sacrifice of essential detail, and in bringing past events vividly before the mind. Comprehensiveness, clearness, human interest, and the indefinable power which is the reflex of the author's own personality and point of view—these are qualities that make *The Battle of Gettysburg* not only a valuable source of information, but a book to be read for its own sake.

THE MASTERS OF MODERN FRENCH CRITICISM. By IRVING BABBITT. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912.

This is one of those rare books in which the value of sound fundamental distinctions, thought out to their ultimate implications, makes itself felt on every page, while logical severity, far from resulting in dry dogmatism, lends itself to the play of wit and esthetic perceptiveness. To describe Professor Babbitt's book as merely the detailed and conscientious development of a thesis would be most misleading; yet it derives its essential worth and much of its felicity of statement from the author's recognition of the vital relation of the problem of the One and the Many—that problem over which, as William James declared, the average person "does not lose much sleep"—to literature and to life. In the consideration of this problem, the literary critic, as Professor Babbitt makes increasingly plain, should be "willing to meet the philosopher half-way."

If we are to have any really thinkable critical standard—this is the thought that gives continuity to the whole treatise and leaves the final

impression upon the reader's mind—if we are to have a really thinkable and workable critical standard, we must oppose the excesses of romanticism and of both scientific and romantic naturalism. Practically the problem we have to solve is to find some middle ground between the rigid external critical standards of a certain type of seventeenth-century critic and the mere impressionism so current to-day. "What is most needed just now is not great doctors of relativity, like Renan and Sainte-Beuve, but rather a critic who, without being at all rigid or reactionary, can carry into his work the sense of standards that are set above individual caprice."

Such a standard can be defined only through intuition—but there is intuition and intuition. There is the intuition of the One and the intuition of the Many; there is perception of a unifying principle which leads to judicial criticism, and there is the perception of the "flux" that leads at best to appreciation and sympathy—and at worst to romanticism and "the humanitarian fallacy." Clearing away the ambiguity which clings to such words as "heart," "soul," and "intuition," and defining the "planes of being," spiritual, humanistic, and naturalistic, which determine the forms of opinion, the author proceeds to consider the great French critics of the nineteenth century in the light of definite principles. Thus Madame de Staël through "the inordinate emphasis she placed upon the elements of originality and self-expression" illustrates the essential weakness of that general romantic attack upon formalism which "discarded the idea of law itself along with the conventionalities in which it had got imbedded." Joubert approaches somewhat nearly the author's ideal critic in that, unlike such moderns as James and Bergson, he was intuitive in both the Rousseauist and the Platonic sense. Chateaubriand exhibits "a somewhat baffling interplay of classical, pseudo-classical, and romantic elements." What his contemporaries listened to, however, was his plea for sympathy and enthusiasm—his saying, for example, that "the time has come to substitute for the petty criticism of faults the great and fruitful criticism of beauties." An analysis of Sainte-Beuve reveals "the interplay and at times conflict of naturalism and humanism." As a scientific naturalist he believed in progress, while as a humanist he believed in decadence. Again, "as a humanist he protests against the violence and excess of Hugo's romanticism, and against the violence and excess of naturalism of Balzac." Yet "like a modern pragmatist, he escapes from the formulæ of the intellectualist by his lively intuitions of the Many, and not, like a Platonist by his intuitions of the One."

In a similar spirit, Professor Babbitt writes of Scherer, who had "no countervailing intuition of the One to oppose to his perception of the Many," yet "sometimes appeals from the philosophy of the flux in part to common sense, in part to tradition"; of Taine, who was on one side wholly romantic, and whose "aspiration toward a sort of vegetable felicity" is thoroughly Rousseauistic; and of Brunetière, who as an opponent of the naturalistic movement testifies to its strength by his anxiety to enlist on its scientific if not on its esthetic side.

It would be unfair not to insist upon the fact that Professor Babbitt's sanity and brilliancy are not confined to the expression of philosophical views. His method permits of all the kinds of insight into character

and literary method which makes criticism valuable. His power of literary characterization may be illustrated by this sentence upon Brunetière: "The arguments are clamped and mortised together by logical connections, and push forward in menacing array in a manner that suggests the advance of Roman legionaries with interlocked shields." But the book is chiefly significant as standing in the forefront of modern thought, representing a tendency toward moral and intellectual health that is making slow headway against the many contrary tendencies that have beset the immediate past and are besetting the present.

WAY STATIONS. By ELIZABETH ROBINS. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1913.

Miss Robins's book is made up of a series of public speeches and occasional articles, connected by a tissue of condensed but lively narrative tracing the progress of the suffrage movement in England from its inception. The volume by no means provides a systematic exposition of the philosophy of "votes for women," and it suffers somewhat from the superficiality incident to special pleading, however earnest. But with these cautions the book may be recommended to the general reader. Elegant and forceful exhortation is always readable for its own sake, and it is often more efficacious in sweeping away prejudice than unemotional and carefully condensed argument could be. In many cases Miss Robins neatly and completely demolishes the stock arguments against equal suffrage, and she states her views with such clarity and sharpness that those who are not convinced by them will at least be awakened to a perception of the reasonableness of what has perhaps seemed an impossible point of view. In such a conflict as that waged over equal suffrage—a conflict of points of view, of pseudo-scientific opinions, and of prejudices in some cases almost inconceivably silly—such a book as *Way Stations* will help to clear away misunderstandings. It takes us, moreover, into the heart of the conflict. Miss Robins's sentences ring; we feel ourselves present at the meetings at which her speeches were delivered, and join in the applause. If her zeal for the cause carries her, in the defense of militancy, further than most of us would be willing to follow, no one need be either offended or deceived. The book is neither fanatical in spirit nor subtly sophistical in argument. On the contrary, it gives an impression of fairness and practical efficiency that wins favor for the cause it represents. Informingly it emphasizes the strength of the woman's movement and makes us feel wholesomely ashamed of ourselves for not knowing more of it than we do. *Way Stations* contains no startlingly novel doctrines; it is energetically persuasive rather than sweepingly convincing. It is, however, a thoroughly readable book, and a book that it would be good for people of all shades of opinion to read.

PLAYS BY BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON. Translated by EDWIN BJÖRKMAN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

The plays presented in this volume are "The Gauntlet," "Beyond Our Power," and "The New System." The ideas expressed in these dramas

no longer seem daring or revolutionary, but Björnson's expression of them has the power of shocking us into a deeper consciousness. The attack upon the double standard of morality for men and women in "The Gauntlet" may both thrill us and make us think, though the injustice of the two separate codes has become almost a commonplace of speech and writing. So in "Beyond Our Power" we may be disappointed if we expect to find a novel, subtly tragic conception. Few of us are vitally concerned in the question of the possibility of miracles, and our attitude is one of wonder that the failure of a miracle should furnish a tragic crisis. Yet the author puts his thought into terms so poignantly human that in reading his play we pass through the stages of doubt, faith, and disillusion, with some approach to the intensity of an entirely fresh inward experience. A love of the truth for itself gives to Björnson's dramas a positive poetic fervor. Skepticism becomes inspiration, and the pathos of faith, the nobility of doubt, become humanized into motives more appealing than the commoner human sentiments. The dramatist has a trick of startling us by his very simplicity, and his plays develop from conversations threatening to be tedious into situations of unexpected and concentrated, yet quite natural, emotional tension. Such a startling yet natural effect is produced in "Beyond Our Power," when the miracle-working pastor brings his children to pray with him at the bedside of his sick wife—an effect so simply and affectingly idyllic that it renders the ensuing tragedy at once convincing and cruel as only the truth can be. As to "The New System," Björnson himself declared that its interest was psychological rather than dramatic. To the reader, however, it is of all the deeper interest because it dwells upon the author's final philosophy of life, laying dramatic stress upon the admonition to "live in truth" that we may advance toward perfection "through a frank acknowledgment of our innermost natures." In all three plays clearness of vision and unequivocally forceful expression result in esthetic pleasure. The white light that illuminates every detail of thought or action to the point of producing an effect of bareness does not, however, destroy human interest. The dialogue—so unlike what any one might be expected to say, so exactly like what human beings do actually think and feel—is as fascinating as a new language. On the whole, we shall not read Björnson for the sake of the intellectual excitement which new ideas produce in us, but we shall read him because he makes what seem the coldest conclusions of skepticism or common sense warm with human significance.

The Farmer of To-morrow. By Frederick Irving Anderson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

There is both commercial common sense and sound analysis of scientific fact in this book, which has an important bearing upon the so-called "back-to-the-land" movement. Commercially, the point of emphasis is the fact, made clear in a variety of ways, that the farmer of to-day cannot compete with the farmer of yesterday. Scientifically, the book shows that the soil is in no real danger of exhaustion, despite much current teaching to the contrary.

Farming, Mr. Anderson shows, is to all intents a subsidized industry.

The farmer of yesterday paid little or nothing for the land—his plant. In large part the land was originally a gift from the government. Not only has he no interest to reckon upon an original investment, but his land has increased greatly in value. Now that the government has no more land to give away, the city dweller who would go back to the land finds that the amount of capital demanded is great and that the returns are relatively small. As yet business farming cannot compete successfully with the old order of things.

Increased efficiency is not the key to the problem. A few years ago potato-growers in Maine became so efficient that they were forced to sell out at eleven cents a bushel. "The so-called 'intelligent culture,'" declares the author, "is of no more use to the farmer than his boot-straps would be to pull him out of the mire. Until the world is hungry enough to finance the farmer, or until the middlemen give him more than thirty-five cents of the consumer's dollar, text-book farming will remain a dogma and nothing more."

What then is the prospect for the farmer of to-morrow? "He must either speed up the rate of production on fat, highly capitalized corn-belt acres by means of an additional expenditure of capital, or else look about him for raw, non-producing land, upon which to expend his labor to fit it as a competitor of the fat acres which are beyond his means." As a "gleaner" he will find his chief opportunity. Drainage will add to the farmer's "floor space" an ultimate area as large as the whole of France. Irrigation—which, however, requires considerably more capital—will add about fifty million acres—an area larger than the State of New York. Much may be accomplished by the selection of crops which are able to thrive on arid land. Finally the gleaner will find a field for his activities in the wooded territory in the north of the corn-belt regions—notably in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota.

He will not use expensive methods of intensive culture, yet he will profit by an increase of scientific knowledge. "Specialization"—the adaptation of crops to the individual characteristics of his land—will be his greatest aid. The Department of Agriculture is even now endeavoring to supply him with the equivalent of that traditional knowledge which is the most effective tool of the European farmer. It is, so to speak, "manufacturing tradition in pill form." To sum up, "the maximum efficiency of the plant of the American farmer will be attained when the last refractory acre is reclaimed and each individual acre is devoted to the type of agriculture bringing the maximum returns."

Whatever may be the economic conditions which the farmer of to-morrow must face, he need not dread the ultimate exhaustion of the soil. While it is true that experts who have followed in the path of Liebig and accepted his theories unhesitatingly declare that the soil "wears out," the researches of the Bureau of Soils has led to the contrary conclusion. Soils "get tired," it seems—they even produce fatigue poisons which may be isolated in the laboratory—but they do not "wear out." It becomes reasonably clear that the soil is indeed "the one immutable asset of the nation"—that "it can be impaired by use, but never destroyed."

Mr. Anderson has produced a book of large general interest—informing, lively in style, and not too technical.

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THE DIRECT RULE OF THE PEOPLE

BY GEORGE KENNAN

At no period, probably, in their history, have all classes of the American people been more generally wealthy and prosperous than they are to-day. Not only are professional men, railroad men, merchants, farmers, and factory operatives earning more than they ever earned before, but most of them are living more comfortably than ever before, and, at the same time, are saving a larger part than ever before of the money that they earn. Since 1870—that is, within a period of about forty years—the wealth of the United States has increased at a rate that is almost unrealizable, if not unbelievable. As the figures that measure this wealth run up into the millions and billions, and as it is difficult to grasp mentally the quantities that these figures stand for, I shall borrow from the chief of the Bureau of Statistics a simple illustration intended to show what a billion means.

We all know how rapidly an expert counter of coins will manipulate them. The experts of the Treasury Department, in Washington, count about four thousand silver dollars every hour, and keep it up all day long, working eight hours a day; then, an expert counter of coins will count thirty-two thousand silver dollars a day, and this is about his limit of speed. At that rate, he will count a million dollars in just a month. But a million is only the begin-

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ning of the measurement of great figures. If this same man should go on counting silver dollars, at the same rate of speed, he would count only one hundred million of them in ten years. To count a billion, he would have to work hard, every day, for a period of one hundred and two years. When, therefore, reference is made to billions of dollars, as representing the earnings or savings of the American people, please remember that a billion is a thousand times as much as a million, and that to count a billion dollars would occupy the time of an expert accountant for more than a century.

Bearing this in mind, let us look at the increase in the earning capacity of the American people during the past forty years. I will take first farms, because a large part of the wealth of every nation is derived from the soil. How have the farmers prospered during our generation? The value of the wheat, corn, cotton, and other agricultural products, raised on the farms of the United States, in the twelve months ended December 31, 1870, was a little less than two billion dollars. The value of the same products raised in the twelve months ended December 31, 1912, was estimated at nine billions, or a sum that it would take nearly a thousand years to count. In 1870, nine billion dollars was the total value of all the farms in the United States. In 1911, American farms were valued at forty-one billions, a sum that it would take about four thousand years to count.

But perhaps farmers have been more prosperous than other people. Take, then, the next largest class, the laborers who work in factories and mills. In 1870, the industrial workers of the United States were earning, in wages, seven hundred and seventy-five million dollars a year. In 1911, they were earning three billion five hundred million dollars, or nearly five times as much.

Earnings, however, are largely used up in living expenses, and a farmer, mechanic, or merchant may earn a good deal without saving much. Has this been the case in the United States? When a man earns more than he needs for the payment of his living expenses, he usually puts his surplus cash in a bank. Bank deposits, therefore, show how fast a nation is getting ahead. In 1870, the individual deposits, in all the banks of the United States, were two billion dollars. In 1912, they had increased to

seventeen billions, or a sum that it would take one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four years to count.

It may be thought, perhaps, that this immense amount of surplus money is in possession of a comparatively small number of capitalists, and that the great mass of the people are relatively poor. Such, however, does not seem to be the case. Wealthy capitalists invest their money, for the most part, in stocks or bonds; and if they deposit it in banks, they put it in national banks or trust companies. The great mass of the people, on the other hand, and particularly the wage-earners, put their surplus cash into savings-banks, and the deposits in savings-banks, therefore, show how the common people are getting along. In 1870, the number of Americans who had savings-bank accounts was only one million six hundred thousand. In June, 1912, the number of such people had increased to more than ten million. In 1870, the total deposits in the savings-banks of the United States were only five hundred and fifty million dollars. In 1912, they had increased to four billion five hundred and fifty million, or a sum that it would take four hundred and sixty years to count. There has been an increase of two hundred and forty million dollars in savings-bank deposits in the last twelve months.

These figures, which are taken from the reports of the Bureau of Statistics and Comptroller of the Currency, seem to show conclusively that, in the last forty years, an overwhelming majority of the American people have not only raised their standard of living, but have increased enormously the amount of their earnings and savings. The population, in forty years, has doubled; but its earnings and savings have increased nearly fivefold. In 1870, the total wealth of the United States was estimated at thirty billion dollars. In 1911, it was officially estimated at one hundred and thirty billions, or a sum that it would take more than thirteen thousand years to count, at a speed rate of thirty thousand dollars a day.

One might naturally suppose that a people in the prosperous condition shown by these figures would be fairly well satisfied. Mechanics who earn three and a half billion dollars a year, farmers who earn nine billions; and poor people who have four and a half billion dollars in savings-banks, would seem to have little reason for complaint, and still less for finding fault with the government under which

such prosperity has been attained. Strangely enough, however, there seems to be more unrest and discontent in the United States to-day than at any time in recent years. Farmers complain that they are being kept poor by railroads and middle-men; railroad men and industrial workers strike for higher wages, on the ground that their present pay is insufficient; Socialists declare that the rich are growing richer while the poor are getting poorer; Mr. Roosevelt says that we must "have better economic conditions among the mass of our people" in order to escape revolution; and millions of people attack the Government as the power that is most to blame for a state of affairs that is assumed to be intolerable.

The general feeling that there is something wrong with our form of government is widely prevalent; that economic conditions in the United States are bad; that wealth is unequally distributed; that the common people are not getting their equitable share; and that the Government is primarily to blame.

It would not be difficult, perhaps, to show how, in a period of extraordinary and unparalleled prosperity, such a feeling as this has become prevalent. My object, however, in this paper, is not to explain the feeling, but to examine some of the methods by which it is proposed to improve the Government, and thus, presumably, make everybody contented and happy. Three of these methods, which have already been put in practice in many of our States, are known as the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. These measures are properly described as "progressive"; but, from a historical point of view, they should be called "reactionary," because they are a return to much earlier and more primitive methods. In the republics of Greece, in the free Russian cities of Novgorod and Pskof, and in most of the primitive communities whose records have come down to us, the people always legislated directly—generally by means of conventions or mass-meetings. Representative government, that is, legislation through delegates chosen by the people to act for them, is a much later invention. It is now proposed to abandon, in part, the new method, and go back to the old. The people, when they feel like it, are to make laws for themselves, just as they did in mediæval Russia and ancient Greece. They are also to have the right to discharge summarily, without impeach-

ment or trial, all of their elected officials, including even their representatives and the judges of their courts. This may be improvement, but it certainly is not progress in the sense of going forward to something new. They had the initiative and the recall in Novgorod the Great—the first Russian Republic—nearly eight hundred years ago; and there the people had power to recall even the Prince whom they had elected to serve as President. They had the initiative and the recall fourteen hundred years ago, in Athens; and there they recalled, among others, such men as Thucydides, Alcibiades, and Pericles. These measures, therefore, are not new; they are centuries old, and they have been abandoned almost everywhere except in Switzerland. Within the past few years, they have been revived in Australasia, and in some of our Western States, and there they are now being tried out again.

If we ask a Direct Ruler what he expects to accomplish by means of these measures, he will probably tell us that he expects to make the government more responsive to the wishes of the people; to break up machine politics and the rule of the bosses; to improve legislation; and, finally, in the words of Mr. Roosevelt, to bring about a "practical betterment of social and economic conditions throughout the land." No one, of course, will deny that these are praiseworthy objects; but it is extremely doubtful whether they can be attained by the methods proposed.

What is the chief defect in our existing machinery of government? If we ask a Direct Ruler this question, he will probably say that the government does not represent the people; that the bosses, the corporations, and the privileged classes have secured control of it, and are using it for their own benefit, regardless of the people's wishes and interests. But even if this be true, who is to blame for it? Is it due to a defect in our form of government, or is it the fault of the people themselves?

Any one who studies the figures of our recent elections must be convinced, I think, that if the people do not rule as fully and completely as they ought to rule, it is because they are too indolent, or too indifferent, to take the necessary trouble. In the primary elections in the State of New York last fall, only fifteen per cent. of the voters went to the polls. In Tioga County there were four thousand two hundred and forty-four voters; but only five hundred and

sixty-one of them took the trouble to vote. In the village of Cortland there were one thousand three hundred and forty-two voters and only one hundred and ninety-seven of them voted. Only ten per cent. of the voters went to the polls in Little Falls; only eight per cent. in Watertown; and only six per cent. in Ilion. How can people expect to rule, or to get good government, when five-sixths of them are so lethargic, or so indifferent, that they will not even go to the polls? The government falls into the hands of the bosses and the machine politicians simply because the people do not do their duty. It may be said that the primary elections, at which only nominations are made, are not important. But they are important. The people cannot expect to have good officials, or good government, unless they make good nominations.

The people, moreover, do not attend properly to their civic duties, even in matters of the utmost importance. In September, 1912, a general election was held in Ohio to vote on thirty-four radical amendments to the State constitution. Most of them were important, and one of them changed the constitutional law of the State with regard to the sale of intoxicating liquor. Less than one-half of the enrolled voters went to the polls, and the number who voted on the liquor-law amendment was only one-third of the total enrollment. The best imaginable form of self-government must necessarily be a failure when, in a great State like Ohio, five or six hundred thousand voters out of a million either decline to vote, or stay away from the polls altogether.

In a Republic like ours, nothing, certainly, can be more important than the choice of a President; and yet, in 1908, when Taft and Bryan were candidates, the number of voters who stayed away from the polls was more than seven million, or about one-third of the entire electorate. Even in the latest election, when Wilson, Roosevelt, and Taft were candidates, and when the popular interest was as great as it is ever likely to be, thirty voters out of every hundred stayed at home on Election day. There were about twenty-one million adult male citizens in the country, but only fifteen million voted. In Ohio last fall, they held a State convention for the purpose of drafting amendments to the State constitution. Only one-quarter of the voters went to the polls and voted for convention delegates. Out

of thirty-two legislative measures submitted to the people of Oregon at the general election of 1910, not a single one was adopted or rejected by a majority of the enrolled voters. And yet, in the face of such a record as this, the Progressives declare that our form of government must be changed because the people do not rule; but, as the Vice-President has recently said, "The people do rule, as fully as they take the trouble to rule; and when they take more trouble to rule, they will rule more."

One of the principal reasons for the failure of American citizens to vote is indifference. They are not generally interested in public questions that do not directly concern them. In the words of General Bingham, "The average citizen doesn't care until it hits him in his pocket, or in his home —hits him personally." President Taft may have made mistakes as Chief Executive of the nation; but he made no mistake when, four days before the recent election, he said to the students of Harvard, "The real solution of all our political difficulties is to be found in the stimulation of good citizenship. No machinery of any sort, whether by direct primary, referendum, initiative, or recall, will accomplish any real reform, unless the individual citizen himself is stirred to a better performance of his duty as a voter and as a member of his party. If the individual citizen improves his citizenship, then reform will follow, whether new machinery be adopted or not; and if the average standard of good citizenship is not improved, then new political machinery will not aid."

Many clear-sighted students of public affairs have expressed a similar opinion. In a recent address, Raymond B. Fosdick, former Commissioner of Accounts of New York, said that the great remedy for the evils that exist in New York is "personal and individual regeneration. There is no such thing as a civic 'presto change.' Permanent improvement in the quality of the government is dependent upon the quality of the people."

In a speech on the 28th of October last, President Creelman, of the Municipal Civil Service Commission, said: "We cannot carry on government by civil service commission. We must have an intelligent citizenship behind us. . . . What preparation does the voter, who selects the officers that make the policy of the government, make for the high function that he exercises?"

In a sermon preached in the Baltimore Cathedral, on the eve of the recent Presidential election, Cardinal Gibbons said: "It is my profound conviction that if ever the Republic is doomed to decay, if the future historian shall ever record the decline and fall of the American Republic, its downfall will be due, not to a hostile invasion, but to the indifference, lethargy, and apostasy of her own sons."

And yet, this indifference of the citizen, which vitally affects the interests, if it does not threaten the very existence, of the Republic, receives no attention whatever in the platform of any political party. All the platforms refer to the rights of the people, but not one to their *duties*. James Bryce, a clear-sighted and sympathetic student of American institutions, has pointed out, in the following words, one of the reasons for this general neglect of civic duty. "The enormous growth of modern States has made the share of the individual citizen seem infinitesimally small. In an average Greek republic, he was one of from two to ten thousand voters. In England or France to-day he is one of many millions. The chance that his vote will make any difference to the result is so slender that it seems negligible."

The Direct Rulers assert that our government is bad because the people do not control it; but the people do not make use of the remedies for existing evils that they already have. What good reason is there to suppose that they will continuously, persistently, and indefatigably make use of the new remedies that are now suggested? So long as such remedies are novel, and so long as the moral and civic enthusiasm that is characteristic of the present time lasts, universal primaries, the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and the various other panaceas that are proposed, will perhaps work well; but when this reform wave passes, when the people get tired, or perhaps disillusioned, and when they begin to neglect their civic duties again, the new machinery will grind out crooked bosses and crooked business just as the old machinery did. The evil-doers are always alert and active, because they live by it. They watch the representative machine constantly and, so far as possible, direct and control it. The people, on the other hand, are at one time in a fever of moral reform, and at another time in a chill of civic indifference. They supervise and direct the political machinery for a while, but then they

neglect it and the bosses get control. The people—or at least the Progressive people—seem to think now that if they secure universal primaries, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, good government will come almost automatically; but it will not. The evil-doers will use the new agencies, if the people neglect them, just as they used the old. Mr. J. B. McClure, not long ago, declared that "a successful government must be neglect-proof;" but there is no possibility of making a government neglect-proof. Every human agency must have intelligent and incessant human control, and a neglect-proof government is no more practicable than a neglect-proof steam-engine, or a neglect-proof aeroplane. The price of good government is eternal vigilance, and for eternal vigilance the people of the United States have never yet shown the slightest capacity.

Ex-Attorney-General Wickersham recently suggested that the people be compelled to do their civic duty; that every man who fails to go to the polls and vote be punished. This remedy was tried in ancient Greece, has been tried more recently in Switzerland, and is now being tried in Argentina, but it has never worked satisfactorily. With us it would almost certainly fail, because we cannot control the non-voting citizen, even after we have caught him. You may drag a man to the polls, but if he is indifferent to the question that is submitted to him for judgment, he will deposit a blank ballot. Tens of thousands of voters in our Western States have already done this. In Oregon, it has been found impossible to get a majority vote on one measure out of ten. The threat of punishment may prevent a voter from staying at home, but it will not prevent him from depositing a blank ballot if he takes no interest in the question submitted to him for judgment.

Let us now consider the ability of the people to decide rightly and wisely the great number of measures which the initiative and the referendum will bring before them. Under the present system of government, a law is made by our representatives in the legislature, most of whom are educated or trained men. The proposed law, at first, takes the shape of a bill, which is formally introduced and is then referred to a standing committee. The members of this committee are supposed to be, and generally are, more or less familiar with the subject to which the bill relates. They discuss the bill in detail, and give hearings to all the peo-

ple who may happen to be interested in it. After listening to the arguments made for or against it by the people whose interests it affects, they make up their minds about it, and report it back to the House or Senate with a favorable or an unfavorable recommendation. The House or Senate then discusses it again—sometimes at great length—and finally passes it. When it has been acted upon in this way by one House, it goes to the other, where it follows a similar course. It does not finally become a law until it has been considered, debated, and adopted by both Houses. It may be a bad law, even then, but at least it has had deliberate investigation, consideration, and discussion.

Now contrast with this the method of law-making by initiative. In the first place, a bill is drawn up and a canvasser, or "circulator," is paid five, seven, or ten cents a name for getting signatures to it. When a few hundred or a few thousand others have signed it, it goes directly to the people for judgment. It has never been seriously considered or discussed by anybody, and it cannot be changed or amended. It may be partly good and partly bad, or it may come to the voter in such a shape that he cannot vote either "Yes" or "No" without putting himself in a false position. That makes no difference. He must take it as it is, and vote "Yes" or "No" on the question, "Will you take this bill for your law?" If, under these conditions, the bill is approved by a majority of the voters who go to the polls and vote on it, it immediately becomes law. Sometimes, however, only a few voters go to the polls, and in such cases the law is enacted by perhaps not more than one-third of the whole electorate. The majority of the people are then governed by a small minority. In the Oregon election of 1910, nine measures, viz., four constitutional amendments and five statutory laws, were submitted to the people and adopted by them. Not one of the nine received a majority of the total vote cast in the election.* In the Ohio election of September 3, 1912, forty-two measures, including thirty-four constitutional amendments, were submitted to the people for judgment. Less than half the voters of the State took the trouble to vote on them, one way or the other, and the initiative-and-referendum amendment was ratified by only twenty-five per cent of the whole

* Eaton's "Oregon System," p. 161.

electorate. One-quarter of the people, therefore, legislated for the other three-quarters.

But suppose that all of the voters go to the polls and vote on an initiated bill. What qualifications have they for deciding the questions that the bill presents? In the first place, they are asked to vote, not on one bill, but on twenty, or even forty, at the same time. In Oregon, last year, the people were asked to vote "Yes" or "No" on thirty-eight different bills or constitutional amendments, submitted all together, at a single election. On the same day they were asked to vote for or against more than one hundred different candidates for the various offices. The bills and amendments, with the explanation of them, made a closely printed book of two hundred and sixty pages, and the ballot was as big as a small tablecloth. How many voters read attentively that two-hundred-and-sixty-page book, and looked up the records, or ascertained the characters, of the candidates? Probably not one in a hundred—possibly not one in a thousand. In Pennsylvania, at the same election, the ballot for candidates contained nine columns, and in some of the States the voter had to mark a ticket that was something like six feet in length.

It needs no argument, I think, to prove that the average American voter will not take the trouble to read a book of two hundred and sixty pages, investigate the merits of thirty-eight different laws, look up the records of a hundred candidates, and then go to the polls and, in the words of a Western rhymester, "rassle with a ballot that is six feet over all." He will either shirk the whole business by staying at home, or, if he goes to the polls, will vote only on the few questions that he thinks he knows something about.

The majority of the people have neither the time nor the ability to study complicated questions of governmental policy. They are no more competent to decide them than the stockholders of a railroad would be to decide what type of locomotive should be used, what should be the maximum grade of the track in crossing a divide, what number of new passenger cars should be built every year, and what should be the freight rate on a carload of wheat from Bismarck to Minneapolis. The stockholders elect officers to decide these questions for them, and the officers make it their business to study railway administration and manage

the property in the best possible way. What would happen to a great corporation like the Pennsylvania Railroad, or the New York Central, if John Jones, a holder of ten shares of stock, could initiate and put through a law changing the classification of freight, regulating the salaries of employees, limiting the amount that might be spent for repairs and betterments, forbidding the erection of new station houses or terminals where they might be needed, or fixing the size and weight of steel rails to be used in replacements or new construction? A railroad so managed would go into bankruptcy in less than five years. But if John Jones, the stockholder, is incapable of managing a railroad, what good reason is there to suppose that John Jones, the voter, has ability enough to run a government?

Thousands of voters in our Western States deposit blank ballots simply because they do not know whether to vote for or against an initiated bill. If I were asked to vote on a proposal to substitute a tunnel for a steep grade, on the track of the Union Pacific Railway where it crosses the Sierra Nevadas, I should probably deposit a blank ballot myself, because I should have no means of knowing whether a tunnel would be better than a steep grade, or a steep grade better than a tunnel. And yet this would be a simple matter as compared with the question whether big trusts be broken up altogether or regulated by a government bureau—a question that might be submitted to me by the initiative or the referendum.

The advocates of direct popular rule say that the people will decide only "fundamental questions," leaving to the legislature the complex or technical details concerning which they—the people—know little or nothing. Waiving, however, the point, which might be made, that the decision of "fundamental questions" often calls for more knowledge and ability than the settlement of details—the history of direct popular legislation shows that the people are not at all disposed to confine themselves to fundamentals. Of the sixty-four questions submitted to the people of Oregon, since the adoption of direct popular government in that State, only twenty-nine, or less than one-half, can possibly be classed as fundamental. The Oregon people, moreover, have shown an increasing disposition to take questions of all kinds away from the legislature and settle them by

direct popular action. In 1904, only two measures were initiated or presented by referendum. In 1906, the number increased to eleven; in 1908 to eighteen; in 1910 to thirty-two; and in 1912 to thirty-eight. That the people had not knowledge enough to vote wisely on all of these questions is shown by the results in the single-tax case, the courts and judges case, and the case of the Rogue River fisheries.

If any voter will ask himself the question, "Have I knowledge enough to vote wisely on thirty-eight different measures submitted to me at a single election?" he will be forced to admit, I think, that he has not. I myself represent fairly, perhaps, the better informed half of a popular majority, and yet I am not at all sure that I could form a right judgment with regard to dozens of social, political, and economic problems that might be submitted to me under the initiative or the referendum. It is not only possible, but probable, that I, with millions of people like me, might go wrong on really vital questions, simply because I lacked information. Government, in a nation like ours, is a very complicated business, and the people—that is, the majority—have not knowledge enough to vote or act rightly in half the cases that may be presented to them. Popular judgments are as likely to be wrong as are the judgments of individuals. There is no virtue in mere numbers, and the fact that an erroneous opinion is held by an overwhelming popular majority does not make it any less erroneous.

Supporters of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall say that these measures will take the government out of the hands of corrupt or selfish bosses, and put it in the hands of the people where it properly belongs. But will this be the result? It seems to be more than doubtful. The bosses as well as the people can initiate bills and make recalls, and they are far more shrewd and resourceful than the people are in the art of political manipulation. The new machinery, moreover, affords as many opportunities for fraud as the old did. What is to prevent the bosses or the "interests" from initiating bills, hiring corrupt canvassers, and getting thousands of fictitious or fraudulent signatures to their petitions? In Oregon they have already done this. In a judicial investigation of the "spite" referendum on the appropriation for the State university, ten thousand out of thirteen thousand signatures were found to be fictitious or fraudulent.

In the city of Seattle, last fall, there was an anti-vice crusade, headed by the mayor and aided by a body of special police known as the "Purity Squad." The vicious interests of the city, very naturally, did not like it, and began a popular proceeding to remove the mayor by means of the recall. They offered a recall petition bearing the signatures of twenty-six thousand six hundred alleged citizens, but, upon investigation, all but about eight thousand of the signatures were found to be fraudulent. Meanwhile, a force of seventy-five clerks had spent two weeks in the work of verification.

Then, again, what is to prevent the bosses, or the interests, from framing their bills in such a way as to deceive and mislead the voter? This, also, they have done in Oregon. Four years ago, a bill was initiated there for the purpose of ultimately abolishing all taxes except the tax on land. The people defeated it by a vote of two to one. Two years later the same bill was reintroduced, but in a form which made its object seem to be the abolition of the unpopular poll-tax. The very same people who had defeated the bill in its original form adopted it in its amended form, simply because, in the second election, they were deceived as to its real object. This may happen with any piece of legislation. There seems to be no limit to the devices by which the bosses and the interests control the new machinery for their own purposes. The authorization of the recent constitutional convention in Ohio was apparently secured by means of a "joker" in the printing of the ballots—the words "Constitutional convention; Yes," in small type, being concealed in the middle of a huge blanket ballot, where the voter would not notice them unless his attention were particularly called to them. This joker is supposed to have been contrived by the labor interests, which afterward controlled the convention.

The evils of direct popular rule in Oregon, where it has been on trial for ten years, are summed up by one of its friends as follows:

1. The cost of direct legislation has been high in proportion to the results achieved.

2. The Oregon constitution has been seriously weakened, its safeguards entirely destroyed, and its very existence threatened, by a minority of the voters of the State.

3. The people have passed laws against their interests and their convictions. They have been fooled by men who claimed to trust the people, but who, afraid to submit measures honestly, so disguised them that they succeeded in passing.

4. The machinery of direct legislation has fallen into the hands of dishonest men, who for money and spite have abused the privilege of direct legislation, and who, in the name of the people, have misrepresented our citizenship and brought disgrace upon our State.*

What we need in the United States is not new political machinery, but a nation of good citizens, who will devote themselves, faithfully and conscientiously, to the duty of choosing good representatives. If the newspaper and magazine writers who, in the past five years, have devoted so much time and space to exposure of the evil deeds of bosses and corporations, had given an equal amount of time and space to the shortcomings of the voters, we might, possibly, have a better government than that which we now see.

No one has set forth more clearly the fundamental defects of direct popular rule than has the distinguished author of *The American Commonwealth.* In a recently published volume entitled *Hindrances to Good Citizenship,* Mr. Bryce says:

"The deficient sense of civic duty, though most frequently noted in the form of a neglect to vote, is really more general and serious in the neglect to think. Were it possible to have statistics to show what percentage of those who vote reflect upon the vote they have to give, there would in no country be found a large percentage. Yet what is the worth of a vote except as the expression of a considered opinion? The citizen owes it to the community to inform himself about the questions submitted to his decision, and to weigh the arguments on each side; or, if the issue be rather one of persons than of policies, to learn all he can regarding the merits of the candidates offered to his choice. But intelligence and independence of thought have not grown in proportion to the diffusion of knowledge. The number of persons who both read and vote, in England and in France, is twenty times as great as it was seventy years ago. The percentage of those who reflect before they vote has not kept pace either with popular education or with the extension of the suffrage. The persons who constitute that percentage are, and for the reasons already given must for some time continue to be, only a fraction — in some countries only a small fraction — of the voting population."

* Allen's "Oregon System," p. 128.

The reason why the average voter so often neglects his duty to think and vote is stated by Mr. Bryce as follows:

"A duty shared with many others seems less of a personal duty. If a hundred, a thousand, or ten thousand other citizens are as much bound to speak, vote, or act, as each one of us is, the sense of obligation becomes to each one of us weak. Still weaker does it become when one perceives the neglect of others to do their duty. The need for the good citizen's action, no doubt, then becomes all the greater. But it is only the best sort of citizen that feels it to be greater. The Average Man judges himself by the average standard, and does not see why he should take more trouble than his neighbors. Thus we arrive at the result summed up in the terrible dictum: 'What is Everybody's business is Nobody's business.' . . . The theory of universal suffrage assumes that the Average Citizen is an active, instructed, intelligent ruler of his country. The facts contradict this assumption."

GEORGE KENNAN.

WHY I BOUGHT THE EQUITABLE

BY THOMAS F. RYAN

In spite of the many explanations that have been made both by me and on my behalf about the purchase of the shares of the Equitable Life Assurance Society in June, 1905, the question that has since been asked me oftener than any other has related to that particular act. As the term of the trust then created has expired, and, as I no longer bear any relation to the property, it seems to me that I may, perhaps, be justified in giving a somewhat more detailed account of my ownership of it and my reasons for buying it.

No more serious quarrel has disturbed business for a generation than that which rose out of conditions that became known as existing in the Equitable early in 1905. Revelations of one kind or another then began to appear, so that it was for weeks the question upon which newspapers were expected to make a display each day. To outward seeming, this quarrel came out of a clear sky, but as in similar cases, events showed that it had been in preparation for years, and that predictions had long been freely made that some kind of storm was brewing.

It will not be necessary, for the purpose I have in mind, to enter into the details as to the clashing individualities, the many and strong jealousies which combined to foment the trouble. It did not come, however, as the result of machinations by the great financial houses of the Street. In reality, it had only a slight relation to what is familiarly known as Wall Street. In each of the three large life insurance companies which had become a marvel of the time, both as business organizations and as providing the machinery for savings, there were some officials who became jealous either of each other or of those in like positions in rival companies; in other words, it was a fierce incriminating

quarrel between insiders and those of the smaller and less responsible order. It was almost wholly factional—and the facts fixing this were fully brought forth by the examination of the counsel for the Armstrong Committee, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, later Governor of New York, and now an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court.

It would be as difficult to exaggerate the intensity of this quarrel as it would be to measure its effect upon business. For a time, while a thousand groundless reports were set in motion, the impression was given to the public that the management of great fiduciary institutions, not only of life insurance companies, but of all the corporations or companies or individuals which carried on great business operations, was rotten to the core.

I had taken no part in the management of any insurance company, and had no official relations with them. I was interested in insurance, as I had been from my entrance into business life, but it was as a policyholder, a student and admirer of the development of agencies which had had such a rapid growth and which, at the same time, had so commended themselves to the country as to command public confidence and make their way in almost every country in the world as models of what such institutions should be.

Having therefore no part in these factional differences, recognizing that at bottom they were the result of bitter personal quarrels, and having no interest in any insurance company involved in the resulting troubles, I was of course free from any hampering difficulties in anything I might undertake to do. Naturally, as in the case of other business men, I had large interests that were sure to be affected by any disturbance of the financial situation or by the lack of confidence in the fiduciary institutions of New York, and these interests would be injured by any disaster that might result. I therefore foresaw the danger of a receivership of the Equitable unless the differences in question in the management and among the directors could be overcome. To avert this and to prevent the frightful losses that would occur by the breaking up of such an organization, involving, as it perhaps would, a like fate for other companies, both great and small, in case the contest should go on for a long time, it seemed to me that some one ought to devise a method for meeting the peril that threatened. It appeared to me that it was impossible for men engaged in great American

enterprises, which depend for their success upon popular confidence, to permit them and the general prosperity to be endangered by a campaign of such destructiveness as that which threatened us.

I could but note, with serious and growing concern, the unseemly contest, the bitterness of which was daily emphasized, and also the indifference to public interest which was manifested by many of the men who, as directors or officials, ought to have been the first to come to the rescue. The public good seemed to be almost entirely forgotten in the desire of most of those on the inside and many others on the outside to take advantage of any mistake that might be made by their opponents, and that their only idea was to make these quarrels serve their own purposes.

In spite of these facts I did not, in the beginning of the contest, feel myself called upon either to throw myself into the breach or to make any attempt to use what resources I might command for composing the trouble. For some time it did not seem possible to me that responsible men would permit really serious conditions to develop, and as I held an entirely independent position, it did not appeal to me as lying within the power of an individual so situated to intervene; but, as the contest became more and more bitter, and as the contestants showed, increasingly, a determination to consider themselves only, thus failing to realize their obligations to the community, the conviction forced itself upon me, that, if others did not come to the rescue, the task, great as it was, might not be beyond my powers. In thinking of this I did not fail to realize what it meant in sacrifice of resources, in risk to fortune and reputation, in misunderstanding and abuse, nor in any of the other penalties that would naturally follow such an act.

But the more I thought of the matter, the clearer it seemed to me that perhaps I might never have a better opportunity to perform a public service than by averting panic and restoring confidence. Although I had no technical knowledge of insurance, it appeared to me plain that if the institutions built up by genius and experience, founded upon the confidence of many millions of saving, prudent individuals, handling together fabulous sums each year, were to be torn to pieces by passion and faction, then our whole scheme of business, whether it related to transportation, banking, manufacturing or mining, would receive a shock from which it

would recover only after many years of loss and suffering.

In many respects, so far as I was concerned, the crisis came at an important period of my life. I had been engaged for many years in organizing and carrying on, so far as my powers and resources permitted, large business schemes and enterprises. They had taken all my energies and had left me practically no time for doing those things which it seemed to me more and more incumbent upon every man to do, at some time, if he has been the recipient of anything like an average share of prosperity. I felt that a man's success in this country was to be judged mainly by what he did, and the more I thought of it the more I was convinced that this was something worth doing.

Moreover, I had reached a time of life and a position in the business world which led me to contemplate retirement from its grinding activities. I had long had in mind many things that I wanted to do, and not one of them had borne any relation to a desire to make more money or to add to the fortune I had already accumulated. It occurred to me that I might even make this practically the culminating point of my active career. I knew perfectly that, whatever might be the sentiment of others toward me or toward the act I contemplated, what I intended would be a real service, and that whatever of misunderstanding might result, the end would show that I had acted unselfishly.

When this idea presented itself to my mind in concrete form I had made arrangements to visit Kentucky, for the double purpose of resting and purchasing stock for my Virginia farm. Thus remote from the scenes of activity and struggle, away from news and financial gossip, free from all interruption and yet cognizant of all the underlying conditions in the problem that presented itself, I could look over the whole situation much more critically than if I were on the ground. The matter was too delicate to be discussed with anybody, and, besides, as it finally presented itself to me, it did not concern any one else. It seemed to be my task. In the beginning I had thought that perhaps I would need financial co-operation, but when I looked about I found that two difficulties presented themselves in this respect. It became clear that if I limited my associates to those who, like myself, were only desirous of doing a public service, both the number and the amount of the contributions they could make were too small to be of vital assistance; if, on

the other hand, I accepted the offers of one or two men who wanted to participate, I was in danger of being overwhelmed not only with advice, which I would not take, but with an assistance which would have hampered me in every movement.

I returned to New York without reaching any definite conclusion but still deeply impressed with the necessity for action. But the whole question had taken possession of me, and so I went to my Virginia farm where, still without advisers, I could again concentrate my attention upon the matter that had been of absorbing interest to me. It was there and then that I finally saw my way clear to take up the task, still leaving unimportant details out of account.

From the beginning I had no other idea than that of purchasing the stock control of the Equitable at such a price as I must pay, and of placing it at once in the hands of Trustees, of whom ex-President Grover Cleveland was to be one—and, naturally, the Chairman—and also of doing this only upon such terms as should immediately divest me of all control over the stock, and of detail management of the Society itself. I had determined to do these things with the one condition that, so far as the laws permitted, the management of the Society should be turned over to a majority of directors to be chosen by the policyholders, from their own numbers.

I had long been an admirer of Mr. Cleveland and, by reason of personal and political affiliations, had come into close relations with him. Knowing that I had no ambitions, he had often asked my advice and assistance, mainly in matters relating to currency and coinage. Thus, in perfect accord with his aims, whether partisan or patriotic, cognizant of his unrivaled position in the country, I had also noted, with sorrow, that he was hampered by lack of means to maintain the dignity of a man who had twice filled with such distinction the Presidency of the United States. I visited him in Princeton soon after his removal there and noticed with great concern this fact, which was confirmed by himself and further emphasized by friends who knew him even better than I did. It seemed to me that he ought to be removed from the necessity of doing literary work of the kind in which he was engaged in order to obtain the money necessary for keeping himself and family in the position that he felt incumbent upon him. I soon found that schemes,

ranging from the management of a winter hotel to the presidency of a trust company, had been suggested for him, but none of them, unworthy as they were, came to anything. I then resolved and announced, especially to one friend, that I would, at some time, make an opportunity to bring about the desired result. But the only condition that I fixed in this was that the solution of the difficulty must be one which would bring no profit to me in any form and should at the same time enable the former President to do some public service really worthy of his position and character.

Further, I felt that the creation of an Equitable Trust, with Mr. Cleveland at its head, would meet the idea I had in mind, both so far as it related to him, and at the same time enable me, even without his knowledge, to do a great service to the country. It would solidify the new appreciation of him which had begun to come back about this time, and, best of all, it would save our financial institutions by restoring confidence. No business proposal of any kind was ever made to him by me or any one acting for me from the beginning until his relations to the trusteeship were ended by death. When the preliminaries were complete, an intimate friend of my own and of the former President was intrusted with the presentation of the matter. The rest of the story is well known. My letter to Mr. Cleveland and his remarkable answer to it have become a part of the financial history of the time. I did not deem it necessary, so far as the public was concerned, to do more than write to Mr. Cleveland in answer to his letter anything more than a formal note of thanks, but privately I went further and wrote him the following letter which was the only thing in the way of instructions from me that ever reached him or any member of the Board of Trustees or of the trustees as a body:

"New York, *June 12, 1905.*

"*Hon. Grover Cleveland, Princeton, New Jersey—*

"Permit me to thank you for your letter of the 10th inst., confirming your acceptance of the trusteeship of the Equitable Life Assurance Society which it was my privilege to tender to you. From the beginning and throughout the negotiations which accompanied the purchase of the majority holdings of this great fiduciary institution, it has been my constant purpose to ask you to undertake this duty.

"I should never have consented, for a moment, even to entertain the thought of participating in this important and culminating work if I had not held and emphasized at every point the ideas which I knew would

move you, or had I not been attached, both as a business man and as an American, to those policies which have been the guiding purposes of your life in every relation that you have borne to your countrymen.

"You emphasize and express my own convictions and determination when you insist that the time has come when, as a people and as individuals, we must consider the quality of our material growth and development. We can no longer look merely to size, or to quantity, or even to the world-wide extension of our commercial power. We must have progress, but it must be on true lines, or we shall pay too dearly for it. Our democratic institutions, our enterprises, and the efficiency of our labor fit us to go out into the world and to compete in every line of human effort; but we cannot do this if we lose sight of the fact that no permanent success is possible if we forget moral obligations or duties.

"I welcome your assurance that you will demand, as I knew you would, the most rigorous responsibility on the part of all concerned, and that your scrutiny of men and methods will be based upon the highest and most exacting standards. I note, too, your insistence that the great army of policyholders of the Equitable Life Assurance Society shall be the supreme consideration. They and the uncounted millions who stand behind them, not only in life insurance companies, but in all other institutions for the encouragement of thrift, must be made not only to feel but to know of a truth that their interests, lying as they do at the very foundation of our growth and prosperity, are the most important that can be confided to men.

"I remain,

"Very truly yours,

"THOMAS F. RYAN."

The announcement of the appointment of the trustees acted like magic upon the unwholesome business conditions prevailing at the time. From their first meeting—the only one I ever attended in order to execute the deed of trust—accompanied by the issue of a formal address, followed by the first list of directors chosen by them, confidence asserted itself. Sensational reports disappeared and even the threat of danger—much less danger itself—was no longer powerful. Mr. Cleveland's action thus taken, added to the prestige of a great name, had entirely cleared the air in a moment.

Nor was I less concerned as to whom should be associated with Mr. Cleveland than in his own appointment and acceptance. From my earliest days in New York I had been thrown into close and friendly association with Morgan J. O'Brien, then a Justice of the Supreme Court in the State of New York. I had watched with admiration his sure and steady rise to power and influence, and how at every turn he had been able to command, as he deserved, the good will of his friends and of the general public. I knew his quali-

ties as a business man as well as those which distinguished him as a lawyer and judge. I had not employed him in cases in which I was interested—which left both of us in an entirely independent position—all of which, to my mind, made it exceedingly important that, if possible, I should secure his services as a member of the Board of Trustees. It was with difficulty that he was induced to accept because he was then burdened with heavy tasks in philanthropic, charitable and religious causes, in addition to his work on the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

For the third member of the Board I was especially desirous of finding a business man whose name, being a household word, would appeal to the imagination of the country as one who, under any and all circumstances, would do his duty to the public. For this reason I chose the third member, George Westinghouse. My own acquaintance with him was not close, but this was all the more reason why I should choose such a man for an important post like this. I was determined that every member of the Board should be as far removed as possible from any obligation to myself, and I do not think that in either of the cases mentioned I could have made a better choice, one which would have justified itself better in the eyes of my countrymen.

I do not believe there is another case in our history in which quiet and orderly business has again asserted itself so quickly, after such a long and serious disturbance, as in the case of the Equitable Society in June, 1905. In confirmation of this fact, Mr. Cleveland insisted, to the end, that he looked upon this work as perhaps the most important and certainly the most gratifying that he had done during his entire public career.

When I had resolved upon this action and had taken the preliminary step to get the price of the stock, divesting myself of any control of it, selecting trustees who would strike the public imagination, other matters quite as important were to be considered. Among these the most vital was that of getting the right man at the head of the Society as its executive officer, one who would not only work in perfect harmony with the trustees, but would carry out my own ideas to the letter. Some time previously I had met Paul Morton, then Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Roosevelt. He was practically a stranger to me. I had known his father very well both as a public official and

a man of the highest character. My original proposition to Mr. Morton on business had been made with no relation whatever to the Equitable, or to any thought of it; but after I had thought out the details as narrated, it struck me at once that here was the man who, if he could be transferred from the other activities in which I had intended to engage him, would work it out as completely as possible. When I had perfected all my plans in my own mind, and all the legal complications had been studied and mastered, I made it a condition of the purchase of the control of the Equitable from Mr. Hyde that Mr. Morton should be elected president of the Society, and that he should be vested with the most ample powers over the old Board; in fact, it was a part of my plan that every official of the Society and every member of the Board should place his resignation in the hands of the new president.

After this preliminary work had been done, the rest was comparatively easy. Confidence was at once restored in the way that I have noted, and from that moment practically all danger of panic disappeared not only so far as the insurance companies were concerned, but from every branch of financial activity.

I have already said that I had had practically no personal relations with Mr. Morton before I had chosen him for this important work, but never in all my long and extensive business experience has such a choice been better justified. He had excellent personal relations with Mr. Cleveland by reason of the latter's political association with his father and his great confidence in him. Mr. Morton himself soon showed not only that he had a large and comprehensive idea of the immediate work to be done in the matter of perfect restoration of confidence, but, though without any technical knowledge of insurance, he at once took hold of the routine work and reorganization in the most effective way. His choice of men to help him proved itself to be excellent in every way; his relations with the old and experienced members of the Board who remained in the service soon demonstrated that he had no narrow plans and that he made no pretense whatever to know everything about the routine of an important and difficult business. He at once turned over all the resources of the Society to the trustees. In the rigorous investigation which the trustees felt themselves called upon to make about the policyholders

whose names were suggested as fitting directors of the Society, he co-operated to his full power; but he did not once intervene or make suggestions to them in any way that either was or looked like interference. There was no sign of jealousy, assertiveness, or narrowness in his methods. As the trustees proceeded to fill up the Board of Directors Mr. Morton developed in as high a degree as I have ever seen exhibited anywhere the faculty of putting himself in touch with his Board and really leading it. He studied each man individually, and found out not only what he thought ought to be done but what he himself would like to do, not only what he was thinking of, but what he was capable of doing. It took only a few weeks, therefore, for him to command the absolute confidence of his Board, and from the day that this was done and until the end of his life, nearly six years later, this confidence continued.

He showed a keen appreciation of what ought to be done from the point of view of management and in the way of expenditures. He did not undertake to go in and hit right and left without any regard for the interest of individuals—whether officials in the Society, or agents, or anybody in the vast army of people who depended upon its activities for their living and upon whom it was largely dependent for its business and its success. He did not yield to public clamor, or unduly hurry himself in carrying out any policies which he and the Board had in mind.

At the end of the first year of his management he was able to assure the public that he had reduced the executive expenses by more than a million dollars, or about twenty to twenty-five per cent. over the previous year. He had examinations made by trained accountants so that he himself soon knew the exact condition of the business in all its parts. Keen, cool-headed, straightforward in his methods and in everything he did, the debt which insurance—not the Equitable alone but the business itself as a business—owes to Mr. Morton can hardly be estimated; and when the history of insurance development during the past years is written his place in it cannot be other than a striking and creditable one.

My own relation to the Equitable after I had purchased the stock was simple. I had taken this great risk, and had deprived myself of the use in my business of a very large sum of money, as well as the right to exercise any control

over either the trustees or the management of the Society itself. The trustees pursued their own course. They took up the work with a great deal of energy, a fact, as has already been set forth historically, so far as it related to Mr. Cleveland, whose spirit was also infused throughout the whole Society.

Within a month after the trustees had taken charge, a new Finance Committee, chosen by the trustees, took up its work. It abandoned investments, accepted new ones, made loans, bought securities, and conducted business in its own way.

The stock certificate for the 502 shares, the controlling interest, was put into the hands of the secretary of the trustees and was kept, I have been informed, in a safe-deposit vault during the five-year term of the trust. I never saw it and do not, even to this day, know where it was kept. The semi-annual dividends were drawn to the order of the trustees, in whose name the stock stood, and in accordance with the trust agreement were indorsed over to my order. The trustees were a self-perpetuating body and could renew the trust by five-year periods without any consultation with me or my representatives until the end of time if they had elected to do so. From the beginning, as I made plain in my letter to Mr. Morton, June 26th, 1905, I had no idea of the resale of the securities. I did, however, at that time, and by the advice of the trustees, give an additional assurance to them and to the public that the Society might purchase the stock at any time without any profit to me.

Outside of my letter to the trustees that the business of the Society should be conducted upon the highest lines, I had, as noted, made one pledge in the letter appointing them, that the Society, so far as the law permitted, should be made a mutual insurance company to be under the control of the policyholders. I believed this to be right and so imposed the condition that permanent provision should be made from the beginning for the election by the policyholders of twenty-eight directors, two more than a majority. I soon learned that Mr. Cleveland was so strongly opposed to this policy that he hesitated to take the steps necessary for carrying into effect my express wishes. He was so settled in his convictions that in the hope of overcoming my insistence he asked for an interview. I was soon able to convince him that I looked upon any failure to carry out this policy as a

breach of faith. Another trustee was still more reluctant to surrender his convictions. I used the same arguments and assurances with him, and in response to these the policy was carried through without further opposition from the trustees. This is the only case even remotely resembling interference with those gentlemen during the years of the continuance of the trust in my name.

I am free to confess that some semblance of support was given to the trustees in the attitude which the policyholders then took. During the first year appeal was made to the policyholders, with the result that over 90,000, just more than one-fourth, responded in some sort of way either with a proxy or voted direct for some trustee suggested by themselves. No attempt whatever was made to influence the policyholders for or against any individual policy, but this activity was a mere spurt, as the interest on their part seemed to be lost from that time forward, so that it was difficult in the following year to gather about forty voters for the annual meeting, and I have been told that in following years the number has still further declined. While this proved that the trustees reflected the real mind of the policyholders, it made no impression upon me. Instead of weakening my belief in mutualization this but strengthened it, because, as I looked at the matter, this control was not only just and proper, but it removed everything resembling a grievance and confirmed the belief that the choice of directors through disinterested trustees was the natural solution of many of the problems to be found in modern corporate management.

Mr. Cleveland had a very strong feeling of resentment toward the men who, having been directors of the Equitable, ran away when their help was most needed. One of the things that he told me, before actively taking hold of the work in the single interview I had with him, was that he would never consent that any of these men should be permitted to come back as directors, and he and the trustees adhered to this policy with a rigidity that nothing could shake. I need scarcely say that in this I concurred. It seemed to me unnatural that at such a time and under such conditions men should run away from what was one of the most conspicuous and important of their duties to the great trust which had been reposed in them.

The only complaint that ever came to me from the trus-

tees or officials of the Society or from any other source was based upon my refusal to give instructions. I had neglected what they termed my own interests, but they went their own way as absolute owners of the property. That I had done right to myself and my own was apparent and there appeared to be no reason why I should further concern myself with the management, unless the trustees, in the exercise of their power, should at the end of the term for which they had been chosen throw it back into my hands.

I should not like, however, to convey the impression that my attitude was one of careless indifference. No man could have watched with more interest and pride the progress of the Society. It was a pleasure to see how confidence in good management so speedily replaced the wild accusations, the suspicions, and the unrest that had characterized the insurance business for nearly a year. Even the laws which followed, some of which seemed drastic in their features, were soon to demonstrate their failure and to disappear, a conclusion that has amply justified itself.

All the reports which were made as a result of the investigations of the Equitable, so far as they contained practical recommendations, had been substantially anticipated by Mr. Morton. Those that had been made before the appointment of the trustees, both by Mr. Hendricks, then Commissioner of Insurance, and by the Frick Committee, at once became so many idle words. Mr. Cleveland's name and Mr. Morton's work soon restored confidence and corrected the evils that had provoked the scandal.

This conclusion not only applied to the Equitable, but the other companies engaged in the business, whether they were large or small, shared in the benefits. Every one of them was soon reorganized, careless men were eliminated from the directorates and, gradually and surely, the business came back to a reasonable and solid prosperity. Whatever abuses had existed were corrected and it is not unfair to claim that this was the natural effect of the immediate restoration of confidence following as a result of the coming of Mr. Cleveland and his associates into the trusteeship of the Equitable, accompanied, as it was, by the safe and prudent management of Mr. Morton.

Not least among the things that I pride myself upon in the Equitable matter is the determination of myself and of Mr. Cleveland, faithfully and vigorously carried out by

Mr. Morton, that the Equitable should once and for all be taken out of and kept out of politics. Prior to that time the large insurance companies were in politics, had made contributions to political campaigns, and had paid large sums to legislative agents in various States—all no doubt in what their officers believed to be to the best interest of their policyholders or for their protection. Mr. Cleveland and I determined that this should cease. We resolved that if legislation were introduced or proposed that was hurtful to the best interests of the Society or its policyholders, it should oppose it on its merits only and in the open, and by the authority of the directors of the Society, and that if harmful or ill-considered legislation were enacted the Society would have to endure it until its effects should be demonstrated and upon reconsideration more just or equitable provisions be enacted. This policy was vigorously carried out, and I am firmly convinced that it has done more by its example to leave unhampered great business enterprises and free them from dangerous political control than any other one act has done in our time. It is an old adage that actions speak louder than words, and I have always believed that deeds and not declarations are what men should be judged by.

I reached the conclusion, reinforced by study and observation, that most Boards of Directors are at once too large in number and too irresponsible. I am convinced that the Equitable, for instance, with its vast interests, should be managed by a Board of not more than thirteen members. Nominated, as now, by trustees, from the whole body; selected with direct reference both to the details to be mastered and for demonstrated ability to comprehend and administer large affairs; paid liberally, though not lavishly, for the time given to the work; required to know and understand every act of the Board; and held to strict account, such men would both command and deserve the confidence of stockholders and the public. Corporate management would thus escape from the one-man power which is now its peril, while the big man, whose only claim to recognition is his investment, or his connection, and not of necessity his honesty and ability, might gradually be eliminated.

I am also further confirmed in the belief that a comprehensive publicity in great business concerns is one of the necessities of the future. By this, I do not refer merely to

accounts or financial estimates, which, in many quarters—especially among politicians—seem to pass for this process. I mean, rather, a discussion of the essential methods and elements of business which shall set forth how and why things are done, give currency to changes when they have justified themselves, explain how the conditions of industry are constantly changing, emphasize the fact that combination, in its final analysis, is nothing but intelligent and honest co-operation, and show how the modern exchange of products is governed by conditions and laws which only require knowledge to assure popular sympathy, reduce misunderstanding to its lowest terms, and prevent the losses incident to agitations, which are too often based upon ignorance.

At no time did I ever contemplate even the possibility of making myself a financial power separate and apart from any of the existing machinery of business. I had no desire for leadership because, as I have already said, I was preparing to escape from exacting work as soon as possible in order to devote my time to other things. I was also determined that there should not be even the smallest excuse for any attempts to connect any venture of mine with the ownership of the Equitable stock. During the time that I owned the Equitable stock I never borrowed a dollar of the Society, never sold to it a bond or a share of stock, and was never pecuniarily interested directly or indirectly in any of its financial transactions, large or small.

It had been my good fortune to enter upon the large activities of business at a time, about 1880, that the country needed every effort that could be put forth by men who had been trained for large affairs. The growth had been so rapid, the increase in population had gone on at such a rate, the changes incident to new methods, to the applications of science to industry, to the co-operation of direction and capital, and to the relations they bore to labor, had been so marked, that everything of a business character made demands upon men which it was almost impossible to satisfy. As a result of the war with Spain and many other influences, both economic and political, the country had assumed a new position in the world. Its people had to take new and larger views than had ever been necessary, and the results have been far-reaching.

I am convinced that no man can participate in large

activities without doing a public service. There is almost inevitably a dearth of men of experience and foresight. The demands are so large that scarcely any man who finds himself in the midst of such a condition, where he must bend all his energies to his task, can fail to accumulate something for himself.

There is a mistaken idea abroad as to the accumulation of fortunes. It seems to be generally thought that these come suddenly, in great amounts, whereas they are more akin to the process represented by the miller's toll for grinding wheat into flour. Accumulation comes slowly but surely if management is prudent and far-seeing. Without making a special study of the times since 1880 to the present no man can have any idea of the work that has been done, of the increase in popular wealth and prosperity, or of the large number of men, very widely distributed over the country, who, in their particular fields, have contributed to this result on creative lines.

The growth of business has made necessary the adoption of co-operative methods so that probably no great transaction has been carried on within the last twenty years in which the leading banks all over the United States have not been called upon to take their share of risk and, in the case of success, their share of profit. But the division of these profits has in many cases been minute, and, on the other hand, men outside these activities can hardly have any conception of the risks involved in great ventures like these. There seems to be a general feeling that everything that is taken up must succeed in spite of the fact that this is not the rule even in the simplest affairs of life.

This false popular idea has had much to do with the creation of the feeling that there was somewhere a great combination or money trust. There has been gross exaggeration about the supposed control, of any given property or any groups of property, accruing to bankers by participation in projects, new or old. For instance, I recall that when I purchased the Equitable stock, one of the common assertions was that I had come into control of so many hundreds of millions of dollars, when the truth was that, in this particular case, I had no control at all, and even if I had owned every share of the stock and had been the absolute manager, I should not have been able, under any circumstances, to use any considerable proportion of the funds

of the Society in a way that could have served my own purposes. The investments of fiduciary agencies are a steady quantity with only slight changes, and in the case of insurance companies, as with savings-banks and national banks, the conditions are rigidly fixed by law. They are managed by strong, responsible committees in each organization, and I have yet to see such a body that would consent to put itself under the control of a single banker or even a group of bankers. The banker may be the fiscal agent of a corporation or a railroad and yet be able to exercise only the smallest control and sometimes none at all. He represents a fixed policy to which he must adjust himself, and as he is paid for each particular transaction, his clients may find another representative the next day.

So far as the Equitable is concerned, I am much indebted to the disinterested labors of the trustees to whom I turned for assistance, to the officials of the Society, and to the able men who, in the face of many difficulties and discouragements, consented to enter the Board of Directors. But, if my indebtedness to these men is great, the obligation of the public, whose interest they conserved, is beyond computation.

Without even emphasizing my own relations to this work I have always had what I think is a just pride in feeling that the Society and the business it represented was at once taken out of politics and of what was known as Wall Street. I had naturally foreseen the storm of denunciation, the questioning of motives, and the abuse that would come to me from many quarters, as indeed it did, but I was never moved by it to make an answer, because I felt that, as my motives were so clear to myself, they would become so to the public when time should justify me, as it must. I could afford to wait and I have waited with the feeling that, in doing what I deemed a commanding act, at the opportune moment, I should become understood. I have even thought that, perhaps, my act might come to be appreciated as something of a service rendered by me to the world on my way through it.

THOMAS F. RYAN.

A NATIONAL AERONAUTICAL LABORATORY

BY A. F. ZAHM

THERE is in America a spontaneous movement, amply justified by present conditions, to marshal all our resources in aeronautics to the more systematic and scientific development of that fascinating, but as yet too deadly, mechanical art. For it is broadly appreciated that the adequate achievement of a system of locomotion so swift, so direct and universal, is abundantly worth the labor of a skilled army of men toiling unremittingly, if need be, through the entire twentieth century. And it is keenly realized that if this populous and wealthy nation, which has contributed nothing to the evolution of the buoyant air-ship, is to sustain in aviation a fair measure of the pre-eminence gained by her pioneers in aerodynamic research, and in the construction of aeroplanes and flying-boats, she must, even in these limited branches, wisely co-ordinate her best efforts and most effective agencies.

That pleasant pre-eminence has not only to be sustained; it has too patently, too largely to be retrieved. In aerodynamics our investigators once led the world; now, for want of endowment, they make only the feeblest progress. America produced the first steam and the first gasolene models capable of sustained flight; she invented and built the first passenger monoplanes and biplanes of adequate stability and power for prolonged voyages; yet to-day she stands before the world stripped of every first-class record coveted anywhere by the votaries of aviation. The records for speed, for distance, for altitude, for endurance, for swift climbing, for useful load, all have passed from the clever pioneer to the more systematic and zealous com-

petitor.* At the annual Olympic of aviation the grand trophy has been taken thrice consecutively by a French monoplane; and now the victor nation defies us to win back that coveted honor within three years' time by use of an American-built machine.

This very honorable challenge cannot, without deep humiliation, be ignored or lightly laughed away. We established that unique trophy, perhaps the most famous in tournamental history, and we also, in large measure, created the fantastic art of racing swallow-like through the fields of air. But this friendly appeal to our sportive and scientific skill is the least incentive to concerted action. Our own sense of the intrinsic value of aviation for civil use and for the national defense, and our native bent for hard and daring enterprise of epochal moment prompt us to the most virile effort and most rational co-ordination of forces. Our statesmen, therefore, and strategists, our opulent patrons of science, our engineers and constructors, our adroitest aviators, may well co-operate in the organized promotion of aeronautic science and art.

Of these various motives for solid team-work, the sportive one, though not less laudable than our ancient ardor to flag the poles, may be dismissed with kindly commendation. A lively emulation, however, in aeronautic science, a wise and sturdy strife for leadership, in the interest of human progress, cannot be too much encouraged in a huge commonwealth so beneficently dowered with the essential resources for advancing empiric knowledge. True, this is an appeal to sentiment. Our shrewd and practical opportunists advise delay till other nations shall have evolved an air-ship suitable for commercial exploitation. But is not this a trader's counsel which, if everywhere adopted, would stop the fundamental progress of the world? Fortunately the liberal and large American philanthropist is swayed not wholly by commercial predilections, and is no more keen to

* The present record for speed is 108¾ miles per hour in a closed circuit; for distance, 628 miles without stop; for altitude, 19,685 feet; for duration, 13 hours 18 minutes; for fast climbing nearly 500 feet per minute (1,640 feet in 3′ 35″); all records won by French pilots with French aeroplanes.

The most notable American record is that of Lieutenant John Towers in a Curtiss hydroaeroplane lasting 6 hours 10 minutes continuously. The 4,017 mile flight of C. P. Rodgers from New York to Pasadena was too broken and too protracted to have any technical significance.

foster the practical arts than to endow the basic sciences from which they spring.

If aeronautics could serve no other use than national protection its military value alone should claim our most careful attention. As an agency in strategic and tactical operations, not to mention the transportation of officers, troops, or supplies, it now ranks as the fourth arm of the greatest military establishments in the world. Already France's annual expenditure for this branch rapidly approximates the cost of a first-class battle-ship. And in this she is stoutly rivaled by Germany, and bravely emulated by Russia and Italy. Nor does there seem to be any hope of relief or escape from this new burden. On the contrary, in a contest of two well-matched powers command of the air may be but the prelude to domination by land or sea. No wonder the alert military states are diligently arming their avions and auto-balloons in anticipation of aggressive aerial warfare and of inevitable conflicts in the sky.

It is, however, the civil uses of aeronautics which may eventually far outvalue its military applications. Our present air craft have even now many of the essential qualities of a complete system of world navigation. In less than half a decade the auto-balloon has been transformed from a comparatively feeble and uncertain ship, battling its way against the wind, with all too frequent mishaps, into a powerful air liner carrying numerous passengers on schedule time. In Germany, Count Zeppelin's great rigid dirigible, the "Victoria Louise," launched in February, 1912, has been making regular voyages of ten to twenty hours, and carrying in snug accommodation upward of thirty passengers. These happy tourists, voyaging in stately splendor and admirable security, are borne through the sky at railway speeds, furnished with the finest parlor and café service of a modern palace-car. But these journeys form the merest beginning of a practical business in buoyant air navigation. The Zeppelin Company has been considering plans for a liner one thousand feet long, adapted to carry three hundred passengers at upward of fifty miles an hour, and competent to cross the Atlantic in three days. The famous inventor, Count Zeppelin, has made some calculations to prove that his passenger air-ships may be expected to pay good dividends in competition with established systems of trans-

portation. Nor is the Zeppelin Company the only one in Europe that operates a successful air-ship line.

The aeroplanes, too, despite their fatalities and transient loss of prestige, require little development, except in their engines, to adapt them to important industrial uses. A cheap-running reliable motor will enable them to compete for interurban traffic effectively with the automobile and the power-boat. In many respects they already equal or excel these popular vehicles of land and water. In their better types, they sweep from capital to capital with twice the speed of the eagle; they overtop the clouds and loftiest passes of Alps or Andes; they remain on the wing all day; they navigate in direct line over land and sea; over tracts impassable to any but aerial craft they carry the burden of an automobile with many times its average velocity. And in safety of transit may they not eventually surpass all the other high-speed contrivances known to man? At least this consummation is predicted by many inventors of first-rate ability.*

Prompted by the foregoing or like considerations, the friends of aeronautics in America are striving to secure for it a patronage and means of development commensurate with that which it enjoys in the great commonwealths of Europe. The Aero Club of America, with the indorsement of various scientific and technical organizations, has pledged itself to secure the endowment of a national aeronautical laboratory. The expediency of a broader and more generous encouragement of aerial navigation in all its branches, but especially as a means of national defense, has been favorably discussed in Congress preparatory to definite legislation. The aviation branches of the United States Army and Navy, though with limited resources, have been actively employed not only in training aviators, but also in testing the military value of

* Bleriot has expressed his conviction that the aeroplane will be generally adopted for moving swiftly and pleasantly from place to place, that it will be extremely safe, while swifter and cheaper than any other known vehicle of land or sea. "There is," he says, "absolutely nothing to prevent flight from becoming one of the greatest developments in the world's history."

At the Curtiss school during the past year a score to threescore flights have been made daily in all but the severest weather, and without serious accident. The running expense has been about the same as with an automobile of the same power.

the best available air craft and appliances. Their influence in bestirring manufacturers to meet more and more difficult requirements as to speed, endurance, climbing and carrying power, structural strength, efficiency, and whatever other qualities may be important in the military art, has been most beneficial. The final task, now fairly begun, is to coordinate these agencies by means of an organic general directorate, then to secure the requisite funds for the scientific and practical development of aeronautics in America. This financial assistance may be obtained either from Congress or by direct appeal to the people, as has been done so successfully in Europe; or through the munificence of zealous patrons who, emulating their sagacious peers in Russia, France, and Germany, may establish well-equipped laboratories for general service, and offer adequate remuneration or liberal awards for meritorious achievement in aero science or in the production or manipulation of aerial machines and appliances.

These separate phases of the general movement deserve more detailed exposition. But, for the presnt, only the effort to found a laboratory can have due consideration.

The national aerotechnical institution proposed by the Aero Club of America, and strongly advocated in its official bulletin, as in other progressive periodicals, is needed to furnish the basic facts and principles of aeronautic engineering, and such theoretic and empiric knowledge as may be useful to all promoters of the flying art. The inventors and builders in this country feel keenly the want of experimental data to form a rational basis for their structural designs; the users and students of air craft experience equally a want of adequate and disinterested tests of existing aeroplanes and their accessories.

The designing draughtsman poring over the plans for a novel flier, and loath to assign its shape and proportions by mere intuition or conjecture; the bewildered capitalist; the constructor and experimentalist disappointed in the output of their machine, designed without sufficient mechanical data; the Federal officers drawing specifications for requisite avions and searching in French, German, or Italian literature for information, charily disclosed, when not positively withheld, by foreign Governments, our aero clubmen, at great expense in time and money, striving with admirable sportsmanship and patriotism, by means of trophies, tourna-

ments, and cash awards, to improve all the important records of our aerial machines; the general public, horrified by the long list of avoidable fatalities due to inadequate provision for strength or stability—all have experienced the intense common desire for a more systematic and rational development of an art which can never be obliterated, but which, adequately developed and sensibly employed, may become a benefaction instead of a pernicious plague. There is, therefore, a general desire for an American institute that shall supply these wants in the broadest and most thorough manner, an institute not for training aviators or instructing engineers, for this is already done in several schools, but primarily for the increase and diffusion of aeronautical science. Only by means of such an establishment, and by the mutual aid and co-operation of all our votaries of the flying art, may we hope to keep pace with the progress, so conspicuous in foreign countries, in improving the security and capacity of aerial machines.

If the laboratory is to be broadly national it must subserve both civilian and military interests. If supported by Federal appropriations alone, it may be placed entirely in one of the regular bureaus of the Government; but if, like the National Museum, it is to be the recipient of private donations of equipment or money, it may very properly be made a branch of the Smithsonian Institution. This affiliation appeals to more than sentiment alone, however worthy; for the Smithsonian, besides its renown in aviation, already has a considerable nucleus of aeronautic apparatus, models, books, and so forth, and an endowment fund of one hundred thousand dollars for investigation of the properties of the air. But whether the laboratory be established by private means or governmental, or both, what our people require is a representative American institution in which a staff of trained specialists, provided with adequate apparatus, shall furnish physical constants, laws, formulæ, and empirical data of substantial and permanent value to the engineer, the inventor, and the manufacturer; a laboratory where complete and reliable tests and reports shall be made upon all classes of actual air craft that may be worthy of study and development; an institution surrounded by ample manœuvering space of land and water, and preferably adjacent to a governmental flying-ground, available with hangars and shops to all civilians worthy of assistance; a

center of scientific and practical activity, where at all times may be witnessed the most accurate researches and most exhaustive tests; where the knowledge so gained shall be disseminated by publications, by oral communications, by exhibitions of apparatus and instruments, of materials and models, by photographs and drawings—in a word, by all the facilities of the aerodrome, the showroom, the library, and the assembly-room.

This general conception of America's need in aerotechnical science has been for several years firmly maturing in the minds of all her votaries of aerial locomotion alert to the progress of this unique branch of engineering. Happily the general desire and the spontaneous movement for an adequate center of aerotechnical activity have been expressed in a specific working plan, submitted to his chief, by Captain W. I. Chambers, the officer in charge of aviation in the United States Navy. The approval and publication of this plan now brings before the American people a definite and practical ideal, of ample scope and liberality to serve both the needs of industrial and military aeronautics and the more rigorous demands of exact engineering science; an ideal that, less concretely, has been voiced many times in editorial comments, in the committees of aero clubs and scientific societies, and in the councils of various military and civil bureaus of the Federal Government. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the timely proposition of the Navy Department will, at least in its main features, meet with universal commendation and active support.

Captain Chambers proposes the establishment of a national aerodynamic laboratory having, besides many important concrete qualities, all the general characteristics hitherto set forth. He proposes that the laboratory shall be located in Washington and be so related to the Federal Government that it may receive Congressional appropriations together with private endowments, and that its directors may have important tests and investigations made at the various civil and military bureaus already possessed of equipment suitable for special aeronautic experiments. For example, the strength of materials can be measured at the Navy Yard; the properties of hydroplane floats or models can be studied at the Model Basin; detailed engine tests can be made at the Bureau of Standards; special meteorological investigations can be conducted at the Weather Bureau.

Still other physical and mechanical researches may well be carried on at universities and technical institutes in co-operation with the scientific staff of the national laboratory. But that important class of experimentation and study, for which we have at present no funds nor equipments, should be the peculiar task of the aerodynamical laboratory itself.

This establishment Captain Chambers proposes to place in the grounds of the Smithsonian Institution, where it may use the old shops and laboratories employed in Langley's aeronautic work, and may enjoy ready at hand many other facilities, such as offices, library, heat, light and power, a museum for models, an administrative force for receiving endowment funds and keeping accounts. A further reason for choosing this locality is that it is near to a large dead-level tract on the Potomac River front which, being Federal property, may be used for an aerodrome for land flights and manœuvers, while the river itself may serve for experimentation and practice with flying-boats. Hard by this fields are the Navy Yard shops, the Model Basin, three lofty open steel towers suitable for meteorological experiments, the Fort Myer garrison, the War College, and Washington Barracks where the Signal Corps has been instructing officers in the use of hydroaeroplanes. Finally the field, since it forms an undeveloped extension of the Monument Grounds and the Speedway, just below the White House, is most conveniently accessible to all the officers, both legislative and executive, of the National Government residing in Washington, who might well wish to witness aeroplane demonstrations and keep informed of the progress of civil and military aviation. Needless to add that the proposed tract is skirted by the railway and steamboat lines leading to the national capital. All in all, Captain Chambers considers that no more ideal location for an aeronautic laboratory and aerodrome exists anywhere in the world; ideal for both Federal and industrial activities; ideal for the Army, for the Navy, and, since Washington is a Mecca for business men, ideal for the convenience of the fabricator and seller of air craft, especially craft of the type designed for the use of the Government itself.

For the general supervision of the laboratory, Captain Chambers, having in view the efficient work of the British Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, proposes that, in addi-

tion to the director and his staff, there shall be a board, or council, empowered to outline the policies of the establishment, and broadly to initiate and review its activities, so as to provide most liberally and equitably for all the aeronautic interests of the nation. This council should not be a large body, but should comprise representative men, for the most part learned and technical; not indeed all specialists, but all interested in the sane development of aerial navigation; men of broad vision and experience whose presence shall guarantee fair treatment, as well to those who devise and manufacture aerial machines as to those who use them for any worthy end, whether of commerce, recreation, or military art. A special task of the council might well be to shield the scientific staff from the importunities and pressure of persons desiring to obtain, at the public expense, technical and laboratory aid in enterprises too purely private for the general interest, and for which nominal fees should be charged. Another function of the council, if in time it should become the recipient of suitable endowment funds, might be the offering of prizes and the granting of rewards for meritorious aeronautic achievements outside of the institution.

Summarizing the complete rôle of an ideal aerodynamic laboratory, Captain Chambers recognizes the following functions: "(1) Execution of verification tests by means of nominal fees; (2) facilities to technical men for prosecuting original researches; (3) execution of researches in accordance with a programme arranged by the council; and (4) reward for commendable results accomplished outside of the laboratory."

"Inasmuch," concludes his report, "as more definite information regarding the actual cost of a dignified and creditable, but modest and sufficient, installation should be obtained, and as the details of the plan, the scope, the organization, and the location of such an important undertaking should not be left to the recommendations of one man, *I respectfully recommend that a commission or board be appointed to consider and report to the President, for recommendation to Congress, the necessity or desirability for the establishment of a national aerodynamic laboratory, and on its scope, its organization, the most suitable location for it, and the cost of its installation.*"

The general plans for a national aerodynamic laboratory outlined by the Navy Department met with prompt recognition and distinguished favor. On December 19, 1912, the

President of the United States, acting on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy, made three days previously, created an Aeronautical Commission to report on the proposed laboratory, with a view to submitting a well-considered recommendation to Congress at an early date. Four statesmen and fifteen men of scientific training and experience were appointed on the Commission. Of the scientists and engineers all have been deeply interested in the progress of aeronautics; and the majority have made researches in aerodynamics or kindred branches. The membership represents widely different sections of the country and sufficiently diversified aeronautic interests.

If, after the report of this temporary body and the ensuing recommendation of the President, Congress shall create a permanent Aeronautic Commission charged with the duties of supervising the tests and researches of a national aeronautic laboratory and of allied establishments, it will be but following an excellent precedent. For nearly four years such a commission, known as the Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, has been actively at work in Great Britain. The renowned physicist, Lord Rayleigh, is its president. The other members, a dozen in all, include investigators in aerodynamics and cognate branches who have achieved world-wide distinction. And during the brief period of their labor they have amply justified the expectations of the people, and the hopes entertained by the Prime Minister of England in appointing the Committee. Nor is the work of this body at all unique. In France, in Germany, in Russia, in Italy, highly endowed aerotechnical institutes, both governmental and private, are vigorously prosecuting the greatest variety of investigations demanded by the constructional and military arts. These institutes have profoundly influenced the development of both branches of aerial locomotion. Though they cannot be described here, in closing, they may be said to have amply repaid the cost of their foundation and to warrant the establishment in America of an aeronautical laboratory which, in its directorate, its technical staff and its endowment, shall rank with the best in the world.

A. F. Zahm.

BANANAS AND DIPLOMACY

BY CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

To those in world-trade names of countries and regions suggest their products. It has always been so. The East Indies four hundred years ago meant spice; two hundred years ago China meant silks and tea; Canada meant fur. The Caribbean to Queen Elizabeth meant gold—it was the route of the treasure-ships of Spain — to Washington it meant sugar and molasses, and to our children it will mean bananas.

The Panama Canal has so occupied our attention for the last decade that we have overlooked a significant economic change taking place independently of the forces which promise so radically to change the transportation routes of world commerce. Economists tell us that the trend of diplomacy like the trend of all other things human is determined by the food-supply. If this be true, Caribbean diplomacy will be determined by the banana crop. This side of the Isthmus at the beginning of the twentieth century there are growing up food products which will exercise an influence upon international politics unconnected with the Panama Canal and of an importance which can be measured only in prophecy.

New foods often make their way slowly, especially among older nations. The English are still behind the Scotch in their appreciation of the value of oats for human food; the potato came into its own in Germany only in the second half of the nineteenth century and Europe still looks upon maize as fit nourishment only for the lower animals and the poor. But even prejudice yields to proof. The development of the banana market illustrates both conservatism and its overthrow.

America alone among the civilized portions of the globe realizes the value of this new food. Location rather than adaptiveness till recently explained the fact. When refrigeration was unknown and fast steamships for freight

service still a thing of the future, bananas could be marketed only within areas easily accessible from the regions in which the fruit was produced. Large quantities grew wild, enormous amounts were consumed locally, but the surplus either went to waste or was used to fatten pigs, as is still the case with the inferior product. Even in the United States until a generation ago the banana was a fruit counted a luxury rather than a valuable food.

The market for bananas in the United States was developed largely through the efforts of one man. Forty years ago Captain L. D. Baker was engaged in trade between the Orinoco River and Boston. On one trip he called at Port Morant, Jamaica, for a cargo of bamboo for paper-making and carried back a few bunches of bananas, then a curiosity in the New England markets. The venture proved profitable and the captain thereafter made several trips a year to Port Antonio, Jamaica, to take cargoes of bananas to Boston. Later he was a member of a firm formed to prosecute the trade, which in time became one of the great fruit companies.

How important the trade has become is illustrated by the figures of exports. In 1911 there were sent from Caribbean countries in the export trade 52,936,963 bunches, which on the average of 140 bananas to the bunch, represents a total of over 7,400,000,000 bananas. In 1912 the continental United States alone consumed 44,520,539 bunches, or over sixty bananas for each man, woman and child in the Union. The sources from which they came are indicated by the following table compiled from the consular returns for 1912:

BANANA SUPPLY OF THE UNITED STATES 1912

Jamaica	15,467,918
Honduras	7,151,178
Costa Rica	7,053,664
Panama	4,581,500
Cuba	2,478,581
Nicaragua	2,270,100
Guatemala	2,017,650
Colombia	1,542,988
Mexico	817,006
British Honduras	557,160
Dominican Republic	304,000
Dutch Guiana	261,548
Others	17,246
Total	44,520,539

The world supply in 1911 as shown by the same records was:

Country of Origin	Quantity (Bunches)
Dominican Republic	404,000
Mexico (Frontera Province)	750,000
Honduras	6,500,000
Costa Rica	9,309,586
Jamaica	16,497,385
Colombia	4,901,894
Panama	4,261,500
Canary Islands	2,648,378
Cuba	2,500,000
Nicaragua	2,225,000
Guatemala	1,755,704
British Honduras	525,000
Dutch Guiana	387,516
Others	250,000
Total	52,915,963

Two facts appear from these figures: with the exception of the Canary Islands, all the countries producing large quantities of bananas for export border the Caribbean, and the United States consumes 85 per cent. of all bananas exported—five times as much as all the rest of the world. Even with us the great increase in banana consumption comes in recent years. The value of imports was $5,877,835 in 1900; $9,897,821 in 1905; $11,642,693 in 1910; $14,368,330 in 1912.

The business, especially when the fruit must be sent long distances, demands organization for collecting fruit from small planters, and large capital for steamers with refrigerating appliances. In fact, reliance on private planters has proven unsatisfactory and the big banana-marketing companies now own extensive plantations throughout the West Indies and on the mainland.

European countries are beginning to appreciate the new food; in fact, the most rapid increase of consumption and the best prices are now obtained there rather than in the United States.

Though cargo trade in bananas to the United States started as early as 1869 it was not until 1900 that full shiploads went to England. The development of the trade with Great Britain is due to the enthusiasm of Sir Alfred Jones, under whose auspices was formed a direct line running to the West Indies. The incorporators agreed in re-

turn for an annual subsidy of $200,000 to take to England from Jamaica, 20,000 bunches of bananas a week. The objects of the public support were to strengthen the commercial ties of the West Indies and the mother-country, to encourage small planters, and to lessen, or if possible overcome, the economic supremacy of the United States in the British West Indies. Another independent line also entered the field with thirteen vessels devoted to the Jamaica-Great Britain fruit trade.

The outcome has not been altogether satisfactory. The Imperialistic purpose of the subsidy failed but the banana trade was given a recognized place in the British markets which, with the exception of those of the United States, furnish the largest demand found in any country of the world. The first three years the trade went well. The company organized a subsidiary concern to buy fruit from the planters. The supply was adequate and the market growing. In 1903, however, came a cyclone which temporarily destroyed the banana fields and compelled reliance on Central American plantations. As a result the subsidiary purchasing company fell into the hands of the American corporation, and this brought about an anomalous position for the subsidized British Company. But since no breach of contract had been committed the arrangement continued until 1911 when the entire subsidy lapsed. Tenders for a new service in 1910 failed as Jamaica was not willing to continue her share of the subsidy. New offers were asked, to be opened December 31, 1912. But though the experiment of public support had not been a success in all respects, it had opened the British market to the banana trade and made the United Kingdom the best European market for the fruit.

Before 1908 the demand for bananas in France was so small that they were not separately tabulated in the customs accounts, but returned in the remainder column headed "other fruits." Now the demand is growing there also. Recent imports are as follows: 1908, 5,697.6 metric tons (2,204.6 English pounds); 1909, 9,097.1; 1910, 13,522.6; 1911, 17,813.3. In the latter year the importations were valued at almost a million dollars.

Other continental markets show a similar development. Germany took only 320 metric tons of bananas in 1899; in 1911 the amount was 30,438 tons and in the first nine months

of 1912 in spite of bad crops, 28,274. Here, as in France, the variety at first preferred was a small kind grown in the Canary Islands. West Indian bananas are now being introduced. One corporation engaged in the trade has acquired by concession from Colombia extensive plantations which come into bearing in 1913. It is building a shipping port at its own cost at Puerto Caesar. For the present it secures its supplies from Jamaica and Honduras. It is planned to establish a service of banana steamers and distribute the fruit throughout Germany in specially built cars.

In March, 1912, a boat arrived from Jamaica with the first cargo shipment of bananas sent to the continent. It was followed by another, but the fruit arrived in bad condition. In December a third attempt with improved arrangement for refrigeration was made and proved a success. It brought 29,000 stalks from Puerto Cortez, Honduras, of which 6,000 were discharged at Havre, 10,000 at Rotterdam, and 13,000 at Hamburg. Shipments were also begun in September, 1912, from Vera Cruz to France.

Holland too is making a beginning in direct importation from the West Indies. Formerly the supply came through Hull, England, and in 1907 was only 100 tons. In 1912 it was 3,000 tons. Direct shipments from the West Indies were started in July of that year, one ship carrying 50,000 bunches, of which 21,000 entered at Rotterdam, and the larger part of the remainder went to France and Southern Germany, with smaller shipments to North Germany, Scandinavia and Russia.

These figures show that the world is just awakening to the value of the banana as food. If the present development continues the acreage devoted to banana-growing must rapidly increase. This can be easily done, for the areas suitable have as yet only been touched. Improved refrigeration and quick steam service will continue to widen the area in which the product can be marketed, and besides its present use as a fruit it will be used, as it now is in the tropics, where it is boiled green as a vegetable and manufactured into a confection known as banana figs. The development of the banana flour industry also promises to open a market for the product of areas too distant to profit by the demand for fresh fruit, just as the perfection of the manufacture of copra, the dried meat of the cocoanut has opened up a new industry reaching to the farthest islands of the Pacific.

The increased production of the banana in its natural state and the diversification of its uses promise to introduce a new and hitherto neglected factor in our food-supply. If present development continues, it will raise the Caribbean region from its dependence on foreign markets for food to one of the regions from which an important part of the world's food-supply will be drawn. The wheat-fields of the Dakotas and Manitoba will meet as one of their competitors in feeding the world, the banana plantations of the American Mediterranean.

But the development will have consequences not alone economic. Plantations represent capital which will demand protection from disorder. Their introduction will emphasize for the countries of Central America and Northern South America, the importance of protecting life and property if they expect to avoid international complications that may threaten their independence. The world is becoming impatient of the nations which insist on the divine right to misrule themselves. The introduction of capital, however, besides increasing their duties in the keeping of order, contributes to the solution of that problem. It increases the national wealth, furnishing a larger basis for the creation of national income by which orderly progress can be assured. Further with steady work and larger, stabler income the wants of the people will expand, giving them greater interest in the maintenance of the order which makes the satisfaction of those wants possible.

Greater wants in turn promote local industrial development and greater international trade. The cheap gaudy calico which forms the largest item in the imports of Central America will no longer satisfy, once the population reaches a higher level of subsistence. International trade will increase, the importance of tariff agreements will grow and the international competition for the market will become more keen. The banana trade will increase appreciably the importance of international relations in the Caribbean.

An immediate consequence of the development of the direct trade with Europe now just beginning is to threaten the supremacy of the United States in some of the Central American markets. People buy their goods, other things being equal, in the countries where their own products find their best sale. If improved transportation facilities for

the banana trade develop between the Caribbean and European ports, it is but natural that European manufactured goods will be carried on the return voyage.

Already our Central American consuls have warned us of the coming competition which we must expect in that region from the new direct outlets for French, German and English trade. On the north Honduras coast for example, all transportation facilities until recently served American ports alone, but still thirty per cent. of the imports were of European goods. The direct communication cannot but increase the keenness of the competition. We have been fortunate heretofore because especially in some of the regions of Central America and in Jamaica we have been practically the only great buyer of the most important product of the country. If present developments continue this advantage along with our favored conditions of transportation, will disappear.

Great as the blessings of the Panama Canal will be to the trade of the world and to that of the United States in particular, we must not let the new markets which it will develop beyond the Isthmus make us forget that region so rich in possibilities which lies this side of the continental divide and so much nearer our own markets. Friendship with our near neighbors is no less important than the good will of people over wide seas. One of the most important, and from our past experience let us remember, one of the most delicate problems with which our men of state have to deal, is the diplomacy of the Caribbean.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

THE CHERUBIM

BY FLORENCE EARLE COATES

Two angels stood at Eden's gate
  And neither uttered word:
In the eyes of one, indignant hate
  Flamed like the flame of his sword.
The other's brand burned also red
  With the fire that, avenging, sears,
And he waved the warning thing of dread;
  But his eyes were soft with tears.

They twain had watched the Fall's disgrace,
  But only one had seen
The mortal pain in the woman's face—
  Where never pain had been:
Had marked the clasp of the woman's hand
  On his who, Eden gone,
Seemed through her trembling touch new-manned,
  As he drew her gently on.

Two angels turned from Eden's gate,
  For Man had wandered far:
The one passed quickly, joy elate,
  From star to beckoning star;
But the other angel sighed, as lone
  The heavenly way he trod,
And came at last to the awful throne,
  And fell at the feet of God.

Then spake God's voice:—"What earth-born grief
Dims radiance such as thine?"
The angel sighed:—"I beg relief
For woes that are not mine!—
I plead for them that exiled live;
If grace be of thy plan,
Have mercy!—ah, have mercy! Give
Some comfort, Lord, to Man!"

The fearful angel waited: came
Long silence, then the Voice:—
"Love cannot take from wrong its blame:
Man's woes are of Man's choice;
Yet do thou bear—thy pity's price—
To them that outcast grope
This last, best gift of Paradise—
This key whose name is Hope!"

FLORENCE EARLE COATES.

A CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN NIETZSCHE AND STRINDBERG

BY HERMAN SCHEFFAUER.

It became known only recently that a most interesting, though brief, correspondence had taken place between Friedrich Nietzsche and August Strindberg. These two strange and mighty spirits had saluted each other from a distance, had exchanged a few ringing messages and then passed on—Nietzsche to that death in life which shrouded his mind in darkness and Strindberg, urged along by the whirlwinds of his tempestuous temperament, to new sorrows and disasters. The death of Strindberg in 1912 has apparently broken the seals of silence imposed upon his own letters, and the entire correspondence, after lying buried for twenty-five years, has now been given to the public for the first time by Frau Forster Nietzsche, the sister of the dead philosopher.

The first volley in this intense and pyrotechnic interchange of letters is given by Nietzsche in a long letter in which he lays bare his hope and his despair—an utterance already tinged with that fierce and tragic megalomania into which his long isolation and the indifference of the world had plunged him. The last letter, a mere line of three or four words is also written by Nietzsche. It is, to quote a simile used by himself in another place, " like a rifle-shot " —above his grave, one might add.

The feverish and rhapsodical note in Nietzsche's letters is accounted for, not only by the dreadful loneliness of soul in which he found himself, but, also, by the fact that his super-normally active mind was already beginning to totter under the influence of overwork, illness, nervous strain and the effects of the drugs which he used to combat insomnia.

Some time before he entered into correspondence with

the Swedish man of letters, Nietzsche had made the acquaintance of Georg Brandes, the distinguished Danish critic who had called his attention to Strindberg as a mind more or less in affinity with his own. Brandes was perhaps the first European to give publicity to the thought and philosophy of Nietzsche, at that time a still unrisen sun in the firmament of modern Europe. Brandes had written articles and given lectures upon Nietzsche at Copenhagen. The teacher of the Superman had been deeply moved by this first public recognition. His heart was full of gratitude toward Brandes, but this recognition of his message by a foreigner merely increased Nietzsche's anger against the unbroken silence and indifference he encountered everywhere in his own Germany. The great truths he had discovered and proclaimed met with no response in Germany, fulfilling the ancient judgment sent upon the prophet, and this neglect bore upon his soul with a crushing force. All the more ardently, therefore, did he seek for recognition in other lands. He had just completed that strange work *Ecce Homo,* the burning biography of his soul, in which he crowns himself with the ultimate glory of all battles and all philosophies, and sits throned in victory upon the ruins of the old morality—the anti-Christ triumphant. He is anxious that this book be given to the world in four languages at once. This is his chief motive for addressing Strindberg. In this letter one is able to recognize a certain likeness to the expressions and attitude of mind in *Ecce Homo*:

"Dear Sir:—The highly valued note of Monsieur Taine's which I inclose is my excuse for asking your advice in a matter of great importance to me. I am keenly anxious to obtain an audience in France, in fact this is for me an absolute necessity. Being, as I am, the most independent and perhaps the strongest spirit in our world to-day, one doomed to the fulfilment of a stupendous task, it is impossible that I should allow myself to be constrained from greeting the few persons willing to listen to me, by the barriers which an abominable dynastic national policy has erected between the peoples. And I gladly acknowledge that above all I seek such persons in France. I am well acquainted with all that transpires in the intellectual world of France. I am told that my manner of writing is really French, even though in my *Zarathustra,* I have attained a perfection in the German language unequaled hitherto by any other German.

"If I may be permitted to say so, my ancestors on my father's side were Polish noblemen, and my maternal grandmother lived in Weimar in the days of Goethe—all of which is sufficient reason for my being

in an almost unimaginable degree, the loneliest of all living Germans to-day. No word of recognition has ever come to me—and, honestly, I have never demanded it—now I have readers everywhere, in Vienna, in St. Petersburg, in Stockholm, in New York, all intelligences of the highest order, who do me honor. But such are wanting to me in Germany.

"Since the time when, at the age of twenty-four, I was called to a professorship at the University of Basle, it has, fortunately, not been necessary for me to maintain a constant warfare and to waste my energies in a reaction against adverse influences. In Basle I encountered the honored and venerable Jacob Burckhardt, who from the very beginning showed a great interest in me.—I also enjoyed a most intimate friendship with Richard Wagner and his wife who at that time lived at Tribschen, near Lucerne—a friendship in every way of the utmost value to me. It is possible that after all, I am myself a musician from of old.

"It was illness that forced me to withdraw myself from these relationships and then plunged me into a condition of the profoundest introspection—such as few men have ever been subject to. And since there is in my nature nothing that is either morbid or capricious, this loneliness has been to me, not an affliction, but rather an invaluable distinction, a state of *cleanliness*. No one has ever accused me of wearing a gloomy mien—not even myself. I believe that I have become familiar with more evil and more questionable worlds of thought than any one else, but only because it lies in my nature to love what lies apart. I account the spirit of gaiety as one of the proofs of my philosophy. . . . Perhaps I may be able to prove this to you in the two books which I send you to-day.

"Yours,

"Friedrich Nietzsche."

Evidently, one of these books which Nietzsche sent to Strindberg was his *Zarathustra*. Its beauty of language and sublimity of thought must have aroused Strindberg's highest admiration, for in his reply to the foregoing letter, he writes:

"Dear Sir:—There is no doubt that you have bestowed upon humanity the deepest book that it possesses, and moreover, have had the courage and possibly also the urging to spit these magnificent words straight into the faces of this pack of rogues! For that I thank you! Nevertheless it appears to me that in your liberality of spirit, you have to some degree flattered the criminal types. If you regard the hundreds of photographs which illustrate Lombroso's types of criminal, you will be convinced that the felon is a low sort of animal, a degenerate, a weakling who does not possess the necessary faculties to enable him to evade the more powerful laws which oppose themselves to his will and power. Just observe how stupidly moral most of these brutes really appear! What a disillusion for morality!

"And you desire to be translated into our Greenlandish tongue! Why

not into French or English? You may judge of our intelligence by the fact that there was talk of putting me into an asylum because of my tragedy, and that this mob-majority has succeeded in imposing silence upon so fine and lofty a spirit as Brandes.

"I conclude all my letters to my friends; Read Nietzsche! That is my *Carthago est delenda!*

"At all events your greatness will decline from the very moment when you become known and understood, and the dear mob begins to acclaim you as one of its own kidney. It is better that you preserve that aristocratic aloofness, and permit us other ten thousand spirits of finer fire to make pilgrimages to your holy of holies in order to refresh ourselves to the full. Let us guard the esoteric truth in order to keep it pure and whole, and not allow it to become common property save by means of devoted disciples—in whose name I sign myself,

"August Strindberg."

This letter gave the greatest joy to Nietzsche—he called it the "first letter of an historical significance which had ever reached him." The influence of his own thought upon Strindberg is noticeable in Strindberg's remarkable tale of *Tschandala* which he wrote about this time. The following letter was apparently written by Nietzsche before he had received the foregoing one from Strindberg. The books which had crossed each other were *The Twilight of the Idols* and *The Father*. The latter is Strindberg's tragedy which had just been translated into French under the title *Père* with a foreword by Zola.

"Dear Sir:—I fancy our books must have crossed each other! I read your tragedy twice with the greatest emotion. I was astonished beyond all measure to find a work in which my own conception of love—war with regard to its means and in its fundamental laws, nothing less than the deadly hatred of the sexes,—had been expressed in so splendid a manner. This play is really destined to be performed at M. Antoine's Théâtre Libre in Paris! You ought to demand this of Zola. He is at this moment priding himself on the fact that he is attracting attention.

"I am inclined very much to regret the foreword he has contributed, though I should have been sorry to miss reading it—for it contains countless naïvetés. The fact that Zola cares nothing "for abstract qualities," reminds me of a German translator of one of Dostoieffsky's novels who also cared nothing for abstract qualities—he simply left out *des raccourcis d'analyse*—they discomfited him! How odd, too, that Zola is unable to distinguish between types and *Etres de raison!* and that he should demand the *état civil complet* for your tragedy! And when he finally tried to make a question of race of the whole matter, I almost shook with laughter! As long as taste really existed in France, the whole instinct of the race showed itself opposed to all that he represented—it is precisely the Latin race which protests against

Zola. In the final analysis he is a modern Italian—he worships the *verisimo*. . . .

"With expressions of my highest esteem, Yours,

"NIETZSCHE."

"Torino, Via Carlo, Alberto 6, III.
"Nov. 27, 1888."

Now follows Nietzsche's reply to Strindberg's letter:

"TORINO, VIA CARLO, ALBERTO 6, III.

"DEAR SIR:—I have in the mean time received a copy of *Der Vater* from Germany—a proof that I am also trying to interest my friends in the father of *The Father*. M. Antoine's theater is designed to risk new ventures. Your play in comparison with what has already been risked on that stage is absolutely innocent. It went so far that Albert Wolf in a leading article in *Le Figaro* blushed publicly in the name of France. M. Antoine is an eminent actor, who will at once adapt himself to the part of the riding-master. I advise you not to drag Zola into the affair any further, but to send a letter and a copy of the play direct to M. Antoine, Directeur du Théâtre Libre. They are fond of foreign plays.

"A great funeral is taking place outside with much gloomy pomp—it is Il Principe de Cavignani, Cousin of the King, Admiral-in-Chief of the Italian fleet. . . .

"Ah! what a light you have thrown upon your countrymen, the Swedes. And how envious I am! You underrate your good fortune: *O fortunates nimium sua si bona nesciunt*—in not being a German. No other civilization but the French is worth while, there is no sham about it, it is based on reason itself—and must necessarily be the right one. Do you wish a proof of it? You are yourself a proof!

"For many years I have been reading nothing but the *Journal des Débats*. In expectation of this opening of my little Panama Canal toward France, I have indefinitely postponed the further publication of any new writings of mine—three are quite ready for the press. The next thing will be the translation of the two leading books, *Beyond Good and Evil*, and *The Twilight of the Idols*—with these I shall then be introduced to France.

"With all good wishes.

"NIETZSCHE."

This letter is followed almost immediately by another. Nietzsche has grown impatient. It is dated from Turin, December 7, 1888. He asks whether his previous letter could have been lost—and recounts his admiration for Strindberg's *Père*—"that masterpiece of hard psychology" and once more suggests that he compel Zola to present it on the Parisian stage. He proceeds:

"There is no doubt that the hereditary criminal is decadent, even feeble-minded. But the history of criminal families, for which a vast

amount of material has been collected by Galton in his *Hereditary Genius,* always leads us back to some individual who happened to be too strong for some particular stratum of society. The last great trial of the criminal Prado gives us a classical example. Prado was superior to his judges and his lawyers in self-control, spirit and audacity. In spite of this the severe strain he had been under had produced such heavy physical consequences that certain witnesses were able to recognize him only by means of old portraits.

"And now a few words between ourselves—entirely between ourselves. When your letter reached me yesterday—the first letter in all my life which did *reach* me—it happened that I was just busy with the last manuscript revision of *Ecce Homo.* Since there are no more accidents in my life—I cannot regard you as an accident either! Why do you write letters which arrive at such moments as this?

"*Ecce Homo* ought to appear simultaneously in German, French and English. I sent the manuscript to my own publisher yesterday—as soon as a sheet is ready, it must be given into the hands of translators. But where are these translators to be found? Upon my word, I had no idea that you yourself were responsible for the excellent French into which your *Vater* has been translated! I thought it was really a masterful translation. In case you should yourself be willing to undertake the French translation of my work, I should consider myself the luckiest of mortals in being so favored by this miracle of a propitious coincidence.

"Between ourselves, in order to translate my *Ecce Homo* a poet of the first order is required. It is an expression, a *raffinement* of feeling, a thousand miles above the capabilities of the ordinary 'translator.' Nor is it by any means a long work—the French edition (possibly by Lemerre, the publisher of Paul Bourget?) would make one of their usual volumes at 3fr. 50. Since it contains absolutely unheard-of things, and if I may say so, is written in the language of a world-commander, we shall exceed even *Nana* in the number of our editions.

"Then again it is anti-German to the verge of annihilation. I am on the side of French civilization throughout the entire work (the German philosophers I call 'unconscious' counterfeiters). Nor is the book in any case a dull one. I have written it in quite a 'Prado' style. In order to protect myself against German brutality (confiscation) I intend to send the first copies, before publication, to Prince Bismarck and the young Kaiser with a written declaration of war: only the military and not the police will be permitted to answer me. I am a psychologist.

"I trust, dear Sir, that you will give this matter your kind consideration. It is something of supreme importance. For I am powerful enough to break the history of humanity into two parts."

The peculiar rancour of Nietzsche against his own country is strongly in evidence in the foregoing letter. It is due largely to the pathological condition in which he happened to be at that time. At heart he was in all essentials a true German.

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

Strindberg's answer is as follows:

"It gave me great pleasure to receive a few words from your master-hand with regard to my much misunderstood tragedy. I must tell you that I was forced to give the publisher the proceeds of the complete editions before he would agree to its publication. And then in recompense for this, an old lady fell dead during the performance at the theater, another woman fainted and when the straight-jacket* was produced on the stage, three-fourths of the audience rose like one man and ran from the theater bellowing like mad bulls!

"And you expect me to ask M. Zola to have my play produced for the Parisiennes of Henri Becque! I'm afraid it would have deplorable consequences in that city of *Maris Complaisants.*

"And with regard to your affair.

"I sometimes write directly in French (see the inclosed article with its '*boulevard,*' and yet somewhat picturesque style) — and at other times I translate my own works.

"It is almost impossible to find a French translator who would not try to 'improve' one's style according to the rules of the Normal School of Rhetoric, and deprive one's expression of all its fresh originality. The horrible translation of *Married Folk,* was made by a French Swiss for 1,000 francs. He was paid every penny of this—in spite of which it became necessary afterward to pay a further 500 francs in Paris for a complete revision. You will therefore be in a position to understand that I must regard the question of translating your book from a financial point of view, and inasmuch as I am only a poor devil (wife, three children, two servants, debts, and so forth) I could not afford to do it for less, especially since it is to be a piece of poet's work and not a mere hack's. If you are not deterred by this somewhat heavy expense, you may count upon me and my ability. On the other hand, I should be very glad to look up some reliable French translator for you—as reliable as you may expect to find.

"With regard to England I have really nothing to say, for there we have to deal with a puritanical land, delivered into the hands of women —which signifies the same thing as having fallen into a state of absolute decadence. English morality—you know what that means, my dear sir! Subscription libraries for the young person—Currer Bell, Miss Braddon and the rest! I advise you to keep clear of all that! In French you will penetrate even to the world of the blackamoors and you may snap your fingers at England. Pray consider this matter and my proposal and let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

"Awaiting your answer I remain with expressions of the highest esteem,

Yours,

"August Strindberg."

It is interesting to read of Strindberg's judgment upon the English literature of his day. The stony barriers of Anglican puritanism have since then been broken down by several modern writers, and yet so far as *bourgeois* or

*The straight-jacket referred to is that which is produced in the last act of "The Father"—in order to confine him.

family literature is concerned, his judgment still holds good. But he was wrong in his belief that England would offer no hospitality to Nietzsche. The writer is able to record that the complete English edition of Nietzsche has proved an uncommon success, due to the valiant siege laid to Britain by Dr. Oscar Levy, the scholarly leader of the English Nietzscheans, and the group of brilliant young men he has gathered about him.

Again the letters crossed; for it appears that Nietzsche's letter of December 7th reached Strindberg only after he had sent off the foregoing one. The epistle of his that follows, bears the date of December 27th and is written from Holte where the Swedish author was at that time living with his first wife.

"I acknowledge the receipt of your gracious letter and the magnificent *Genealogy of Morals*. I am once more encroaching upon your time with a poetic piece of work. It contains my observations on the problem of 'Pangs of Conscience'—and was written before I became acquainted with your works.

"My childish remarks, especially those about the future of the female sex and European peace—subjects which were epidemic in Switzerland where I lived at the time I wrote this 'Pangs of Conscience,' you must not take too seriously.

"I wish you a happy new year for 1889, and hope you will accept once more the assurances of my loftiest admiration.

"AUGUST STRINDBERG."

This letter reached Nietzsche when he had already begun to battle with the madness that was laying siege to his magnificent intellect. Strindberg's New Year's greeting sounds like some bitter mockery. Nietzsche's brief response is couched in that strange and cryptic language, full of tragic suggestion and the sense of farewell which dominated all his letters to his friends in these last few days before the final collapse of his mind under a stroke of paralysis.

"DEAR SIR:—You will receive an answer to your story in due course—it sounds like a rifle-shot. I have commanded a royal holiday at Rome, —I wish to order a fusillade.

"Until we meet again! For we shall meet again.

"*Une seule condition; Divorçons.* . . .

"NIETZSCHE CAESAR."

This amazing letter must have reacted strangely upon Strindberg. He remarked afterward that he fancied

Nietzsche was joking, but in his own reply there are undeniable traces of bewilderment, horror and confusion. The answer is in itself a masterpiece of conflicting emotions. It was written in Greek and Latin:

"DEAREST DOCTOR:—'I will, I will be mad!'
"Not without peturbation did I receive your letter and I thank you for it.

"'More rightly wilt thou live, Licinius, if thou wilt not always steer forth upon the high seas, nor, cowering fearfully before the storm, cling too closely to the treacherous coast.'
"In the mean time, all hail to madness!
"Adieu and keep in kind remembrance—

"YOUR STRINDBERG.
"(The best, the highest God.)"

Nietzsche's answer was a single line, the last flash of his mind—wrung forth in his final agony:

HERR STRINDBERG:—*Eheu!* No more! *Divorçons!*

THE CRUCIFIED ONE.

And thus these two tempestuous spirits who had approached and spoken to each other across the gulfs of time and space. stood rudely divorced. The night of a ten years' mental oblivion settled upon the hapless philosopher of the Superman, while Strindberg, the wild, eccentric genius of the North pursued the way to his own Calvary of domestic unhappiness and restless opposition to the restraints of life and environment. And now both have vanished into the void, and two new lights glitter among those stars that sway the destinies of humanity.

HERMAN SCHEFFAUER.

WOMEN AND LOGIC

BY EDWARD E. HALE

THAT women are not logical is one of the recognized conventions of social life. It is one of those understandings, we might say, often enough referred to if rarely stated definitely, made the foundation of allusion or hint if not so often uttered outright. It certainly is not often stated in so many words. In fact, one would hardly know where to turn for a statement, not to say the first statement of it. And if you should succeed in finding half a dozen statements of the matter you would look long before you found any discussion of it. The most recent and indeed the only discussion that I know is that of Weininger in his book on *Sex and Character*. It may interest some who have long held this tenet because other people did, or as gained unconsciously from literature, or in some other ready-made fashion, to know grounds on which they may base a more reasoned belief.

Weininger's view is shortly this: One very necessary part of the logical faculty is memory. In order to form and use the general conceptions by which logical operations are carried on, one must have memory. In using the term A in some demonstration, for instance, one must have memory enough to be sure that A at the end stands for what A stood for at the beginning. Or if A stands for some generalization, one must have memory of the matter yesterday, or the day before, or some time other than the present to be able to generalize at all. Only so can we understand the fundamental proposition of Logic, A=A. If we had no memory this proposition would merely mean that the A we had in mind at one time is the same as the A we have in mind at some other time, which might or might not be the case. Further, Weininger's view is that the absolute woman has no memory. She appreciates the present keenly: whether

it be the same as the past or not is a matter of indifference to her; she knows and cares nothing at all about it. Of course all women are not like that; actual women may have more memory or less, just as they may have more or less appreciation of the present. But the typical woman is without memory.

"And so it appears," says Weininger, "that woman is without logic."

If it do not so appear to any one, one may re-examine the premises. It may be incorrect to say that logic depends on memory, one can look into that idea; or it may be incorrect to say that women have no memory.

Thus our attention is attracted to other matters than the main matter with which we started. We do not look directly at the proposition, we get at it indirectly, by certain premises. Perhaps if we analyze them we shall be passed along from point to point until we get to something on which everybody will agree. We shall no longer consider whether women are logical or not. We shall leave such matters and consider especially women and their memory on one hand, or logic and its generalizations on the other, or something else. That is something which would be very interesting to do, but as Weininger himself has done so, there is no need of doing it now. Let us rather do the other thing, examine the general proposition directly; make a frontal attack, as one might say; consider the various women we see, know, or can learn about to see whether they are logical or not.

Of course, in such a study, one may be delayed at the very outset by all sorts of minor inquiries, such as, What do you mean by being logical? What is Logic? and the like. I shall not stop for such views, for if I do, we should never get started. Or at any rate, I shall stop for only one prior consideration, namely this, that it may well be that most women are illogical, for most men are.

Most men are not logical, in the scholastic sense at least. They have no idea even of what logic is. They have never studied logic, have never read a book on logic, never talked about logic. They would not be able to say what it was if you asked them. If you offer them a logical problem they have no idea of the logical way of solving it; they go ahead on a common-sense basis. For instance, if you say, "Such an one must be sick, for if he were well, he would be here."

The man acquainted with logic sees at once the fallacy of the illicit major, of denying the antecedent. Since he is not here, it is said, he is not well. He sees that the matter is a confused hypothetical syllogism of the form:—If A is B, A is C. But A is not B. A is not C. The average man, however, unacquainted with logic, will see nothing of the kind, he would not understand all about this A, B, C, or about majors and antecedents. He arrives at the same end by another process which he calls the common-sense process. When you say, "He must be sick, for if he were well he would be here," he says: "No, perhaps he is kept away for some other reason. In fact, he said something to me about going to the theater to-night." The average man would decide the question correctly, perhaps, but in a non-logical way, in a way which though not illogical had nothing at all to do with formal logic. So men, if not illogical, are as a rule non-logical or extra-logical, and it would be but natural that women should be so too. That is, they have no direct understanding of logic any more than men have. They have almost never studied logic; the proportion of women who have been to college is much less than with men, and it is in college chiefly that logic is studied. Nor have women read books on logic; there are not very many books on logic, and what there are are usually text-books which do not come in woman's way. Nor do women, as a rule, talk about logic with each other or with any one else, for the subject never comes into their minds. They may say that one or another is logical or illogical, but that is a different matter. Women are just like men in this respect. If you put to them a logical problem they will solve it by common-sense methods. They may be correct or they may not, but they will never use logical methods.

There is no use then, with women or men either, in discussing the question whether they are logical in the sense of the schools. Every one knows at once that in that sense women are non-logical and men, too. Whether "non-logical" and "illogical" are the same thing does not need to be discussed; we know just what it is that is meant.

We must look, then, for some other logic than the logic of the schools and the school-books if we want a question to discuss for a logic of the street, of the cross-road, of every-day life. And we shall have no difficulty in finding something that will be useful We often hear that such a person

is logical or not, or that such a thing is. We have only to examine such statements to see what sort of logic it is that is in mind.

Of course the word "logical," as used in common speech, often means that we are thinking of something argumentative. We speak of a logical reason, demonstration, inference, or something of the sort. That does not mean the logic of the schools, but any kind of correct reasoning, whether based on common-sense or on anything else. Such uses, however, would probably hold a minor place in our thinking and speaking of things as logical. We should find, could we count up cases, that we more often use the words *logic* or *logical* in a different way. We more often speak of a logical order or development or sequence or outcome or something of that sort. We might speak of a logical result or a logical line of conduct, or we might speak of the logic of history or the logic of fact, where evidently there is no immediate connection with argument.

We shall find, indeed, that this idea of logic, this non-argumentative logic as we may say, has penetrated into various phases of thought where there is no question of argument, or indeed where we should say there is no question of logic. Thus in the field of art we should find that people have more and more got into the habit of speaking of logic as an element of art, not, of course, in any argumentative sense, but in the sense of natural and necessary and such as is demanded by the conditions of the case. This use is quite common among writers on music and to some degree among writers on painting, but it is most usual among writers on the drama. Almost all writers on the drama speak of a logical development, generally of plot, but sometimes of character. Mr. Archer in his latest book, that on *Playmaking*, gives a whole chapter to logic. We shall not think that this logic is the logic of schools or anything of the sort. We might imagine at first that the matter had something argumentative about it as with plays that support a thesis. But there is generally nothing argumentative about the matter any more than there is in the parallel use of the word *convincing*. People say nowadays that all sorts of things are convincing, meaning thereby that they make a definite and permanent impression. "Such and such a character is convincing," one would say, though without any sense of argument, though usually when we think

of convincing anybody we think of arguing with him. But Mr. Archer has no idea of argument in his chapter on Logic in play-making. He sometimes speaks of proving things, but generally he has in mind the notions of coherence and consistency, the having things seem natural and the way they ought to be, the full development of all the different lines of any subject. It is not necessary to tell what Mr. Archer has to say about the logic of play-making; in fact it would be rather confusing to try to state it. Our only interest is that Mr. Archer and a great many other people have an idea about a logic which is not the logic of the schools nor the logic of argument. Logic with them is something other than a scholastic treatise or a definite demonstration. Just what it is we need not inquire now.

So when it is said that men are logical we need not suppose that it means that they are particularly argumentative. It may mean that they have a sense of consistency and coherence, that they have a feeling of what is necessary, of how a matter ought to turn out, of what is proper. On the other hand, it often does mean that they are good or sound in argument. Thus Abraham Lincoln in the estimation of those who write about him was one of the most logical of men. Those who think and say this of him almost always have in mind his powers and processes in argument. They say that he had remarkable power in getting right at the kernel or the key to any question; that he found out the especial point of importance and made that absolutely sure, that he put aside the things of no importance so that people disregarded them, and other such things. If a person wanted to argue logically and convincingly, they would advise him to study the work of Lincoln, and see how he worked out the problems which came before him. A study of Lincoln would make a man strong in argument, a logical man from that standpoint. So also people very often speak of St. Paul in the same way. They say that he is logical, meaning that he is great in argument. There is a curious passage by Dr. Van Dyke in which he says that St. Paul was great in logic, but that his mysticism was a great safeguard to his logic, and his intense practicality was a safeguard to his mysticism, and his broad, warm sympathetic humanity was the safeguard to his practicality. Here we have the interesting idea that logic is something dangerous, something that will lead one astray (we may suppose) if

one follow it out too definitely. But aside from that, the idea is that logic is a matter of argument, of proving something, of making a statement convincing by showing its connection with something else. With St. Paul as with Lincoln, as most men speak of him, logic is a matter of demonstration and proof.

Indeed, such a view is not uncommon. When we say that women are illogical we often mean that when they try to prove anything they come out at an illogical result or that they get at their result by illogical methods, that they do not argue by making inferences or deductions, but determine their result by intuition or by some other method known to themselves, or if not consciously known, at least customary. Thus a woman sees some one, for instance, and instantly forms the idea that he is hypocritical. Just how she forms this idea she does not know; it appears suddenly in her mind in definite form; it is an intuition. If you ask the reason for it, however, she will give you one. She will say it is because his eyes are too close together, or because the binding on his hat is shiny, or because one of the buttons was off his coat, or some other thing that you have not noticed at all, and that if you did notice it you would never think of connecting with hypocrisy. Nor does she really think of any connection, but just as the idea of his being hypocritical popped into her mind as soon as she saw the man, so the idea of his eyes being too close together, or of the buttons being off, or of the binding being shiny, pops into her head when you ask for the reason for such an idea. And as soon as the idea comes into her head she utters it so as to be rid of it, perhaps. In this way women make up their minds, and therefore often seem to form opinions in a very illogical way. But these things are not really illogical. It is merely that they have nothing at all to do with logic. They have nothing to do with logic considered as argument, that is.

When we consider logic a little differently, such things may be logical enough. If we mean by logic a sort of consistency or coherency, a full development or a natural outcome or something of the sort, then we shall often find that these intuitions of women are often logical enough. Thus as to man's being hypocritical because his eyes are too close together. There is really no connection, and yet as soon as the idea is suggested there is something in the

expression of that narrow, intense face that irresistibly suggests all sorts of things that are hypocritical.

So when we are considering the logical element in woman's character we must remember that there are different kinds of logic. There is the logic of the schools, the logic of argument, the logic of consistency,—people even will speak of the logic of passion. We might be able to show without much difficulty that all the different kinds of logic were closely related to each other, but we need not do that now. The main thing now is to consider women and see whether they have any logic, and, if so, what kind of logic it is.

The easiest way to do this is not to go to some woman and ask her questions, but to look about and see if you do not see or hear something that bears upon the subject. The other day I was told the following:

One lady met another and they spoke about religion. One of them said that she was inclined to Christian Science. The other said that she did not like Christian Science because Christian Scientists were illogical, and she disliked illogical people. She mentioned a friend who was a Christian Scientist who had fallen down a coal-hole, and who, on having sued for damages, had received $400. She meant, I suppose, that it was inconsistent in one who did not believe in bodily hurt to exact money from people who had hurt her body. The first lady appeared also to be inclined to Unitarianism; at least she sent her children to the Unitarian Church, although she did not go herself. Her husband was a man of scientific training, and she liked to look at things in a scientific and logical way.

Now it is a cheap and conventional wit that will laugh at these ladies who admired logic when they had neither of them studied the logic of the schools nor had any idea as to what it was. They did not, of course, have any idea of scholastic logic in mind; certainly they did not have in mind any science or mode of thought that neither of them knew anything about. They used the term evidently with quite definite notions of its meaning.

It did not represent to them what it would have represented in the mouth of a professor in a lecture-room, nor in the mouth of a lawyer in a law-court. But it was used as accurately and correctly as most abstract terms are used, and if one is careful it offers a perfectly good means of getting at what each thought.

One meant by *logic* consistency between theory and practice; the other meant an exact and systematic way of thinking. Each liked logic in her own sense, though each, it may be remarked, was illogical in the sense of the other. It surely shows inconsistency between theory and practice to approve of Unitarianism and not go to a Unitarian Church, and it shows a lack of exact and systematic thinking to dislike Christian Science because one Christian Scientist has been inconsistent. But however illogical in the opinion of others, each of these ladies had the highest opinion of logic in her own sense. And so I incline to believe have most women.

One could go on and without much difficulty collect many examples of people, particularly women, saying that such and such things were logical and then doing something else, and thus showing either that they had no care for logical action or, which is more likely, that they were really governed by a logic very different from what they commonly thought of as logic. This last is the most likely. People in their actions are governed by all sorts of motives and very often by motives or causes which they themselves know nothing about. So they very often seem to act for reasons very different from the true ones, or they often act apparently for no reason at all.

An example of this latter sort may be found in the conduct of Annunciata Fearns at the trial of her father. She was in the witness-box and at a certain time and a certain question of the judge she hesitated, could not answer, and finally "in the unreflecting madness of her torment she sprang down the steps from the witness-box." When she had time to think she wished to go back there again. In this case the girl did something quite irrational, there was no reason for it, it was done in unreflecting madness. That is, so it seemed. Really, however, there was a perfectly plain reason, though one of which she was not at all conscious. Annunciata Fearns was not a real person, but a person in one of the novels of Mr. Arnold Bennett. In that novel, *Whom God Hath Joined,* Mr. Bennett presents all his characters as acting at one time or another under the influence of what he calls "an irresistible and tremendous force," so that they absolutely must do what they do and cannot possibly do anything else.

But there is another and better example to be found among

Mr. Arnold Bennett's women and that is an incident concerning Maggie and Edwin Clayhanger. Mr. Bennett has been telling how Edwin, after he had got well grown up and practically independent, used to indulge in extravagances, as his old father would have thought, and how he was always interested to see whether his father would notice them. His father usually did not notice the matters of importance, but did notice some absolute trifle. Then "Maggie would say, 'I told you what would be happening'" which would annoy Edwin. "His annoyance was caused less by Maggie's I told you so, than by her lack of logic." This lack of logic consisted in thinking it natural that her father should notice some inconceivable trifle and go into a passion. Edwin would not have minded if she had spoken of her father's noticing something large and important, but he never did. But here it was not Maggie but her father who was illogical, or rather inconsistent. He noticed the little expenses, but he did not notice the big ones; there seemed no consistency in his way of doing. Maggie was not particularly illogical in saying, "I told you so," when he spoke. She may have been as illogical as he, but even that is not obvious.

These last people Annunciata and Maggie are chosen from literature, not from life. It is rather easier to study examples in literature than in life, but of course the results when found are not quite so convincing. When we have an example chosen from real life, we can only say, "Yes, people really are like that," or else, "Some people are certainly like that," and then if we mean to decline the inference offered, we must say that those people are exceptional or something of the sort. But with cases chosen from literature, we shall easily say, "Oh, that is only in a novel, that is only what Mr. Bennett thinks, or what he wants in that story. Real people do not behave so." Naturally, examples from fiction do not have the stamp of truth that those have who are chosen from life. But the fact that they appear in fiction shows at least that the author thought that they seemed natural, and the fact that we read about them without noticing that they are unnatural shows that we think so too. So I think we may choose examples of logical or illogical women from fiction as well as from life. Mr. Bennett is supposed to have a very great knowledge of the way women behave and feel and think. So

have other writers, Mr. Hardy and Mr. James, for instance. The former is rather famous for having his women illogical: that is, he is apt to present them as acting in ways that seem entirely opposed to reason and logic, in a manner that seems entirely the result of momentary whim and fancy. Really we should probably find as in the case of Annunciata that the action of his women is as reasonable, as much the result of definite and known causes, namely as logical, as is the action of any other women, or men either.

An interesting example is the case of Orloff and his wife as they appear in one of the stories of Maxim Gorki. Orloff was an argumentative sort of person, very regular and particular about doing everything in a perfectly reasonable sort of way. That was his way of thinking and he felt that it was natural that it should be so, seeing that he was a man. Women, he felt, were different; they did not understand logical argument; they argued enough but never logically. He often thought about his wife who was not only wholly illogical herself, but wholly unable to appreciate the logic of any one else. She was a person of blind primitive feeling. (Both it should be said were Russian peasants.)

"It would be so easy for him, he thought, to cut away the abnormal excrescence from her brain by the cold logic of his mind. What a pity that . . . it was impossible to see her frequently (they had become separated), so that day by day he might shake loose everything which barred off her mind from the action of logic."

They made quite a typical pair, Orloff and his wife (of the conventional type), he "perfectly logical and quite regularly founded on a long series of premises from the distant past," she a primitive creature of immediate emotions, who was more likely to be swayed by the enthusiasm of metaphysics than by the slow approach of logic.

There is a third way in which we can approach this question, a sort of combination of the methods of life and of literature. We can look into literature to see what women say about logic. I do not mean what books they have written on the subject, indeed I suppose they do not write any at all; nor what they say when they are consciously dealing with the subject, if they ever do, for they would very probably be mistaken or misled in such writings, as people are very apt to be who try to gather together their vague feelings and diffuse ideas on some special subject. We shall

do better to watch for what they say by the way, to pick up hints of what they think of logic while they are talking of something else, to see how the idea comes to expression in all that they say, and what it seems to be. That is a way we often go about to find what we think of a matter. We do not always go to them and say, What do you think of such and such a thing? We notice and we see what they chance to say about it, or we argue back from what they say or do, as to what they must really think. Thus a young man who wishes to know what a very dear young woman thinks of him, or how she feels, does not at first go right up to her and ask. He notices what she says and does, he judges from hints, he makes his inferences from her acts. This is what the lawyers call unconscious testimony; they rate it highly, and rightly so, for it is a perfectly sound basis for judgment. One may make false inference from it, of course, or from any other fact, but if not one comes very near the truth.

Let us therefore look in this way for logic in the writings of women who appear to be typical. Let us see if in speaking of other things they do not give us some idea of what they think about logic. And first I will take as example one who all will allow is a thoroughly typical American woman, Miss Jane Addams.

There are in Miss Addams' books a number of uses of the word *logic* and its derivatives, not very many but enough to form some idea of her conception of the subject. Once it is used in the conventional sense, "quibbles of logic." Twice she uses it in reference to close development of theory, and here, significantly, she brings it into contact with the experience of life. "Was Tolstoi more logical than life warrants?" she asks. So she and her friends "repeated to each other that in all practical judgments and decisions of life we must part company with logic." A strange but common idea that logic, which purports to be the science of the nature of sound thought, should somehow be unconnected with, even opposed to life.

Such uses are probably quite conventional. But usually in her work *logical* means much the same as *consistent*, in accordance with good and sound thought. Thus she remarks that "there was a certain logic in giving the franchise only to grown men;" *i. e.*, it was, at the time, a sound and reasonable thing to do. Sometimes this consistency is only with

whatever plan, good or bad, happens to be under discussion, but often it is a consistency with some unstated and unformulated scheme or system of careful scientists. Thus "Germany is gradually evolving with a Government logically fitted to cope with the industrial situation of the twentieth century," because in Germany presumably there are people who think out problems on an idealistic basis, on a large scale,—arguing doubtless as they do so, but not all argument. We might make a number of other quotations from Miss Addams' works, but these will give the correct idea. This is the substance of what she says here and there about logic, the substance of what she thinks about it, in short, her ideas of logic.

In other words, omitting the few cases where the word means school logic or has some connection with argument, the conception of logic which appears from these uses of the word, and which therefore seems (unconsciously perhaps) to have its place in Miss Addams' mind, to regulate her ideas and language, is that of some natural and consistent system of sound thought not necessarily in the form of argument nor regulated by definite and known rules, but such as common-sense people and scientific thinkers alike would not only admit but recognize as necessarily right. She seems to recognize some system of consistent and natural thought according to which the world goes round and people carry on their affairs, as it has gone round and as they have carried them on for centuries. Not a cold, an "inexorable" logic as they sometimes say, not a fine-spun or abstruse logic, but a logic which opens to us as nearly as may be with us mortals the order of the universe, the common-sense nature of the way things go.

This is, doubtless, not what people have in mind when they say women are illogical. But if there are many women (and why not?) who, like Miss Addams, have even a slight conception of such a scheme, may we not think that their logic may be as good at least as that of the average man?

Edward E. Hale.

ENGLAND'S NEW DRAMATISTS

BY P. P. HOWE

In these days, when art at least is international, and when freer trade than that which already obtains between the theaters of New York and London could hardly be promised by any one of the political parties, in these days there is only one boundary to our hopes of the English drama and that is the boundary that is set up where the English language ceases to be spoken. We all read one another's novels and plays to-day: a novel which has found its origin in the life of the United States, but which has in it the something universal that makes art good, takes no more time than does a Marconi message to cross the Atlantic; while a play that proves to be good in Manchester is hardly seen in London before New York and Chicago have it also. This is as it should be. The best plays, of course, like everything that is best in art, will continue to come out of some strong feeling for the local life that is definitely and particularly known. Consciousness of nationality is still, and is likely always to be, the most powerful of motives to good art. But the day has gone by when the things in an art that are local can prove a barrier through which the things that are universal can find no immediate passage. The best dramatist who has written in English in our time wrote of the life of the roads and islands of the West of Ireland, for presentation in a particular theater in Dublin; and though not ten years have passed since the first of his plays was written nor five years since his last, it would be hard to set foot in a town or city in England or America where the theater is cared for and not find his fame and influence there before you.

Between London and New York there is this especial community, that the difficulties besetting a good drama in the two places are the same. A recent English observer in

America went so far as to couple the theater he found there with the sports rather than with the art; and when he felt that this was a hard saying he hastened to add that he would have had to do just the same had it been England he was observing.* He was not without his justification. Mr. W. B. Yeats commented long ago upon the difficult paradox presented by the drama, that it has need of cities that it may find men in sufficient numbers, and that great cities tend to destroy the emotions to which good drama appeals. Be this as it may, if we direct our attention to the merely economic situation confronting the drama, we may see quite clearly that London and New York are in the same boat, upon the same sea of troubles. There is the same difficulty of the intensive cultivation of ground rents, making it necessary that a theater, because of the mere cost of existence, should pay its way at once and all the time; in competition not so much with other arts—for pictures can be shown and books printed at comparatively a fraction of the cost—but with the most strenuous of businesses. There is the same difficulty also of the confusion and deterioration of public taste in regard to the drama. In a simpler age, men did not doubt that the theater was for recreation, for a stimulated zest in life, in a word, for pleasure; but with the vehement incessance of life in a modern city, they have come to distrust their own powers of enjoyment, and to accept what is given them by worthy or unworthy tradesmen for no better reason than that it will pass without ennui the hours between dinner and supper or between supper and bed. They have lost, in the turmoil, their standard of values, and the indiscriminate newspapers have supplied them, very cheaply, with another and quite false standard. And now there is the institution of the Cinema, to give them, very cheaply again—because the mechanical is always cheaper than the human—the simulacrum of drama without its soul. The task, then, of putting back drama into the theaters and of putting it back into its position in the hearts of men is primarily a task of simplification. Whether of economics or of art, it is a matter of right principles. As long ago as the first visit of the *Comédie Française* to London, Matthew Arnold, that acute observer, saw that first and foremost the improvement of the English theater was a matter of organization. "Organize the theater," he said.

*Mr. Arnold Bennett, in *Your United States.*

In the last ten years the work of organizing the English theater may be said to have been begun. But you may organize the theater and still have no drama to put into it.

An observer who came to America to-day with a more spacious leisure for its theater than Mr. Arnold Bennett had, could not be satisfied, I think, at rounding in the drama of America along with its sports. An observer who came to England could not be satisfied, I am quite sure (if he were a good observer), without finding for the drama some more adequate category. But, for better or worse, American observers do not come to England in the same rich profusion as we English observers come to America. If an observer came, however, he would find himself confronted by something that he would not, I think, have found had he come twenty, or even ten, years ago. He would find himself confronted by the definite admission that the drama is an art. He would not find this admission in the universities, as the English observer finds it in those universities of America that have followed the admirable lead of Professor George Baker, of Harvard. The English universities have still place in their curriculum only for Æschylus, for Sophocles, and for Euripides amongst dramatists, because these wrote in Greek; even Shakespeare may come in only by a side door as it were, as when Professor A. C. Bradley, of Oxford, devoted lectures that should have gone to Poetry to the best consideration that has yet been given to the technique of Shakespeare as a tragic dramatist. If our observer would not find the admission in the lecture-room, however, he would find it in the seclusion of the newly formed Drama Societies, which perhaps Mr. Granville Barker would be addressing, or in the privacy of the undergraduates' chambers, where the complete works of Mr. Bernard Shaw are certainly being read. And, more important than in any university, he would find the admission in the theater. He would have to search for it; but now, in the year 1913, the admission that the drama is an art is beginning to be conceded even there.

It was not conceded twenty years ago. When Wilde wished to secure admission to the London theaters, he had to forget he was an artist. The worst things in Wilde's plays, the good women and the long-suffering politicians and the "strong curtains," are in the plays he wrote for the London theaters. The best things are in "Salome," which

was not written for any theater and which, in England, is not yet allowed to be seen in any. "The Importance of Being Earnest" was a happy accident, one of those encouraging reminders that come nowadays only once in a generation, that good art is also good business, a fact which the Elizabethans understood perfectly well. But who would think, to read Wilde's serious plays—to read, for a particular example, the dreadfully stagey and absurd soliloquy which opens the third act of "Lady Windermere's Fan"—that Ibsen and Hauptmann and Strindberg were already well known to Europe? The credit is Sir Arthur Pinero's that he first of the working English dramatists awoke to Ibsen; and even the two volumes of Mr. Bernard Shaw's tempestuous criticism cannot take it from him. Since Mr. Shaw turned from the easy business of writing about plays to the vastly more difficult business of writing them, he has never constructed a play so well as "Iris" or "Mid-Channel" is constructed. But it was not without justice, if it was without elegance, that a writer once named Mr. Shaw as "the symbol of the whole shindy." "The whole shindy" had for its purpose the admission of the drama among the arts; and Mr. Shaw, who had for years abused and bludgeoned the theater managers for their stupidity in regarding art as, on the whole, "a quaint and costly ring in the nose of Nature," must have the principal share in the partial victory we are now celebrating. He has it whether we graciously give it to him or no. Mr. Shaw has secured for himself his very fair share of the spoils that the theater has rendered up to the artist in our generation: indeed, his own personal victory has not been partial at all, it has been complete. I suppose he and Mr. Barrie are the only undoubted artists who up to the present have made any considerable amount of money out of the theater in England or America. St. John Hankin wanted none and made very little; J. M. Synge during his lifetime gave his plays free of all royalty to the Abbey Theater in Dublin; Mr. Masefield has turned aside from the theater because he has found people more willing to pay for his dramatic poems; while Mr. Granville Barker has given us an exact return of what his most ambitious play brought him in—I think it was one shilling and fourpence halfpenny.

I say that St. John Hankin did not want money, but I remember that he did. He wanted money to start a reper-

tory theater. Now if the institution of the repertory theater is not more truly even than Mr. Shaw the "symbol of the whole shindy," it is only because Mr. Shaw came first. Mr. Shaw would, in the end, have cut and thrust his way into any theater, however stupid, by sheer virtue of the pleasure-giving qualities of his wit; and profit would have accrued in the ordinary course of nature. But the first man who suggested a repertory theater suggested as credible a theater that should be run in the interest of art rather than in the interest of commercial profit. A repertory theater is a theater that presents plays *well* rather than to the maximum commercial advantage; it is a theater that goes upon the belief that it is its business to supply "the nourishment, not very easy to define, on which our imaginations live." That is to say, it remembers that the drama is an art all the time, fulfilling the function of an art. It need not, by that fact, be any the less delightful or amusing: that is important to understand. The repertory theater should be, regarded as a single theater, a great deal more delightful and amusing than any other single theater: just as it is more pleasant to be brought up on a nicely varied diet than on one consisting exclusively of porridge or peas. But if you are in the theater business, the most profitable thing you can do, from the point of view of your income for the current year, is to find an attractive play, put it on the stage, and keep it there just as long as it continues to be profitable. You would only take any other course in the belief that this ordinary commercial course was not altogether good for plays and was not altogether good for their artistic appreciation. If you were making money, an alternative course would only suggest itself if you cared very much that under this system you were not getting the best plays and you were not getting the best audiences. The man who first suggested a repertory theater did care very much. He cared more for good plays than for big profits; only, if he was a sensible man, he must have known also that in the long run, if not in the short, the best plays must make the biggest profits. The most successful piece of shoddy from Broadway or Shaftesbury Avenue can never hope to catch up with "Hamlet" as a money-maker. It is true that no repertory theater has up to the present been run at a big profit, even by Mr. Charles Frohman. But that is because no repertory theater in England is at any-

thing but the beginning of its run. The repertory theater when it is really and firmly established has no other aim but to put on all the plays that are worthy and to keep them on for a very long time; indeed, to keep them on forever.

The repertory theater, then, already in being at Dublin, at Manchester, at Glasgow, at Liverpool, at Birmingham, and about to come into being at Leeds, at Bradford, and at Sheffield, is a convenient symbol of the new spirit in the English theater: it is no more. There is no particular virtue in a system other than that which issues in its works. However admirable the fig-tree in design, if it remains barren of fruits there is no virtue in it. If in New York to-morrow there were to be two repertory theaters, one of which gave poor plays well (as Mr. Belasco's theaters do) and one of which gave good plays ill (as certain of the repertory theaters in England have been known to do), neither of these two theaters would be so important to dramatic art as is Mr. Winthrop Ames's theater, which gives good plays well, although it does not go at all strictly upon the repertory system. The new spirit can only be held to be present when it takes expression in good plays. It is good plays that the English theater wants: given good plays, the good playgoer will mind very little by what means he gets them. Thus, of the best plays that have been written in England during the period I have under review, Hankin's and Synge's and Mr. Masefield's and Miss Baker's "Chains" and Mr. Houghton's "Hindle Wakes" were brought out by the special or repertory theaters; Mr. Barker's and Mr. Galsworthy's plays, finding their origin in the special theaters, have to some extent conquered the ordinary theaters, although not so decisively as Mr. Shaw's; whilst for Mr. Davies's comedies and Mr. Besier's "Don" and Miss Sowerby's "Rutherford and Son" we have to thank the general theater of commerce.

Occupying a position midway between the theater as Wilde left it, and the theater as our younger writers find it, stands the work of St. John Hankin. Hankin died in 1909, at the age of thirty-nine, and his collected plays have just been published. He wrote five full-length comedies and two shorter plays, all of which have been seen on the stage. At the same time he is the most readable dramatist since Wilde, not excepting Mr. Shaw. All the best dramatists are readable, although, of course, a play does not come to its

full stature until it is seen upon the stage. If we wanted another symbol of the new spirit in the theater, we might find it in this fact, that to-day plays are *read,* as they have not been read in England since the end of the Restoration. It is not very easy or delightful to read the plays of Sir Arthur Pinero. If we see why this is, we shall understand one at least of the respects in which St. John Hankin was a pioneer. Pinero's people never, or hardly ever, speak quite as people would be likely to speak in real life. When Mrs. Ebbsmith wishes to tell her lover, with whom she is living on terms of the easiest intimacy, that she likes his essay, she says, "It bristles with truth, it is vital." Now that is the sort of remark that is not *true,* although its untruth may possibly not be apparent in the theater so long as we are under the spell of the actress. "The Liars" in the theater is an amusing comedy, but it is not the sort of comedy one reads for sheer pleasure in one's library. Sir Arthur Pinero and Mr. Henry Arthur Jones wrote, and still write, speeches for actors; it was the desire of St. John Hankin to create character and to let it find its appropriate utterance in speech. He was equally clear about his difference from Mr. Bernard Shaw on the other hand. "It is the dramatist's business," he wrote once, "to represent life, not to argue about it."

If the theater of Pinero and Jones did not "represent life," and if Mr. Bernard Shaw was too prone to "argue about it," the path that St. John Hankin opened up has been followed by other writers very clearly. Mr. Granville Barker, in "The Madras House" especially, has pushed further along it than Hankin even saw; while Mr. Galsworthy has kept very austerely to the path of life as he sees it lived in the big world outside the theater. The work of these two men is so well known, however, that we may turn at once to the younger workers. Since Miss Elizabeth Baker has failed up to the present to follow up her admirable and sympathetic play of clerk life, "Chains," Miss Githa Sowerby and Mr. Stanley Houghton must be regarded as the two most promising of recent recruits to the theater. Miss Sowerby also has only one play to her name that need be seriously considered, but there is plenty of time for her to follow it with others. "Rutherford and Son" is the study of a middle-class household and of its dominance by the father, given with something of Ibsen's spareness and

economy. Mr. Houghton is a typical product of the English repertory theaters. His apprentice work for Miss Horniman's theater at Manchester—which included the amusing comedy for parents, "The Younger Generation"—prepared one for his admirable achievement in "Hindle Wakes." Here is a play that is at once exciting, as a good play should be, and almost perfectly faithful in its adherence to real life. One may think that the mill girl who refuses her employer's son in marriage is not, in her concluding outbreak, quite innocent of the suspicion of having studied Mr. Bernard Shaw; but for three-fourths of his play Mr. Houghton is master both of his story and of the best way to tell it in the theater, there can be no two opinions about that. I would group with Mr. Houghton, Mr. Charles McEvoy, Mr. Harold Brighouse, and Mr. G. J. Hamlen, each of whom has come to the London theater after a period of service with the repertory theaters in the country. Mr. McEvoy has written no one play by which his reputation may fairly stand, but he is a worker of considerable promise in the new realistic drama. Mr. Brighouse's "The Odd Man Out," while lighter in texture than Mr. Houghton's play and with a satirical turn, showed something of the same notable mastery of the stage. Mr. Hamlen's play, "The Waldies," is again a faithful study of a domestic milieu that has much in it that is admirable. The part that the Incorporated Stage Society played, by means of its periodic special performances, in introducing some of these plays to London and to the managers, should not be overlooked.

There is one writer of our time who, treading no path but his own, yet points more clearly than any other to a future for the English drama. John Millington Synge died in 1909, at the age of thirty-seven. In the six years immediately preceding his death he had written six plays. To-day everybody knows them. The great value of Synge's short work for the theater lies in the fact that he himself knew so clearly what he wanted from the theater. "On the stage one must have reality," he said, "and one must have joy." We have seen the path by which reality has come again into the English theater; but the writers who have trodden it after Hankin have not all been equally capable of joy. Mr. Galsworthy's latest play, "The Eldest Son," is truthful enough in its presentation of character and dialogue; but who would say that in its story, which is not

meet for comedy and which somehow falls short of the truly tragic, there is joy? Synge would have us impatient of all false joys, of a so-called "serious" drama on the one hand and of musical comedy on the other. The one he likened to a drug-store, and the other to a dram-shop: we should not go to the theater, he held, in the mood that we go to either. His own plays do undeniably give us that "nourishment, not very easy to define, on which our imaginations live." They do so because he knew and loved the theater without losing his knowledge and his love of life; and he alone of his contemporaries was able to join hands with Sheridan and Goldsmith, and to walk quietly and firmly on the good path without a thought of the generations in which the English theater had gone astray in the wilderness and buried its head in the sand.

Synge is not altogether without a successor. Mr. Masefield has written three plays with something of the same spirit of vigorous reality in them, and it cannot be doubted that he will write more. His "Tragedy of Nan," with Synge's "Playboy," "Shadow of the Glen," and "Riders to the Sea," must certainly rank as the major things of the modern English drama. Nor would it be easy to overestimate their influence. Mr. T. C. Murray, a schoolmaster in County Cork, has contributed two plays, "Birthright" and "Maurice Harte," to the repertory of the Irish Players that are the best plays they have had since the death of Synge. A moment of good drama not unworthy of Mr. Masefield is contained in a one-act play by Miss Gwen John, called "Edge o' Dark," which has unfortunately come under the ban of the English Examiner of Plays. But if there are artists able to work in the medium of the theater they will not be deterred by the fact that the theater is not yet completely in order for them.

That it is not, is true. But it is vastly more ready for them than it was a couple of decades ago. If the organization of the theater were all that might be wished, it could not be the case, for example, as it is the case, that the plays of St. John Hankin, so well adapted to give pleasure through the general theater, have never yet found their place there. That is the situation in England. I do not think the situation is really very different in America.

P. P. Howe.

ENGLISH LITERATURE'S DEBT TO THE BIBLE

BY WILLIAM GILMER PERRY

THE history of English literature begins and ends with the name of God. The opening verses of Caedmon, the first of English bards, chant the praises of the Almighty Maker of all things; the last words of Tennyson and Browning, who close the long line of imperial torch-bearers, sound the pæan of faith triumphant; and, like a golden thread through the entire web of our literature, runs the influence of the English Bible.

This influence may be definitely recognized as threefold—first, upon the thought and spirit of our literature; second, upon its language; third, upon its content.

To trace the first influence is difficult; it is as if one should attempt to distinguish the dye from the fabric that it colors. Literature is an expression of life; and the very essence of Anglo-Saxon civilization is the spirit and thought that finds its supreme expression in the Bible.

To distinguish its influence upon the language is scarcely less difficult, except where—as in the work of De Quincey and Ruskin—there is a strongly marked echo, in word and cadence, of Biblical phraseology. In much the same manner as its spirit has entered into our life, has its speech entered into our language. The age of Chaucer produced Wyclif's translation, and that of Shakespeare the Authorized Version; the English Bible presided over the birth of our language, and did much to determine our speech to-day. Nor has its influence been less conserving than formative. During the eighteenth century, when under the artificiality of Pope and the classicism of Johnson, the very genius of our tongue seemed threatened with disaster, the Bible remained the one unchanging standard of English diction. This Book held our speech true to its orbit; not merely was checked

this movement away from its standards, but with ever-accelerating speed we are returning toward them.

The third influence of the Bible, that upon the content of our literature, is more readily traced. From the first, the noble directness and idyllic charm of the Scriptural narratives made a powerful appeal to the literary artist, and there has grown up a large and increasingly important body of literature that has sought its subject matter in the pages of the Old and New Testaments. This choice of subject sometimes appears directly, as in "Samson Agonistes" or "Saul." More often, however, it appears indirectly, in the form of allusion, as in "Rizpah" or "The Cottar's Saturday Night."

It is to be expected that during the period preceding the Norman Conquest the greater part of the literary output in England should have drawn largely upon the Bible narrative; for not only was there a great dearth of literary material, but most of the writing came from the shadows of the cloister. It is interesting, however, to see how much earlier the stories of the Bible were taken into our literature than its spirit. The delight of these old authors in the overthrow of Pharaoh and the bloody tale of Judith shows how close they still were to their Viking ancestors; and such a story as "The Harrowing of Hell" indicates how entirely they failed to understand the nature and mission of Jesus. Still, even when the Normans came and brought with them their vast wealth of tales of knightly quest, the Bible remained an exhaustless storehouse of literary subject. The *Cursor Mundi,* which in flowing verse tells the story of God's dealing with men from the creation till the final redemption, consciously and avowedly competes for the favor of its readers with the chivalric adventures of "The Song of Roland" and of "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight"; and the most perfect piece of writing of this pre-Chaucerian era, that exquisite expression of a father's grief for his little Margaret called *The Pearl,* turns to the Apocalypse for a vision of the dwelling-place beyond the dark river that might have served Bunyan for the model of his Celestial City. Of even greater significance are the Miracle and Morality plays, which had their beginning during these years,—those wonderful animate illustrations of the sacred text that for two and a half centuries before Shakespeare served not only to develop the dramatic sense of the English populace, but to

render vividly familiar to them the incident of the Bible and its ethical content.

During the latter part of the fourteenth century, English literature became not only more finished in form, but deeper and broader in spirit and content. The dominant figure of this period is Chaucer. In his work the influence of the Bible is patent, despite his intense reverence for the Italian masters. Besides minor Scriptural allusions and references, he has left as the most enduring of that wonderful portrait gallery of Canterbury Pilgrims the nobly inspiring picture of the Poor Parson. Moreover, this was the age of Langland and "Piers the Plowman." Hopelessly uncouth and confused as is "The Vision" to the modern reader, it was probably far more widely known at that time than was Chaucer's gallery of fourteenth-century worthies; and here one finds merely an elaborate symbol of the Christ story which concludes with a joyous ringing of the Easter Bells. A third figure of this age, whose importance in English literature is rarely recognized, is John Wyclif. Chaucer is commonly credited with having taken the fluid, rapidly changing English of the fourteenth century and given it definite form and comparative fixity. We seldom consider to what extent Wyclif's Bible, rather than "The Canterbury Tales," may be the real well of English undefiled which is the source of the speech of modern England. Chaucer wrote for a limited aristocratic circle, and his manuscripts circulated little outside the confines of the court. Wyclif wrote for the great body of middle-class Englishmen, and touched the life of the poorest peasant. His barefoot, russet-clad priests, wandering through the length and breadth of the land, carried with them their precious manuscript, bringing to their hearers the living truths in a living tongue and literally putting a new song into their mouths. The effects of the Lollard Movement on the English tongue cannot be easily estimated; and it is not surprising that, when at last the great inarticulate masses found a voice, its first utterance should be *The Pilgrim's Progress.*

The century and a half following the death of Chaucer in 1400, with its dreary record of literary achievement, was a period of preparation. The stream of English literature dived underground, to gather the power which should enable it to reissue during the latter Tudor period as a fountain of light, when in the mid-years of Elizabeth's reign

the genius of the English race burst full blossomed. The period of the Tudors was the great age of Biblical translation. In 1526 Tyndale gave his translation to the world; then, in rapid succession, appeared the translations of Coverdale and the Geneva scholars, the Great Bible of Cranmer, the Rheims and Douay versions, and others of less importance, culminating in the translation of 1611. In this last year appeared the Authorized Version; and England possessed one single great and enduring work of prose,—the noblest example of the English tongue, says John Richard Green, which from the instant of its appearance became the standard of our language. Before fifty years had passed, this book had made its way into the hearts of the English people; hundreds of its phrases had been absorbed bodily into the daily speech; and the combined simplicity, dignity, and music of its phrase had interpenetrated and become an essential element of English prose.

Before 1611, the influence noted had been that of the Bible rather than that of the English Bible. It had been largely due, at first, to a paucity of literary material and the influence of the Church upon the writers; then, to the deeply religious impulse that actuated the author. From this time on, the source of influence was to be largely a literary one; and we may pause to seek the reasons why this book should have affected so profoundly all of our nobler forms of letters,—our poetry, drama, fiction, oratory, and essays.

There are, inherent in the Bible, certain qualities, independent of translation, that make it a source of powerful emotional impulse. In the first place, its substance is essentially poetic. A considerable part of it is definitely lyrical, as in the Psalter and the numerous songs embedded in its narrative portions; an even larger part is filled with the ecstasy of vision, as in the prophetic books and the Apocalypse; its narratives have uniformly an epic or idyllic quality that is rarely found in secular history or fiction; its wisdom books and philosophical essays are never distinctively logical and constantly flash into purple passages that make their appeal solely to the feelings; even its stretches of law and ritual are filled with a warmth of color more in harmony with the scented pages of the poet than with the arid codes of the lawgiver. In the second place, this emotional pulsing is made more noticeable by the form of the Hebrew

sentence, a quality that has been faithfully preserved in the translation. The Hebrew tongue is notably deficient in those subordinating particles which make possible the rolling periods of the Greek and the Latin. As a result, its sentences consist of single propositions that are short and vary little in length. This gives to its prose a rhythmic beat not unlike the swing of the verse in our poetic composition. A third striking quality of the Hebrew is its total lack of abstract words; hence, abstract thought and emotion can find expression only through concrete terms, and constant recourse is had to figurative language to make such expression possible. This quality may be illustrated by a single passage, the first three verses of the 69th Psalm:

"Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing; I am come into the deep waters, where the floods overflow me. I am weary of my crying: my throat is dried: my eyes fail while I wait for my God."

In this short passage, where the writer is attempting to convey the abstract idea of helpless despair, it is apparent how, by piling image on image and appealing always to the reader's senses and imagination, the writer wins a vividness and force that could never be his were the appeal directed only to the intellect.

Besides all this, it was the good fortune of the Bible to be translated into English at the only time in our history when these emotional qualities could have received adequate expression. At that time, the Anglo-Saxon element of the language had attained a complete development, and sufficient of the Latin had been absorbed directly or through the French to give this native element an added richness and harmony; but the language had not yet become filled with our present array of colorless abstract terms derived from classical sources. It, therefore, resembled the Hebrew in its constant recourse to concrete and figurative speech for the purpose of expressing abstractions. Through the translation of Tyndale, which is the basis of all the later important translations, the Authorized Version derives a special canorous quality from the Latin Vulgate; still, the directness, simplicity, concreteness, vigor, and dignity of the English Bible are essentially Anglo-Saxon. Moreover, the translators wrote at a time when English words still were shining symbols fresh from the mint of language and

not the mere " faded metaphors " that pass current among us to-day. Finally, the translators worked in that period when the religious conflict of England was most acute and intense. To Tyndale and Coverdale, translation was something far other than a literary exercise; their work was a service to God, involving the gravest eternal consequences; it was done in exile, with the fate of martyrdom full fronting them; and every line from their pen throbbed with the rhythm of heroic self-sacrifice and sublime devotion.

The literary period which wears the name of the Virgin Queen extends about twenty years on each side of the date of the Authorized Version, so that only about one-half of this period could have felt its influence; still, the popularity of the earlier translations was enormous, and it is at first glance surprising that their influence is so little seen in Elizabethan literature. It is true that Spenser's " Faerie Queene " is essentially an elaborate allegory of the soul's striving after perfection; and Bishop Wordsworth's careful examination of Shakespeare's plays reveals about one hundred and twenty definite allusions to the Bible. In these same plays, however, there are certainly an equal number of allusions to Law or Medicine or Navigation and a much larger number to Renaissance Italy; while among Shakespeare's contemporaries, with the exception of the philosophers and theologians, reference to the Bible is singularly lacking. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that the playwrights, who gave the most characteristic utterance to Elizabethan thought, were, because of their social condition, the class least likely to come under the influence of the Bible. A more adequate explanation seems that these Elizabethans were true children of the Renaissance, in thrall to the glamour of life and the glitter of its pageantry. Added to this was a new and vivid consciousness of their national greatness. These qualities led them naturally to seek their inspiration in the romantic pages of *Hakluyt's Voyages* and *Holinshed's Chronicles,* and especially in the numerous translations of the Italian *novelle* and Spanish rogue stories then newly come to England; and when, intoxicated with romance and patriotism, they turned to the ancients, it was the glow of Plutarch and Virgil, rather than the severer beauties of the Bible, that claimed their interest.

After the death of Elizabeth, the Bible underwent a grave misfortune. It ceased to be the book of a nation and became

the tract of a sect, and that sect one which seems amazingly blind to its value as mere literature. Insisting upon a literal inspiration and devoting their energies to minute dissection of obscure texts, they lost the sense of its literary greatness; grubbing in dark corners and cobwebbed crypts, they lost sight of the grandeur of the whole edifice, through whose painted windows flamed the splendors of a glory eternal. Yet it must not be forgotten that this was the era of Bunyan and Milton. These two—one in prose, the other in verse—gave Puritanism its noblest expression; and both based this expression on the English Bible. *The Pilgrim's Progress* of the former became and remains the most widely known of English secular books. The *Paradise Lost* of the latter is, indeed, in a fair way to join the ranks of those classics which "every one praises and no one reads," but its influence persists in a way and to a degree that few realize; for it is Milton, and not Revelation, that has created the particular concepts of Hell and Heaven and Satan and God which even to-day are not infrequently accepted in the pew and taught from the pulpit. Nor must one forget the *Temple* of George Herbert and the *Noble Numbers* of Robert Herrick, or the quaint beauties of Giles Fletcher and the baffling music of John Donne, or the mystic passion of Crashaw and Henry Vaughan—incense wafted from the hallowed altars of their lives.

During the so-called Augustan Age, covering the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first three-quarters of the eighteenth, English literature shows comparatively little influence of the Bible. This has been accounted for solely by the fact that the Puritans had monopolized it for their own purposes. This explanation seems hardly sufficient; the Bible is powerful enough to have surmounted this difficulty had not one more formidable lain in its way. This greater obstacle was the nature of the eighteenth-century literature. Whereas the Bible is simple, concrete, dignified, and profoundly emotional, the writing of the eighteenth century is artificial, abstract, trivial, and commonplace. The entire spirit of the century was antagonistic to that of the Bible; the writers were constitutionally incapable of feeling its appeal. It is true that Pope, the dominant figure of this era, bases one of his most popular poems, the "Messiah," on those passages in Isaiah foretelling the advent of Christ, and that in his "Universal Prayer," in-

terpenetrated as it is with Scriptural thought and phrase, he gives the profoundest expression of his personality; nor can we think of his deistic Essay on Man as possible without an existing Bible. It is true, moreover, that the story of Absalom's revolt furnishes Dryden with the framework of his best-known satire; that Swift's *Tale of a Tub* still divides favor with his *Gulliver's Travels;* that Addison's one real poem is his paraphrase of the 19th Psalm; that Goldsmith's most enduring creations are his gentle Vicar and his godly preacher of Fair Auburn; that Defoe and Samuel Richardson are often exasperatingly moralistic; and that Johnson's work is surcharged with a noble piety. Yet the only one of the great writers of this Augustan Age who shows any real influence of the English Bible is Edmund Burke. He, indeed, consciously modeled his majestic periods on the prose of the Authorized Version, and thereby wove for his thought a garment as richly broidered as the curtains of the Sanctuary. It is noteworthy, too, that the literature of this same eighteenth century is the least interesting and inspiring of any of the great periods of English letters.

Toward the close of the century came a return to naturalness and genuineness of feeling; and when Cowper sent John Gilpin galloping merrily down to Ware, he wrought a havoc among the staid traditions of the Augustans not unlike that accomplished upon the wash at Edmonton by his doughty rider. With this new birth of sincerity, the power of the great Book began once more to be felt. Scarcely one of the heralds of the dawn of Romanticism but reflects its glory,—not only Cowper with his wistful smile, but Crabbe painting his grim gray pictures of fortune's outcasts, Blake piping down his valleys wild, and Burns singing his new song of the worth of life's common things.

The dawn which Cowper and Burns heralded became full morning when the "Lyrical Ballads" of Wordsworth and Coleridge appeared in 1798; and in both of these poets the influence of the Bible is strikingly manifest. This appears primarily in the spirit of the New Testament which permeates all of Wordsworth's poetry; it shows more directly in frequent Biblical allusion and reference throughout his longer philosophical poems. Moreover, his journal tells specifically how deeply the stories of Elijah and Elisha influenced his great "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality."

It would be sufficient, however, to cite that splendid passage in the most familiar and characteristic of all his poems, "Tintern Abbey":

> "And I have felt
> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> *Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,*
> *And the round ocean and the living air,*
> *And the blue sky,* and in the mind of man:
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

Here one finds a gorgeous paraphrase of the Psalmists:

> "O Lord my God, thou art very great; who coverest thyself with the light as with a garment; who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain; who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind."

Nor is this influence on Coleridge less notable. Not only does it pervade his prose, but the one flawless poetic jewel in his narrow golden casket is essentially an elaborately beautiful application of Christ's "new commandment," save that Coleridge defines with a new and deeper meaning who is our "neighbor":

> "He prayeth best that loveth best
> All things—"

Byron, Shelley, and Keats, the three great poets who carried forward the work of Wordsworth and Coleridge, we should expect to show less powerfully the influence of the Bible,—the two former because of their antagonism toward the standards and ideals of their nation, and the last because of his aloofness from its problems. Still, when Byron seeks the most adequate expression of his personality, he goes to the story of Cain for his material, and his most widely known poems—though indeed not his greatest—are found among his "Hebrew Melodies." When Shelley writes his "Prometheus Unbound" as the final statement of his philosophical system, he merely retells the story of Golgotha under the guise of Greek myth. Even Keats, saturated though he is with the mythology of classic Greece

and the tales of Mediæval Europe, turns for his most rarely beautiful allusion to the idyl of *Ruth*. The three great essayists of this period are scarcely less imbued with this influence. Lamb shows this least. His whimsical mannerisms, indeed, seem at the farthest verge removed from the simplicity and directness of the English Bible; yet much of what is most enduring in his work is due to those echoes of other worldly music which he has derived through the confused medium of his master, Sir Thomas Browne. The most radiant passages of Hazlitt resound with the harmonies of the Authorized Version. And to realize De Quincey's indebtedness to the same source, one has only to read any dozen lines of his *Levana*:

> "This is he that once I made my darling. Him I led astray, him I beguiled, and from heaven I stole away his young heart to mine. Through me did he become idolatrous; and through me it was, by languishing desires, that he worshiped the worm and prayed to the wormy grave. Holy was the grave to him; lovely was its darkness; saintly its corruption. . . . See that thy scepter lie heavy on his head. Banish the frailties of hope; wither the relenting of love; scorch the fountain of tears; curse him as only thou canst curse. So shall he be accomplished in the furnace; so shall he see the things that ought not to be seen, sights that are abominable, and secrets that are unutterable. So shall he rise again before he dies."

Here one might almost be within the presence of the ecstasy of some old Hebrew prophet—a Jeremiah or an Ezekiel.

It was, however, not until the Victorian Age, the second of the great periods of English letters, that the Bible attained its greatest potency as a literary influence; and there are obvious reasons for this fact. The Victorian Age, as none other, was consciously humanitarian and moral in its aim; it was an age of profound seriousness, and sought to penetrate into the abysses of life and to search out its meaning; it was, above all, an age of deep and sincere emotion. The emotion of the Elizabethan was the emotion of the child,—sincere but unstable, amused with the brilliant surface of life and led hither and thither by the splendor of the passing moment; that of the man of the Romantic Revival and the French Revolution was the emotion of the adolescent,—intense but uncertain of its aim; that of the Victorian was the emotion of the adult,—grave and self-contained, and advancing slowly but consciously toward a

well-defined if difficult ideal. These qualities drove the Victorian inevitably to the Bible as the ultimate expression of his spirit and ideals. This appears strikingly in the work of the three great essayists. As prophetic of the large use of Scriptural phrase that Macaulay was destined to make in his essays and addresses, one recalls his infant outburst against the maid who had disarranged the pebbles marking off his little garden: "Cursed be Sallie! For it is written, 'Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark.'" With what skill and power he later drew his weapons from the armory of the English Bible is illustrated in those terrible words wherein he sums up his indictment of Barère:

> "Whatsoever things are false, whatsoever things are dishonest, whatsoever things are unjust, whatsoever things are impure, whatsoever things are hateful, whatsoever things are of evil report, if there be any vice, and if there be any infamy, all these things, we knew, were blended in Barère."

In Carlyle this influence is even more patent; in fact, so imbued is he with the Hebraic intensity that we might easily believe him the Tishbite returned to earth to scourge with prophetic vehemence the abuses of a corrupt society. Ruskin shows the same influence differently but in no less degree. The germ of his social system is found in the Sermon on the Mount; and in his *Præterita* he himself traces the sources of his style to those long Old Testament chapters which he was required in childhood to commit to memory.

The two great masters of poetry bear equally conclusive testimony to the power of the Authorized Version. Tennyson has gone to the Bible but little for the subject matter of his poems; but how constantly he has drawn upon it for purposes of allusion appears in the fact that Dr. Van Dyke has found in these poems more than four hundred Biblical references. In Browning the number of allusions is even greater. A shorter poem like "Christmas Eve" and "Easter Day" contains no less than a hundred, while in "The Ring and the Book" there are almost one thousand, which are distributed over twenty-eight books of the Old Testament and twenty-five of the New. Moreover, many of his best known and greatest poems, as the "Epistle of Karshish" and "A Death in the Desert," are based directly on Biblical subjects.

An examination of the great novelists reveals the same truth. In thinking of Scott's novels, the story that one remembers with deepest sympathy is *The Heart of Midlothian*, that rare study of Scotch peasant life which stands so close to Burns's "The Cottar's Saturday Night"; but what is here concentrated appears in all the greater novels, especially in connection with those immortal studies of the Scotch peasantry. Even more striking is the use that Thackeray makes of the Bible in his great scenes. To every lover of Thackeray there are four of these that stand out most vividly in memory: the picture of Pendennis praying beside his dying mother; that of Amelia reading the story of Samuel to her boy on the night before his departure to his grandfather; that of Esmond, returned from the Spanish War, as he stands with Lady Castlewood beneath the moon which glitters keen in the frosty air, where through, like intertissued threads of gold, are woven the lofty harmonies of the 126th Psalm; and that most poignantly beautiful picture of all, where we stand at the bedside of Colonel Newcome, while his hand feebly beats time to the chapel bell, and hear that last spoken "Adsum" as he, "whose heart was as that of a little child," stands in the presence of his Master. We commonly think of Dickens as less influenced by the Bible than were these other two, and recall Mr. Chadband and Mr. Stiggins as typical of a cynical attitude toward religion. Yet Dickens himself ascribed to the Authorized Version whatever of excellence there was in his style; moreover, his sincere humanitarianism is a direct reflection of the spirit of the New Testament. To show this indebtedness, however, it is sufficient to recall that one scene which stands supreme in all his writings and to note how it is lifted into the sublime upon the organ music of St. John. I refer to the great final act of the *Tale of Two Cities*. With Sydney Carton the struggle is over,—love hath wrought its perfect work,—and he stands before the guillotine clasping the hand of the little seamstress:

"She kisses his lips; he kisses hers; they solemnly bless each other. The spare hand does not tremble as he releases it; nothing worse than a sweet, bright constancy is in the patient face. She goes next before him—is gone; the knitting women count Twenty-Two.

"'I am the Resurrection and the Life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.'

"The murmuring of many voices, the upturning of many faces, the pressing on of many footsteps in the outskirts of the crowd, so that it swells forward in a mass, like one great heave of water, all flashes away. Twenty-Three."

Since the passing of the great Victorians, English literature has moved on a lower plane,—how much lower may be judged from the deep twilight that followed the setting of Swinburne's lesser star. Its enormous increase in volume has been accompanied by a noticeable decrease in vitality. The orators and essayists are content to analyze and convince, and have forgot their power to create and inspire. The dramatists and writers of fiction have lost their sense of the universality of truth and human nature, and furnish only discussions of local and temporary problems or minute, often merely pathological, studies of individuals and narrow types. It is, however, in the poets that we feel most this decline in vigor. Other men of letters may give the plan of the battle, but it is the voice of the poet that calls us to action; the old legend of Tyrtæus is eternally and universally true. It is not that these more recent poets are mere spinners of bright-hued fancies; many of them are finished craftsmen and some inspired singers; but they lack the power to compel. Their voice is the voice of weakness. The burden of life is too heavy for them. They have ceased to summon us to the conflict; and though the fire of defiance still linger in their eye, they have laid their trumpets by and confessed defeat. Yet the influence of the Bible persists. Sometimes it is positive and direct, as in the stately harmonies of Kipling's "Recessional" or the labyrinthine beauties of Francis Thompson's "The Hound of Heaven"; sometimes, as in the extreme examples of James Thomson's "City of Dreadful Night" or John Davidson's "Ballad in Blank Verse," it appears only as an objective of revolt. During these latter years, as never before, the thought of man has journeyed afar into strange regions; yet throughout the range of our *belles lettres*,—our oratory, essays, novels, drama, and poetry,—the English Bible remains, as it has been, the source of truest and most enduring literary inspiration.

William Gilmer Perry.

THE PLACE OF THE SUSSEX MAN

BY FREDERICK ARTHUR HODGE

Much interest has recently been manifested in the discovery, by Mr. Charles Dawson, of part of the skull and mandible of an ancient man, near Pilt Down Common, Sussex, England. Workmen first found an object resembling a cocoanut, which curiosity led them to break in pieces, and, being unable to solve the mystery, they cast the pieces aside. Later a number of worked flints were found and laid out by the road-side. Mr. Dawson happening along saw these and was told of the cocoanut. He recovered the fragments and pieced them together to find that they formed the left half of a human skull. Subsequent search succeeded in bringing to light a fragment of the tooth of a mastodon; various fragments of the teeth of a prehistoric elephant, together with those of a hippopotamus, a beaver, and an extinct horse; a bit of a large deer's antler; and, finally, a fossilized jaw-bone which is presumed to belong to the same skull.

The gravel bed in which these remains were found represents a deposit made by the slow wearing away of chalky rocks in which the insoluble flint was originally embedded. Thus, erosion would bring together in the gravel deposit the remains of different periods if any such existed. It is the opinion, however, of Sir Ray Lankester and others that the remains are contemporary.

The place of this ancient ancestor in the roots of our family tree may be determined by a study of certain geological and anthropological factors. Geology recognizes four principal epochs in the development of terrestrial life.

EPOCHS	CHARACTERIZED BY
Primary or Palæozoic.	Seaweeds, ferns, and fishes.
Secondary or Mesozoic.	Conifers and reptiles.
Tertiary or Cainozoic.	Leaf-bearing trees and mammals.
Quaternary or Post-Tertiary.	Present existing species.

The last two periods are subdivided as follows:

Tertiary	Eocene.
	Oligocene.
	Miocene.
	Pliocene.
Quaternary	Pleistocene.
	Prehistoric and Recent.

The Eocene strata contain the earliest known mammalian types, while the earliest anthropoid apes are found in Miocene deposits. The life history of the human race will not, therefore, reach further back than the Miocene period.

Geography, climate, flora and fauna are important factors in the determination of ancestral place. If one could suddenly be transported to Sussex, and the wheels of time be as suddenly turned backward a million or more of years to Miocene and Pliocene times, he would be surprised at the strange outlines presented by the map of Europe and of England in particular. At that remote period the waves of the Atlantic washed upon a shore far to the west of the British Isles, which is now submerged beneath one hundred fathoms of water. The Irish Sea, the German Ocean, and the English Channel were then fertile valleys. The Thames flowed northward into the Rhine and finally into the Atlantic; while the Seine flowed westward along the now southern coast of Sussex, out through the fertile plains of the English Channel till it emptied into the Atlantic a hundred miles west of Land's End. In place of the Mediterranean were two inland seas separated by an isthmus which extended from Europe into Africa along the line of Italy and Sicily. The animals that inhabited the African jungles could thus cross into southern Europe and wander through the valleys of the Thames and Seine. Indeed, a traveler thus transported might well imagine that he stood in the midst of a great out-door menagerie. There were the huge proboscideans, the colossal Mastodon, and the Deinotherium, the latter having great tusks curving downward from the lower jaw. In the swamps he might be startled by the rush of the soft-nosed rhinoceros, which bore a horn sometimes three feet in length. Over the hills dash herds of wild horses about the size of sheep. The hippopotamus disports himself in the rivers while the formidable saber-toothed tiger steals through the tropical flora in pursuit of his victim.

"Tropical flora"—not merely a rhetorical figure, for at that time water-lilies grew within eight degrees of the Pole. North Greenland had a flora of one hundred and thirty-seven described species, including conifers, beeches, oaks, planes, poplars, maples, walnuts, limes, and magnolias. But toward the end of the Pliocene period the gradual cooling of the climate which resulted in Pleistocene times, in the great Ice Age, caused the apes and many other mammals to seek a more southern habitat.

The "Cromer Forest-Bed" of Norfolk, England, is a late Pliocene deposit and gives a fair idea of the flora and fauna of its time. There are fifty-six varieties of flowering plants, the range of which indicates a mild and moist climate not unlike the England of to-day. Among the trees are the maple, hawthorn, elm, beech, birch, alder, hazel, oak, willow, yew, pine, and spruce. The fauna consists of species not so well known now. In fact, of the thirty large mammals found in the Forest-Bed only three are now living in Britain, and only six have survived in any part of the world. There were three species of elephants, the hippopotamus, rhinoceros, two types of horses one of which is now extinct, the bison, and the wild boar. Some flints bearing evidence of human workmanship were found here by Mr. W. J. L. Abbott in 1897. Altogether the stratified series, fauna and flints of the man of Sussex indicate that he represents approximately the same period as that of the Forest-Bed.

To state these periods in terms of years is admittedly very unsatisfactory. Geologists show the widest variation in their estimates. Nor does the evidence offered by the anthropologist remove many obstacles, but tends, rather, to make the problem more complex. Nevertheless, we are accustomed to think of time in terms of years, centuries, and millennia, and such estimates may at least encourage the imagination in a field where, undoubtedly, our greatest error is in falling short of, rather than over-reaching, reality. The figures used are those given by Mr. Arthur Keith, Conservator of the Museum, Royal College of Surgeons, England, in his recently published *Ancient Types of Man.* His estimate occupies a conservative middle ground among those commonly given.

Beginning with the present time and counting backward, the Metallic Period, characterized by the use of copper, bronze, and iron, extends over a period of about four thou-

sand years. This was preceded by an age in which finely polished stone implements were used. The Neolithic Period covered a stretch of at least twenty-five thousand years. Beyond the Neolithic we enter the Late Paleolithic, which extends over a period of one hundred and fifty thousand years to the end of the Glacial Age, and falls within the latter part of the geologists' Pleistocene Period. During this time man obtained mastery over stone. He learned to chip it with precision, forming implements that are notable both for their artistic beauty and their usefulness. The Early Paleolithic Period is estimated at anywhere from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand years, and is characterized by crude stone implements. Beyond this for one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand years stretches the Eolithic Period, the dawn of the Stone Age. It is a vague and indistinct period for there is always a degree of uncertainty as to the evidences of human workmanship in chipping the flints. As the flint implements of this period were extremely primitive, it is an open question concerning most of the so-called "eoliths" as to whether Nature herself was not the great artificer. This is almost certainly the case with those flints found in the Upper Oligocene strata at Thenay, France. The period is too early for man, unless we suppose with G. De Mortillet that they represent the work of a semi-human precursor of both the apes and man. At this period the ancestral horse was a small-three-toed animal about eighteen inches high, and the ancestral elephant about the size of a pig. Moreover, chipped flints have been recently found in Lower Eocene sands at Belle Assize by the Abbé Breuil, which clearly showed that they owed their formation to movements of the strata settling under pressure of the upper earth. Some of these present an astonishing resemblance to the artificially formed "eoliths."

But whatever the doubts may be, it is rationally certain that long before the first crude stone implements, which clearly reveal human craftsmanship, were made, man had come to realize the necessity for some sharp-edged implements, and when nature failed to provide these he was slowly developing the art of producing them.

The stone implements and flints found in connection with the Sussex man belong to two different stages of culture. One series of flints are of "eolithic" origin, the other is

attributed to the " Chellean " stage, one of the Lower Paleolithic phases of development. The principal Chellean implement was a coarsely dressed piece of flint chipped on both sides to an irregular but sharp edge, and fitted for grasping in the hand without any shaft. It might be used either for scraping or cutting, and in the hands of this powerful creature who first fashioned it, would undoubtedly prove a formidable weapon. This weapon, for which Professor W. J. Sollas, of Oxford, proposes the name " boucher " in honor of its discoverer Boucher de Perthes, is the most common of the Chellean implements, being frequently the sole representative of the period. But the presence of such an implement does not of itself indicate the period at which it was used. The " boucher " held prominent place among the implements used in recent times by the Tasmanians. The presence of Chellean implements in the gravel in which the Sussex skull was found may be accounted for in a number of ways. The " eoliths " found in the same gravel are more in harmony with the strata and fauna both of which indicate a period earlier than that of Chellean man.

Summing up the figures given above the Eolithic and Paleolithic Periods of the anthropologist correspond roughly to the Pleistocene of the geologist, except that the Eolithic Period probably reaches farther back into the Pliocene times. The duration of the Pleistocene Period is estimated, by this count, at from four hundred and fifty thousand to seven hundred thousand years. Regarding the Sussex man as representing either Pliocene or the transition from it to Pleistocene times, would therefore fix his time at not less than five hundred thousand years ago.

Some comparisons between this skull and those of other ancient men are of interest. As a basis for such comparison, the cranial capacities of various modern races, representing so many stages from degeneracy to culture, are estimated as follows:

European	94	cubic	inches.
Negro	85	"	"
South African Bushman	78	"	"
Tasmanian	73	"	"
Australian Aborigine	72	"	"

The cranial capacity of the anthropoid apes is not known to exceed thirty-six cubic inches.

The celebrated Neanderthal man was discovered in 1857 in a Pleistocene bed in Feldhofen Cave, Neanderthal ravine, in Rhenish Prussia. The remains consisted of the brain cap, two femora, two humeri, and other fragments. Huxley pronounced the skull the most ape-like yet discovered, and estimated the cranial capacity at seventy-five cubic inches. This has since been disputed by Manouvrier and Boule, who estimate it to be equal to that of the average European of to-day. When these specimens were first exhibited before a meeting of German anthropologists at Bonn, their human character was doubted. Later the great anatomist, Virchow, expressed the opinion that the small size and peculiar shape of the brain cap were due to disease. Subsequent discoveries, however, show the Neanderthal man to have been a member of a race well distributed throughout Europe during the Glacial Period. Two almost complete skeletons which were recovered from the floor of a cave at Spy, Belgium; two others from Le Moustier and La Chapelle-aux-Saints; various fragments representing a dozen or more individuals from Krapina in Croatia; the Gibraltar cranium, which was discovered nine years before the Neanderthal remains; and the famous Heidelberg jaw, are among the remains that testify to the Neanderthal race. The implements found in connection with these remains serve to classify them as "Mousterien," a Middle Paleolithic stage. The Chellean "boucher" has given place to better prepared implements and also to a greater variety.

The Heidelberg jaw, probably the earliest trace of Neanderthal man, was found in 1907 in the valley of the Neckar, about six miles from the famous university town whose name it bears. It lay embedded in the sands of the ancient river Mauer, which are an early Pleistocene formation. In the same layer were found some bones and teeth of an extinct rhinoceros and an early kind of horse. The fauna is very similar to that of the Cromer Forest-Bed. While only the mandible of this ancient man was found, yet no single bone can reveal more concerning the body to which it belongs than a mandible. There is a striking resemblance between this Heidelberg jaw and that of the Sussex man, the latter, if anything, being the more primitive. The Sussex jaw is not quite complete, a portion of the front of the chin together with the incisors and canines being absent. But both these jaws show the absence of a chin, or, in other

words, they indicate a protruding muzzle as in the case of the anthropoid apes. While the dentition in each case is distinctly human, the massive body and broad ascending branches are as distinctively simian.

The free movements of the tongue in speech have been provided for in the existing races of man by a greater opening in the lower part of the jaw which bounds the floor of the mouth at its anterior extremity. The square chin allows the inner surface of the jaw to slope steeply downward from the back of the incisors. In the anthropoids this lingual basin is much encroached upon, the slope of the inner surface of the jaw being more gradual. In this respect both these ancient mandibles show an intermediate stage between man and the anthropoids. The jaw of the anthropoid is designed to serve simply the purpose of mastication. That of the human is modified to serve also in speech. In both these prehistoric men human speech of a primitive type may have been present, but we have reached a point in the development of the race where it may be said to be questionable.

The incompleteness of the Sussex skull renders estimates of the cranial capacity difficult, but it undoubtedly falls between sixty-two and sixty-seven cubic inches. Professor Keith attempts to reconstruct the whole head of the Heidelberg man on the basis of facts revealed by the mandible, and concludes that the cranial capacity was not less than one thousand three hundred cubic centimeters, or about seventy-eight cubic inches. Allowing for all possible inaccuracies in these figures, the man of Sussex shows smaller cranial capacity than that of any other European remains thus far discovered. In this respect he also represents a more primitive type of man than any existing race. But there is one other ancient man who probably antedated the Sussex man by as long a period as that between the latter and the Neanderthal race.

In 1891 and '92, Dr. Eugène Dubois, Professor of Geology at the University of Amsterdam, uncovered on the bank of a stream in central Java the bones of twenty-seven species of mammals. Among these were a skull-cap, thigh-bone, and two molars, which he assigned to an extinct animal type and named it *Pithecanthropus erectus* (Erect Man-ape). In general form and scientific detail, clear only to the trained eye of the anatomist and anthropologist, this

skull-cap is more simian than human. The forehead is more receding than that of the chimpanzee. The height of skull, according to Keith, is only seventy-nine millimeters, twenty millimeters less than that of the modern European, and only thirteen millimeters more than that of the male gorilla. Professor Dubois estimates the cranial capacity of the Java man as eight hundred and fifty cubic centimeters, or about fifty-two cubic inches. It must be remembered, however, that the skull is far too incomplete for exact measurement. If the above measurements are correct, the Java man occupies a position, in this respect, midway between the anthropoid apes and the lowest existing races of men. There seems to be a striking concurrence here between the figures of Keith and those of Dubois, and the former believes that the time of the Java man was near the beginning of the Pliocene Period.

Arranging these remains of prehistoric man in order of age, the Java man would occupy first place at not less than a million years antiquity. Next would come the Sussex man as the oldest European yet found. As the Java man forms a link midway between man and the apes, so the Sussex man forms a no less important link between *Pithecanthropus* and modern man, while the gap between the man of Sussex and our own times is filled first by the Heidelberg man and then by the other Neanderthal representatives.

These occasional discoveries are forging link by link the living chain that connects us with the remote past. They indicate that back in Miocene times the parent stock began to differentiate into those two great lines which are to-day so far apart, man and the man-like apes. The advance of man has required not years, but millennia. We rise from a stooping posture without a thought of how our distant ancestors through the advance of ages untold, gradually attained the erect posture. We light our fires with a chemically prepared stick costing a penny a box, and value not the priceless gift of Prometheus. But the erect posture, the use of fire, the development of speech, the fashioning of crude implements, the taming of the wild horse, and the reproduction at will of the wild plants, are milestones along the pathway of progress which dimly and vaguely indicate the distance man has come.

Frederick Arthur Hodge.

THE POLITICAL SIDE OF STATE OWNERSHIP IN FRANCE

BY THEODORE STANTON

The North American Review has recently published, from the pen of two distinguished Frenchmen who speak with authority on whatever they treat, two notable articles on Government ownership of public utilities. I refer to M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu and M. Jules Roche.

In his special field, that of the old classic system of political economy, M. Leroy-Beaulieu stands first in France, if not in Europe. His intellectual force is questioned by no one. He is a Member of the Institute, Professor of Political Economy at the Collège de France, founder and editor of the *Economiste Français,* and President of the Society of Political Economists, whose interesting monthly meetings he presides over with the greatest courtesy and ability. Son of a Prefect of the Orleans Monarchy, son-in-law of a Senator of the Second Empire, and father of the present Conservative deputy for Montpellier, he is naturally not in full sympathy with the democratic Republic which is taking firmer root in France with each succeeding year, and his views on public questions do not always reflect exactly the state of mind of the people and the condition of things in his country. The facts themselves are correct enough, but the atmosphere which surrounds them is sometimes overcharged.

M. Jules Roche, like M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, is of conservative origin, but unlike the latter, he has gone through a period of advanced Radicalism, only to return at the close of life to his starting-point. Nephew of a Catholic Bishop and educated at the well-known ultra-Catholic Stanislas College of Paris, he early wandered from the fold, opposed the Second Empire in its last years, welcomed ardently the New Republic, and joined the editorial staff of *La Justice,*

the organ of Clemenceau, when the latter was leader of the Extreme Left in the Chamber of Deputies. On entering the Paris Municipal Council, he took a seat among the most advanced members and by speech and vote showed a strong antipathy for the priesthood; and later, in the Chamber and while Minister, he continued to be one of the most radical of the Radicals. But to-day, M. Jules Roche has destroyed all the political idols of his early manhood, and has become perhaps the most pronounced, as he certainly is one of the most intellectual, of the Jeremiahs of the Third Republic, which, however, does not prevent him from standing high, as also does M. Leroy-Beaulieu, in the esteem of political and financial circles outside of his own country, where of course both are prophets without honor. When the Prince of Monaco needed a constitution for his Principality, he turned instinctively to his friend Jules Roche to draw it up for him, and when the Kaiser learned that Jules Roche, who is as fond of music as of constitutional law, was in Berlin, he invited him to the Imperial box at the Opera. Nor did it surprise anybody last summer in Paris that Jules Roche lunched once each week with the young Prince of Wales and acted as a sort of honorary preceptor in the department of political science to the future King of England.

In writing of a democratic Republic, it is only natural, therefore, that M. Leroy-Beaulieu and M. Jules Roche should display a certain political bias, and it is only proper that the foreign reader, whose prime wish is to be absolutely correctly informed, should be put on his guard against this bias. This is the purpose of the present article; and it is hoped that the student of the question of State ownership in France may rise from the perusal of these three articles with a fairly exact idea of the situation. With this end in view, I have next to nothing to add to or take away from the economic and philosophical presentation of the subject as given by M. Leroy-Beaulieu and M. Jules Roche, who have made out a very strong case against State interference with the individual, so strong in fact that I may put away additional facts of my own which bear out their various contentions, though I cannot refrain from calling attention to the congress held last spring by the workmen of the State match factories, where, among other demands, was one for shorter hours, based on the over-stock of matches. But the

Journal des Débats very pertinently asked whether the same result might not be attained, and with profit to the public treasury, if the number of workmen was reduced! Then, there is the quite recent apostasy of Professor Henry Berthélemy, of the Paris Law School. In the preface to the seventh edition, just issued, of his standard *Treatise on Administrative Law,* the learned author, who heretofore has always been a firm advocate of a State railway system, declares that, though theoretically he still holds the same opinion, he is now forced to admit that in practice it is bad. But perhaps the best and most impartial, as it is also the most recent, presentation of the whole subject, not only in France but the world over, is to be found in the volume of that veteran French political economist, M. Yves Guyot, *La Gestion par l'Etat et les Municipalités.*

Nor is it necessary for me to point out here and there in the articles already mentioned a slight over-darkening of the picture and the neglect to offer now and then some extenuating circumstances, especially in the case of the Western Railway under State management. I think every unbiased observer of contemporary French history will be ready to admit that the discussion as presented by M. Leroy-Beaulieu and M. Jules Roche is substantially correct. The cold facts of the first and the fervent philosophy of the second are a just and powerful arraignment of the State in its baneful policy of meddling with the economic and industrial interests of France. This being the case, the average reader might conclude, especially as M. Leroy-Beaulieu and M. Jules Roche in the ardor of their apostleship sometimes seem to leave that impression, that a change is about to take place in France in these matters. But the aim of this article is precisely to show that this is not to happen.

M. Leroy-Beaulieu and M. Jules Roche are both very severe on the Radical party, the *bête noire* of the Conservatives of France. The former even fixes the date of its advent and, as he supposes, its final exit from power. But to an outside observer on the spot, it is evident that this view is largely due to the wish being father to the thought. That the Radical party, or what it would be more correct to say, one branch of the Radical party, has received a momentary setback is quite true; but to conclude therefrom that the ideas which this party stands for, viz., a whole series of

necessary democratic reforms, are killed and indefinitely adjourned would be a grave mistake. A very thoughtful Paris solicitor, M. Michel Milhaud, rightly says in a pamphlet entitled "*Le Collectivisme,*" which he has just brought out, that "the Third Republic is not abreast of the monarchial countries in its democratic reforms," a charge, by the way, which has often been made against our own Republic. What is going to occur in France, what is in fact occurring at the moment of writing, is what happens in all healthy constitutional countries—the ins are going out and the outs are coming in; that is all, or about all, that is taking place in the home politics of France. The nation is still ruled, and will continue to be ruled, by Republicans, and, as far as their tenets go, by radical Republicans too. In a word, there is to be a change of persons, which is always good in politics, rather than a change of policies. The ideas and programme of the outgoing Radicals are the ideas and programme of the incoming Radicals of a milder shade. It is the case to repeat with the witty Alphonse Karr, "The more it changes, the more it is the same thing."

There is another and perhaps even stronger reason why the foreign reader of these two articles must not conclude that, because of its failures and evils, State interference is going to cease in France. Government in that country, under all the different régimes, has ever been very strongly centralized, and under the Third Republic this tendency has perhaps increased in practice if not in spirit. The people are becoming there more and more the masters, as in all republics, and are the more willing to be ruled by the central government as it becomes more and more their creation and their creature. If this change is very perceptible to-day in a federative Republic like the United States, it is of course all the more marked in France where the federative principle received its death blow at the upheaval of 1789. In a nation where the Minister of Public Instruction once proudly declared that he knew what every boy and girl in France was studying at any hour of any day in the year, and where the Minister of the Interior has his hand on even the *garde champêtre* of every one of the more than 36,000 *communes*, it goes without saying that in such a land "*Etatisme*" will flourish like a green bay tree; and whether the powers that be are Monarchists, Imperialists, Republicans, or Socialists,

they will all repeat and act upon the saying of Louis XIV., "*L'Etat, c'est moi.*"

A third and not less weighty reason why this policy is to continue is found in the fact that, since the advent of the Third Republic, French democracy has made the greatest forward strides in its history; and now that it is getting more and more strongly intrenched in power, it does not intend to stand still, much less draw back, but of course proposes to go on until the whole work cut out by the Radical party, to say nothing of the dreams of the Socialists, is accomplished. M. Léon Bourgeois, one of the leaders of the Radicals and until the other day Minister of Labor, sums up the programme in these words: "As regards State intervention, the rule should be,—never more than is just, never more than is useful, but as much as is just and as much as is useful." In other words, in France the State will in the future have more to do than it has ever had in the past. The truth of this assertion becomes still more evident if we glance for a moment at some of the things which the French State has done during the last quarter of a century. *Ab uno disce omnes.*

In 1891 was introduced into French criminal procedure what is perhaps the most humanitarian reform known to the French courts and which especially benefits the lower orders of society. I refer to the *Loi Béranger,* or the First Offenders' Act, an innovation that is still warmly approved after a quarter-century's trial. Legislation in the interests of women, children, and old men has been very active during the past twenty-five years. Never before as at present have labor laws occupied so much of the time of the French Parliament and with such practical and far-reaching results. Free speech, free press, and freedom of association have succeeded to the illiberal laws on these subjects in practice during the Second Empire. The separation of Church and State, though some of the provisions of this grand measure were adversely and often unfairly criticized in certain quarters, is approved to-day by a vast—I use the word advisedly —majority of the French people. Nobody in France who thinks and says what he really thinks would ask for a restoration of the Concordat, any more than an American would favor the rescinding, if this were possible, of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. M. Briand's radical measure gave a fresh strength to the policy of State interference in

matters affecting the individual that all the wild schemes, however utilitarian, of M. Jean Juarès cannot weaken.

Nor do the lower classes of France forget that free, unsectarian primary schools came in the eighties from the Republican State, and especially from the then advanced wing of the Republican party, the more moderate element following in the wake, as usual when a popular measure is up for action. Figures count in France, as elsewhere, particularly when read by the hard-headed French peasantry and the quick-witted city working-man, who know—and the Republican leaders are careful not to let them forget it—that, whereas in the last years of the Second Empire only thirty-six millions of francs were devoted to public instruction, to-day, notwithstanding the terrible financial strain caused by the immense war and navy appropriations, the figures are some two hundred and seventy-five millions.

A similar evidence of State interest under a republic in the welfare of the people is seen in the present military organization of France. Thus, in 1870, a second lieutenant was paid one thousand eight hundred and fifty francs a year, or about three hundred and sixty dollars. To-day, he receives two thousand three hundred and forty francs. In 1870, a colonel's pay was six thousand francs, which is about what an Instructor gets in our American universities, and though it is still too low, especially when compared with the American army, it is now eight thousand one hundred and thirty-six francs. And at this very moment a special committee, appointed by the present Minister of War, is drawing up a new bill which is to raise still higher the pay of officers and non-commission officers too. Under the Second Empire, the common soldier's meat ration was two hundred and fifty grammes per day; under the Republic, it is three hundred and twenty grammes. At the beginning of the Third Republic, the mortality in the army was 9.7 for every one thousand men. Now it is less than 4. And crowning all in this category was the law passed on March 21, 1905, which covers a multitude of Radical party sins, at least in the popular eye, where, by the way, it has not very many. The text of this law runs as follows: "Every Frenchman must serve in the army. All are treated alike. No exemptions are made except for physical incapacity." Never until then had the democracy of modern France obtained equal treatment in the national army.

But what most habituates the State to interfere in the life of the French citizen and most habituates the French citizen to accept this interference without protest and, in many cases, even to welcome it, is unquestionably the *modus operandi* of the French electoral system. I do not refer here to the manner of dividing the spoils after an election or to the results expected from the new proportional representation bill, if it ever becomes law. What I have in mind is the way elections are conducted by the State, represented by that arch Boss, the Minister of the Interior, in whose presence our American bosses, in so far as they manipulate things at the polls, are as mere pigmies. Though voters to-day do not deposit their ballots in the coat pocket of the mayor, as was sometimes the case during the Second Empire, the Minister of the Interior and his minions have now as then the upper hand in all that pertains to receiving and counting ballots and announcing results. The ancient machinery of the sentimental days of 1848, when universal suffrage was established in France, bent to the evil ways of the cynical Second Empire, has been preserved and is still used by the Third Republic. In fact, the Republican party finds the domination as serviceable as did the unscrupulous Imperialists, and there appears to be no desire to do away with the crying abuses. The deleterious effect on public opinion of this slavery to the State in electoral matters cannot be exaggerated, and it shows itself in France in various ways. Perhaps no nation is so abject as is the French in the presence of officialdom. It is one of the characteristics of all classes of the people that most astonishes the American and English traveler in France, and is unquestionably largely due to the excessive and unblushing manipulation of universal suffrage by the party in power. State ownership of a railway or a mine seems natural and almost trivial to a public accustomed to contemplate the State controlling the creation of Parliament.

And what are the reforms which the French Republicans are expecting the State still to confer on the nation? They believe with Bastiat that "the ideal sought for should be the harmonizing of all legitimate interests," but they are not all of one mind as to what these "interests" are or how these interests can best be harmonized. Some of the reforms demanded fall, with general consent, within the

ordinarily accepted competence of the State, whereas others are closely allied to the Collectivist doctrine. These desiderata, in so far as they are connected with the economic side of the problem, which is of course the crux of the whole business, are perhaps best summed up by M. Michel Milhaud in the pamphlet already referred to. "The question," he says, "is not between capital, labor, and the State; it concerns only capital and labor," and he then defines his system as "the legal intervention of the State," the point where all French reformers of every school seem to meet. And here is what M. Milhaud thinks the State should still further do:

1. As there are trades in which the worker does not earn a living, the law should fix a minimum wage. 2. As the workman does not receive a fair share of the profits, the law should see that he gets a right return for his labor. 3. A man must live, and consequently the Legislature should exempt from taxation those whom the cost of living renders incapable of paying any. 4. The law should strike a balance between the cost and profit of the different professions, and should tax the remunerative and exempt the unremunerative ones. Thus, trusts and stock-exchange transactions, which have to do with millions and great enterprises, should be taxed in proportion to the importance of the affair. 5. The law should establish a system of professional education fitted to the new economic conditions, an education whose special aim should be to point out the unsurmountable difficulties, due to economic changes, which mark certain callings.

And M. Milhaud closes his pamphlet with these commentaries, which are particularly worthy of attention as being a very good sample of the thoughts now prevalent among the Radicals of France, on his five propositions:

"There must be free play for all—for individuals, groups, associations, and syndicates. But the respective rights of everybody must be protected by the law. There must be no strangling of anybody. Though every man must be left free to rise to the top, he must not be permitted to crush others in so doing. Everybody must be given a 'square deal.' The law must see to it that a man can live and that he gets a fair return for his labor, and should provide an education in keeping with the needs of life and the new economic conditions. It is the right and the duty of the law to act as arbitrator. In order to carry on the public services, it will collect its revenues from those in a position to contribute thereto."

In a country where one of its most original thinkers—

Saint Simon (I refer to the Count and not to the Duke, to the nephew and not to the uncle)—advanced a tenet which has always been very popular in his native land and never more so than to-day, viz., that "all citizens should be office-holders," it is not probable that the nation will give ear to Emerson's very true dictum, found in his essay on politics, that "the State must follow and not lead the character and progress of the citizen." Among Frenchmen of to-day thoughtful minds like those of M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu and M. Jules Roche may condemn State interference in every form, but they well know that the whole tendency of modern government, especially in democracies and particularly in France, is toward what Laboulaye, whom M. Roche so justly praises, cleverly deprecates in his famous book on the United States, which ranks with those of de Tocqueville and Bryce, though, unlike those remarkable expounders of American institutions, he never was in our country. Here is what Laboulaye, in *Paris en Amérique,* puts into the mouth of one of his American characters:

"The more democratic a people is, the more is it necessary that the individual be strong and his property sacred. We are a nation of sovereigns, and everything that weakens the individual tends toward demagogy, that is, toward disorder and ruin; whereas everything that fortifies the individual tends toward democracy, that is, the reign of reason and the Evangel. A free country is a country where each citizen is absolute master of his conscience, his person, and his goods. If the day ever comes when individual rights are swallowed up by those of the general interest, that day will see the end of Washington's handiwork; we will be a mob and we will have a master."

These lines were written when we were in the midst of our Civil War, but are perhaps more apropos to-day than they were just half a century ago.

THEODORE STANTON.

EXPERIMENTS IN GOVERNMENT AND THE ESSENTIALS OF THE CONSTITUTION.—II.

BY THE HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT, UNITED STATES SENATOR

In the first of these lectures I specified certain essential characteristics of our system of government, and discussed the preservation of the first—its representative character. The four other characteristics specified have one feature in common. They all aim to preserve rights by limiting power.

Of these the most fundamental is the preservation in our Constitution of the Anglo-Saxon idea of individual liberty. The republics of Greece and Rome had no such conception. All political ideas necessarily concern man as a social animal, as a member of society—a member of the State. The ancient republics, however, put the State first and regarded the individual only as a member of the State. They had in view the public rights of the State in which all its members shared, and the rights of the members as parts of the whole, but they did not think of individuals as having rights independent of the State, or against the State. They never escaped from the attitude toward public and individual civil rights which was dictated by the original and ever-present necessity of military organization and defense.

The Anglo-Saxon idea, on the other hand, looked first to the individual. In the early days of English history, without theorizing much upon the subject, the Anglo-Saxons began to work out their political institutions along the line expressed in our Declaration of Independence, that the individual citizen has certain inalienable rights—the right to life, to liberty, to the pursuit of happiness, and that government is not the source of these rights, but is the instrument for the preservation and promotion of them. So when a century and a half after the Conquest the barons of Eng-

land set themselves to limit the power of the Crown they did not demand a grant of rights. They asserted the rights of individual freedom and demanded observance of them, and they laid the corner-stone of our system of government in this solemn pledge of the Great Charter:

> "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or be disseized of his free hold, or his liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or otherwise destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

Again and again in the repeated confirmations of the Great Charter, in the Petition of Rights, in the Habeas Corpus Act, in the Bill of Rights, in the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, in the Virginia Bill of Rights, and, finally, in the immortal Declaration of 1776—in all the great utterances of striving for broader freedom which have marked the development of modern liberty, sounds the same dominant note of insistence upon the inalienable right of individual manhood under government, but independent of government, and, if need be, against government, to life and liberty.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the consequences which followed from these two distinct and opposed theories of government. The one gave us the dominion, but also the decline and fall, of Rome. It followed the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, with the negation of those rights in the oppression of the Reign of Terror, the despotism of Napoleon, the popular submission to the Second Empire, and the subservience of the individual citizen to official superiority which still prevails so widely on the continent of Europe. The tremendous potency of the other subdued the victorious Normans to the conquered Saxon's conception of justice, rejected the claims of divine right by the Stuarts, established capacity for self-government upon the independence of individual character that knows no superior but the law, and supplied the amazing formative power which has molded, according to the course and practice of the common law, the thought and custom of the hundred millions of men drawn from all lands and all races who inhabit this continent north of the Rio Grande.

The mere declaration of a principle, however, is of little avail unless it be supported by practical and specific rules of conduct through which the principle shall receive effect. So Magna Charta imposed specific limitations upon royal

authority to the end that individual liberty might be preserved, and so to the same end our Declaration of Independence was followed by those great rules of right conduct which we call the limitations of the Constitution. Magna Charta imposed its limitations upon the kings of England and all their officers and agents. Our Constitution imposed its limitations upon the sovereign people and all their officers and agents, excluding all the agencies of popular government from authority to do the particular things which would destroy or impair the declared inalienable right of the individual.

Thus the Constitution provides: No law shall be made by Congress prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated. No person shall be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, except in case of rebellion or invasion. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed. And by the Fourteenth Amendment, no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

We have lived so long under the protection of these rules that most of us have forgotten their importance. They have been unquestioned in America so long that most of us have forgotten the reasons for them. But if we lose them

we shall learn the reasons by hard experience. And we are in some danger of losing them, not all at once, but gradually, by indifference.

As Professor Sohm says: "The greatest and most far-reaching revolutions in history are not consciously observed at the time of their occurrence."

Every one of these provisions has a history. Every one stops a way through which the overwhelming power of government has oppressed the weak individual citizen, and may do so again if the way be opened. Such provisions as these are not mere commands. They withhold power. The instant any officer, of whatever kind or grade, transgresses them he ceases to act as an officer. The power of sovereignty no longer supports him. The majesty of the law no longer gives him authority. The shield of the law no longer protects him. He becomes a trespasser, a despoiler, a law-breaker, and all the machinery of the law may be set in motion for his restraint or punishment. It is true that the people who have made these rules may repeal them. As restraints upon the people themselves they are but self-denying ordinances which the people may revoke, but the supreme test of capacity for popular self-government is the possession of that power of self-restraint through which a people can subject its own conduct to the control of declared principles of action.

These rules of constitutional limitation differ from ordinary statutes in this, that these rules are made impersonally, abstractly, dispassionately, impartially, as the people's expression of what they believe to be right and necessary for the preservation of their idea of liberty and justice. The process of amendment is so guarded by the Constitution itself as to require lapse of time and opportunity for deliberation and consideration and the passing away of disturbing influences which may be caused by special exigencies or excitements before any change can be made. On the contrary, ordinary acts of legislation are subject to the considerations of expediency for the attainment of the particular objects of the moment, to selfish interests, momentary impulses, passions, prejudices, temptations. If there be no general rules which control particular action, general principles are obscured or set aside by the desires and impulses of the occasion. Our knowledge of the weakness of human nature and countless illustrations from the history of legis-

lation in our own country point equally to the conclusion that if governmental authority is to be controlled by rules of action, it cannot be relied upon to impose those rules upon itself at the time of action, but must have them prescribed for it beforehand.

The second class of limitations upon official power provided in our Constitution prescribe and maintain the distribution of power to the different departments of government and the limitations upon the officers invested with authority in each department. This distribution follows the natural and logical lines of the distinction between the different kinds of power—legislative, executive, and judicial. But the precise allotment of power and lines of distinction are not so important as it is that there shall be distribution, and that each officer shall be limited in accordance with that distribution, for without such limitations there can be no security for liberty. If whatever great officer of State happens to be the most forceful, skilful, and ambitious is permitted to overrun and absorb to himself the powers of all other officers and to control their action, there ensues that concentration of power which destroys the working of free institutions, enables the holder to continue himself in power, and leaves no opportunity to the people for a change except through a revolution. Numerous instances of this very process are furnished by the history of some of the Spanish-American Republics. It is of little consequence that the officer who usurps the power of others may design only to advance the public interest and to govern well. The system which permits an honest and well-meaning man to do this will afford equal opportunity for selfish ambition to usurp power in its own interest. Unlimited official power concentrated in one person is despotism, and it is only by carefully observed and jealously maintained limitations upon the power of every public officer that the workings of free institutions can be continued.

The rigid limitation of official power is necessary not only to prevent the deprivation of substantial rights by acts of oppression, but to maintain that equality of political condition which is so important for the independence of individual character among the people of the country. When an officer has authority over us only to enforce certain specific laws at particular times and places, and has no authority regarding anything else, we pay deference to the

law which he represents, but the personal relation is one of equality. Give to that officer, however, unlimited power, or power which we do not know to be limited, and the relation at once becomes that of an inferior to a superior. The inevitable result of such a relation long continued is to deprive the people of the country of the individual habit of independence. This may be observed in many of the countries of Continental Europe, where official persons are treated with the kind of deference, and exercise the kind of authority, which are appropriate only to the relations between superior and inferior.

So the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, after limiting the powers of each department to its own field, declares that this is done "to the end it may be a government of laws and not of men."

The third class of limitations I have mentioned are those made necessary by the novel system which I have described as superimposing upon a federation of State governments a national government acting directly upon the individual citizens of the States. This expedient was wholly unknown before the adoption of our Constitution. All the confederations which had been attempted before that time were simply leagues of States, and whatever central authority there was derived its authority from, and had its relations with the States, as separate bodies politic. This was so of the old Confederation. Each citizen owed his allegiance to his own State and each State had its obligations to the Confederation. Under our constitutional system in every part of the territory of every State there are two sovereigns, and every citizen owes allegiance to both sovereigns—to his State and to his nation. In regard to some matters, which may generally be described as local, the State is supreme. In regard to other matters, which may generally be described as national, the nation is supreme. It is plain that to maintain the line between these two sovereignties operating in the same territory and upon the same citizens is a matter of no little difficulty and delicacy. Nothing has involved more constant discussion in our political history than questions of conflict between these two powers, and we fought the great Civil War to determine the question whether in case of conflict the allegiance to the State or the allegiance to the nation was of superior obligation. We should observe that the Civil War arose because the Con-

stitution did not draw a clear line between the national and State powers regarding slavery. It is of very great importance that both of these authorities, State and national, shall be preserved together and that the limitations which keep each within its proper province shall be maintained. If the power of the States were to override the power of the nation we should ultimately cease to have a nation and become only a body of really separate, although confederated, State sovereignties continually forced apart by diverse interests and ultimately quarreling with one another and separating altogether. On the other hand, if the power of the nation were to override that of the States and usurp their functions, we should have this vast country, with its great population, inhabiting widely separated regions, differing in climate, in production, in industrial and social interests and ideas, governed in all its local affairs by one all-powerful, central government at Washington, imposing upon the home life and behavior of each community the opinions and ideas of propriety of distant majorities. Not only would this be intolerable and alien to the idea of free self-government, but it would be beyond the power of a central government to do directly. Decentralization would be made necessary by the mass of government business to be transacted, and so our separate localities would come to be governed by delegated authority—by proconsuls authorized from Washington to execute the will of the great majority of the whole people. No one can doubt that this also would lead by its different route to the separation of our Union. Preservation of our dual system of government, carefully restrained in each of its parts by the limitations of the Constitution, has made possible our growth in local self-government and national power in the past, and, so far as we can see, it is essential to the continuance of that government in the future.

All of these three classes of constitutional limitations are therefore necessary to the perpetuity of our government. I do not wish to be understood as saying that every single limitation is essential. There are some limitations that might be changed and something different substituted. But the system of limitation must be continued if our governmental system is to continue—if we are not to lose the fundamental principles of government upon which our Union is maintained and upon which our race has won the liberty secured by law for which it has stood foremost in the world.

Lincoln covered this subject in one of his comprehensive statements that cannot be quoted too often. He said in his First Inaugural:

> "A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinion and sentiment is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or despotism."

Rules of limitation, however, are useless unless they are enforced. The reason for restraining rules arises from a tendency to do the things prohibited. Otherwise no rule would be needed. Against all practical rules of limitation —all rules limiting official conduct—there is a constant pressure from one side or the other. Honest differences of opinion as to the extent of power, arising from different points of view make this inevitable, to say nothing of those weaknesses and faults of human nature which lead men to press the exercise of power to the utmost under the influence of ambition, of impatience with opposition to their designs, of selfish interest and the arrogance of office. No mere paper rules will restrain these powerful and common forces of human nature. The agency by which, under our system of government, observance of constitutional limitation is enforced is the judicial power. The Constitution provides that "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Under this provision an enactment by Congress not made in pursuance of the Constitution, or an enactment of a State contrary to the Constitution, is not a law. Such an enactment should strictly have no more legal effect than the resolution of any private debating society. The Constitution also provides that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States. Whenever, therefore, in a case before a Federal court rights are asserted under or against some law which is claimed to violate some limitation of the Constitution, the court is obliged to say whether the law does violate the Constitution or not, because if it does not violate the Constitution the

court must give effect to it as law, while if it does violate the Constitution it is no law at all and the court is not at liberty to give effect to it. The courts do not render decisions like imperial rescripts declaring laws valid or invalid. They merely render judgment on the rights of the litigants in particular cases, and in arriving at their judgment they refuse to give effect to statutes which they find clearly not to be made in pursuance of the Constitution and therefore to be no laws at all. Their judgments are technically binding only in the particular case decided; but the knowledge that the court of last resort has reached such a conclusion concerning a statute, and that a similar conclusion would undoubtedly be reached in every case of an attempt to found rights upon the same statute, leads to a general acceptance of the invalidity of the statute.

There is only one alternative to having the courts decide upon the validity of legislative acts, and that is by requiring the courts to treat the opinion of the legislature upon the validity of its statutes, evidenced by their passage, as conclusive. But the effect of this would be that the legislature would not be limited at all except by its own will. All the provisions designed to maintain a government carried on by officers of limited powers, all the distinctions between what is permitted to the national government and what is permitted to the State governments, all the safeguards of the life, liberty, and property of the citizen against arbitrary power, would cease to bind Congress, and on the same theory they would cease also to bind the legislatures of the States. Instead of the Constitution being superior to the laws, the laws would be superior to the Constitution, and the essential principles of our government would disappear. More than one hundred years ago, Chief Justice Marshall, in the great case of Marbury *vs.* Madison, set forth the view upon which our government has ever since proceeded. He said:

"The powers of the legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken or forgotten, the Constitution is written. To what purpose are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limit committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained? The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited powers is abolished, if those limits do not confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed are of equal obligation. It is a proposition too plain to be

contested, that the Constitution controls any legislative act repugnant to it; or that the legislature may alter the Constitution by an ordinary act.

"Between these alternatives, there is no middle ground. The Constitution is either a superior, paramount law, unchangeable by ordinary means, or it is on a level with ordinary legislative acts, and, like other acts, is alterable when the legislature shall please to alter it. If the former part of the alternative be true, then a legislative act, contrary to the Constitution, is not law: if the latter part be true, then written constitutions are absurd attempts, on the part of the people, to limit a power, in its own nature, illimitable.

"Certainly, all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and consequently, the theory of every such government must be, that an act of the legislature, repugnant to the Constitution, is void. This theory is essentially attached to a written constitution, and is, consequently, to be considered by this court as one of the fundamental principles of our society."

And of the same opinion was Montesquieu, who gave the high authority of the *Esprit des Lois* to the declaration that

"There is no liberty if the power of judging be not separate from the legislative and executive powers; were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control."

It is to be observed that the wit of man has not yet devised any better way of reaching a just conclusion as to whether a statute does or does not conflict with a constitutional limitation upon legislative power than the submission of the question to an independent and impartial court. The courts are not parties to the transactions upon which they pass. They are withdrawn by the conditions of their office from participation in business and political affairs out of which litigations arise. Their action is free from the chief dangers which threaten the undue extension of power, because, as Hamilton points out in *The Federalist*, they are the weakest branch of government: they neither hold the purse, as does the legislature, nor the sword, as does the executive. During all our history they have commanded and deserved the respect and confidence of the people. General acceptance of their conclusions has been the chief agency in preventing here the discord and strife which afflict so many lands, and in preserving peace and order and respect for law.

Indeed in the effort to emasculate representative government to which I have already referred, the people of the experimenting States have greatly increased their reliance upon the courts. Every new constitution with detailed

orders to the legislature is a forcible assertion that the people will not trust legislatures to determine the extent of their own powers, but will trust the courts.

Two of the new proposals in government which have been much discussed, directly relate to this system of constitutional limitations made effective through the judgment of the courts. One is the proposal for the Recall of Judges, and the other for the Popular Review of Decisions, sometimes spoken of as the Recall of Decisions.

Under the first of these proposals, if a specified proportion of the voters are dissatisfied with a judge's decision they are empowered to require that at the next election, or at a special election called for that purpose, the question shall be presented to the electors whether the judge shall be permitted to continue in office or some other specified person shall be substituted in his place. This ordeal differs radically from the popular judgment which a judge is called upon to meet at the end of his term of office, however short that may be, because when his term has expired he is judged upon his general course of conduct while he has been in office and stands or falls upon that as a whole. Under the Recall a judge may be brought to the bar of public judgment immediately upon the rendering of a particular decision which excites public interest and he will be subject to punishment if that decision is unpopular. Judges will naturally be afraid to render unpopular decisions. They will hear and decide cases with a stronger incentive to avoid condemnation themselves than to do justice to the litigant or the accused. Instead of independent and courageous judges we shall have timid and time-serving judges. That highest duty of the judicial power to extend the protection of the law to the weak, the friendless, the unpopular, will in a great measure fail. Indirectly the effect will be to prevent the enforcement of the essential limitations upon official power because the judges will be afraid to declare that there is a violation when the violation is to accomplish some popular object.

The Recall of Decisions aims directly at the same result. Under such an arrangement, if the courts have found a particular law to be a violation of one of the fundamental rules of limitation prescribed in the Constitution, and the public feeling of the time is in favor of disregarding that limitation in that case, an election is to be held, and if the people

in that election vote that the law shall stand, it is to stand, although it be a violation of the Constitution; that is to say, if at any time a majority of the voters of a State (and ultimately the same would be true of the people of the United States) choose not to be bound in any particular case by the rule of right conduct which they have established for themselves, they are not to be bound. This is sometimes spoken of as a Popular Reversal of the Decisions of Courts. That I take to be an incorrect view. The power which would be exercised by the people under such an arrangement would be, not judicial, but legislative. The action would not be a decision that the court was wrong in finding a law unconstitutional, but it would be making a law valid which was invalid before because unconstitutional. In such an election the majority of the voters would make a law where no law had existed before, and they would make that law in violation of the rules of conduct by which the people themselves had solemnly declared they ought to be bound. The exercise of such a power, if it is to exist, cannot be limited to the particular cases which you or I or any man now living may have in mind. It must be general. If it can be exercised at all it can and will be exercised by the majority whenever they wish to exercise it. If it can be employed to make a Workmen's Compensation Act in such terms as to violate the Constitution, it can be employed to prohibit the worship of an unpopular religious sect, or to take away the property of an unpopular rich man without compensation, or to prohibit freedom of speech and of the press in opposition to prevailing opinion, or to deprive one accused of crime of a fair trial when he has been condemned already by the newspapers. In every case the question whether the majority shall be bound by those general principles of action which the people have prescribed for themselves will be determined in that case by the will of the majority, and therefore in no case will the majority be bound except by its own will at the time.

The exercise of such a power would strike at the very foundation of our system of government. It would be a reversion to the system of the ancient republics where the state was everything and the individual nothing except as a part of the state, and where liberty perished. It would be a repudiation of the fundamental principle of Anglo-Saxon liberty which we inherit and maintain, for it is the

very soul of our political institutions that they protect the individual against the majority. "All men," says the Declaration, "are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. Governments are instituted to secure these rights." The rights are not derived from any majority. They are not disposable by any majority. They are superior to all majorities. The weakest minority, the most despised sect, exist by their own right. The most friendless and lonely human being on American soil holds his right to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and all that goes to make them up, by title indefeasible against the world, and it is the glory of American self-government that by the limitations of the Constitution we have protected that right against even ourselves. That protection cannot be continued and that right cannot be maintained, except by jealously preserving at all times and under all circumstances the rule of principle which is eternal over the will of majorities which shift and pass away.

Democratic absolutism is just as repulsive, and history has shown it to be just as fatal, to the rights of individual manhood as is monarchical absolutism.

But it is not necessary to violate the rules of action which we have established for ourselves in the Constitution in order to deal by law with the new conditions of the time, for these rules of action are themselves subject to popular control. If the rules are so stated that they are thought to prevent the doing of something which is not contrary to the principles of liberty but demanded by them, the true remedy is to be found in reconsidering what the rules ought to be and, if need be, in restating them so that they will give more complete effect to the principles they are designed to enforce. If, as I believe, there ought to be in my own State, for example, a Workman's Compensation Act to supersede the present unsatisfactory system of accident litigation, and if the Constitution forbids such a law—which I very much doubt—the true remedy is not to cast to the winds all systematic self-restraint and to inaugurate a new system of doing whatever we please whenever we please, unrestrained by declared rules of conduct; but it is to follow the orderly and ordinary method of amending the Constitution so that the rule protecting the right to property shall not be so broadly stated as to prevent legislation which the principle underlying the rule demands.

The difference between the proposed practice of overriding the Constitution by a vote and amending the Constitution is vital. It is the difference between breaking a rule and making a rule; between acting without any rule in a particular case and determining what ought to be the rule of action applicable to all cases.

Our legislatures frequently try to evade constitutional provisions, and doubtless popular majorities seeking specific objects would vote the same way, but set the same people to consider what the fundamental law ought to be, and confront them with the question whether they will abandon in general the principles and the practical rules of conduct according to principles, upon which our government rests, and they will instantly refuse. While their minds are consciously and avowedly addressed to that subject they will stand firm for the general rules that will protect them and their children against oppression and usurpation, and they will change those rules only if need be to make them enforce more perfectly the principles which underlie them.

Communities, like individuals, will declare for what they believe to be just and right; but communities, like individuals, can be led away from their principles step by step under the temptations of specific desires and supposed expediencies until the principles are a dead letter and allegiance to them is a mere sham.

And that is the way in which popular governments lose their vitality and perish.

The Roman consuls derived their power from the people and were responsible to the people; but Rome went on pretending that the emperors and their servants were consuls long after the Prætorians were the only source of power and the only power exercised was that of irresponsible despotism.

A number of countries have copied our Constitution coupled with a provision that the constitutional guarantees may be suspended in case of necessity. We are all familiar with the result. The guarantees of liberty and justice and order have been forgotten: the government is dictatorship and the popular will is expressed only by revolution.

Nor, so far as our national system is concerned, has there yet appeared any reason to suppose that suitable laws to meet the new conditions cannot be enacted without either overriding or amending the Constitution. The liberty of

contract and the right of private property which are protected by the limitations of the Constitution are held subject to the police power of government to pass and enforce laws for the protection of the public health, public morals, and public safety. The scope and character of the regulations required to accomplish these objects vary as the conditions of life in the country vary. Many interferences with contract and with property which would have been unjustifiable a century ago are demanded by the conditions which exist now and are permissible without violating any constitutional limitation. What will promote these objects the legislative power decides with large discretion, and the courts have no authority to review the exercise of that discretion. It is only when laws are passed under color of the police power and having no real or substantial relation to the purposes for which the power exists, that the courts can refuse to give them effect.

By a multitude of judicial decisions in recent years our courts have sustained the exercise of this vast and progressive power in dealing with the new conditions of life under a great variety of circumstances. The principal difficulty in sustaining the exercise of the power has been caused ordinarily by the fact that carelessly or ignorantly drawn statutes either have failed to exhibit the true relation between the regulation proposed and the object sought, or have gone farther than the attainment of the legitimate object justified. A very good illustration of this is to be found in the Federal Employer's Liability Act which was carelessly drawn and passed by Congress in 1906 and was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, but which was carefully drawn and passed by Congress in 1908 and was declared constitutional by the same court.

Insistence upon hasty and violent methods rather than orderly and deliberate methods is really a result of impatience with the slow methods of true progress in popular government. We should probably make little progress were there not in every generation some men who, realizing evils, are eager for reform, impatient of delay, indignant at opposition, and intolerant of the long, slow processes by which the great body of the people may consider new proposals in all their relations, weigh their advantages and disadvantages, discuss their merits, and become educated either to their acceptance or rejection. Yet

that is the method of progress in which no step, once taken, needs to be retraced; and it is the only way in which a democracy can avoid destroying its institutions by the impulsive substitution of novel and attractive but impracticable expedients.

The wisest of all the fathers of the Republic has spoken, not for his own day alone, but for all generations to come after him, in the solemn admonitions of the Farewell Address. It was to us that Washington spoke when he said:

> "The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. . . . Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual changes, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion."

While in the nature of things, each generation must assume the task of adapting the working of its government to new conditions of life as they arise, it would be the folly of ignorant conceit for any generation to assume that it can lightly and easily improve upon the work of the founders in those matters which are, by their nature, of universal application to the permanent relations of men in civil society.

Religion, the philosophy of morals, the teaching of history, the experience of every human life, point to the same conclusion—that in the practical conduct of life the most difficult and the most necessary virtue is self-restraint. It is the first lesson of childhood; it is the quality for which great monarchs are most highly praised; the man who has it not is feared and shunned; it is needed most where power is greatest; it is needed more by men acting in a mass than by individuals, because men in the mass are more irrespon-

sible and difficult of control than individuals. The makers of our Constitution, wise and earnest students of history and of life, discerned the great truth that self-restraint is the supreme necessity and the supreme virtue of a democracy. The people of the United States have exercised that virtue by the establishment of rules of right action in what we call the limitations of the Constitution, and until this day they have rigidly observed those rules. The general judgment of students of government is that the success and permanency of the American system of government are due to the establishment and observance of such general rules of conduct. Let us change and adapt our laws as the shifting conditions of the times require, but let us never abandon or weaken this fundamental and essential characteristic of our ordered liberty.

ELIHU ROOT.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ANOTHER WORD ON "THE ETHICS OF MIRACLES."

In the June North American Review, the Rev. Dr. S. D. McConnell attempts to show that Biblical miracles are often out of keeping with advanced ethical conceptions. He gives point to his criticism by specifying certain of those miracles and suggesting how they violate what is ethical. He begins by making use of the miracle which the Book of Acts contains, in reference to a certain deliverance from prison experienced by Peter. He considers this account deficient in proper ethical insight, owing to the fact that in connection with it the statement is found, which informs us that when Herod heard of Peter's escape he gave orders for the execution of the prison guards. In thus criticizing this account he has overlooked the fact that if such an indirect result can properly be charged against the miracle, making it out of harmony with the proper conception of God, there are also a great many facts in connection with the conception of the formation and development of the earth and the universe, which he evidently holds, which are not in accord with the highest ethics. As witness of this take the struggle for existence resulting in the survival of the fittest as set before us in evolutionary philosophy. Tennyson described it as "red in tooth and claw," and his sensitive soul was shocked beyond the power of his genius to tell, all of which is plainly indicated in his "In Memoriam." And we may say that a wave of agony rolled round the world through the hearts of multitudes as this idea of the development of life made its way into human thinking. That exceedingly humane scientist, Henry Drummond, did his best to show that the final results would be ample justification of all the immense and varied suffering of the process. Alfred Russell Wallace tried to mitigate it somewhat by advancing the idea, "There is good reason to believe that the supposed torments and miseries of animals have little real existence, but are the reflection of the imagined sensations of cultivated men and women in similar circumstances." But the suffering of the human part of the struggle cannot be thus mitigated. Mr. Huxley, according to Henry Drummond, as he faced "the tremendous problem gave it up and said: 'There is no solution; nature is without excuse.'" Dr. McConnell has committed himself to this evolutionary conception, and having done so, is it not an amazingly inconsistent thing for him to turn around and criticize a miracle, because as an indirect result of it a king ordered the execution of a number of soldiers? If he knows of any more such instances he might put them all together, and having done so, he would not then have a

millionth part of the misery which his evolutionary-working God has ordered in nature for every day of untold millions of ages. To say that God does this in an immanent manner meets no more correctly the protests of our ethical instincts than one may be excused for killing another in an immanent manner, say, by having a sufficient number of mosquitoes, heavily laden with death-generating germs, sting him. Most anybody would have more regard for a person, at least for his courage, who would attack him with a club or a gun, than in any such supposed treacherous manner. And we venture to guess that if any one of us had to face choosing between being executed as those soldiers were, or being subjected to the kind of life which science informs us many of our ancestors had to endure, he would choose the former "mighty quick," notwithstanding the fact that the latter might be in perfect harmony with his view of ethics. The essential fact to keep in mind is just this, however God is conceived of as acting, whether immanently or otherwise, we should in every case apply to the conception the same ethical standard. If we do that in this case the criticism in question will appear infinitely puerile.

The second miracle mentioned by Dr. McConnell is criticized for what he calls its lack of appreciation of "the reign of law," binding the whole universe in one vast system. It is that one which pictures the "standing still" of the sun and moon. The writer of this reply is inclined to the opinion that we have in that a magnificent piece of metaphor, which was no more intended to be understood literally than Christ wished us to interpret thus His parable of the Prodigal Son. But suppose that it was intended to be understood literally; even then the criticism which Dr. McConnell has made may easily be shown to be untenable. While he was insisting on the idea of the universality of the reign of law, why should he have failed to take account of the universality of the being of God as expressed in the Old Testament? The miracle is set before us as something which was wrought, not by a local deity, nor by a god simply of the earth, but by God the infinite; by God who in the beginning created the heavens and the earth; by God who stretches out the heavens as a curtain and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in; by God omnipresent and almighty, as described so wonderfully in the 139th Psalm and in the Book of Job. Here we may, perhaps, refer with profit to a passage written several centuries ago by a theologian whom, very likely, Dr. McConnell does not often refer to, John Calvin. Writing of God's support and preservation of the world and the universe, he said: "To represent God as the Creator only for a moment, who entirely finished all His work at once, were dense and jejune; and in this it behooves us to differ from the heathen so that the presence of the Divine power may appear to us no less in the perpetual state of the world than in its origin. . . . When faith has learned that God is the Creator of all things, it should immediately conclude that He is also their perpetual governor and preserver; and that not by a certain universal motion, actuating the whole machine of the world and all of its respective parts, but by a particular providence sustaining, nourishing, and providing for everything which He has made." When one has such a conception of the relation of God to the universe, or one similar to it, he understands that God, if He wished for some sufficient

purpose to restrain somewhat the motion of any part of the universe, could at the same time effect the necessary adjustments throughout the whole universe, even more easily than an engineer applies the brakes and regulates his train-speed to suit his will. This idea of Böotes having to be wrecked in case of any such event is therefore absurd to a mind that keeps in view the reign of almighty power and intelligence. The only way that such a criticism could be justified would be through first showing that the Old Testament does not hold a sufficient idea of the infinity of God.

Returning from this famous miracle of the Book of Joshua to the New Testament, our critic attacks miracles *in toto* as being expressive of partiality on the part of God in His dealings with mankind. Two objections may be made to this criticism. One is that the object in view of the miracles was not primarily the benefit of the individuals who were assisted by them, but the giving of part of the evidence concerning the person and mission of Jesus, so that every miracle is, according to the idea of the New Testament, related to the whole world. It may be illustrated in this way. Nowadays there are expert machinists who travel, demonstrating for their companies. I have known a score of farmers to go miles to see such an expert demonstrate a machine. The farmer on whose place the demonstration occurs may receive a particular benefit which I need not stop to specify, but the demonstration is given for all the farmers of the community. It is the same with the miracles of the Bible; the whole world, according to the conception of the Bible itself, is in different ways related to them. The other objection in point is this: if there is any just ground for such a criticism of the Christian miracles, there is also an equally good ground for criticizing what is taught in the Bible in reference to many other matters. We read that Jesus confined Himself almost exclusively to Palestine, that only in one or two instances did He have anything to do with people of other nations. Why may we not criticize him for this? Why may we not suggest that if He had taken a boat and gone over to Greece and discoursed on Mars Hill He might, far more easily, have got a hearing there than did the Apostle Paul preaching of His Resurrection? Or we may ask, why, instead of preaching in a particular place, one Sermon on the Mount to a few thousand people, did Jesus not do so in many different parts of the country, and give far more people a chance to hear the blessed words fall from His own lips? To Dr. McConnell the miracle is an offense, while Christ's teaching and spirit are everything; but as we have already seen, He did not distribute either His preaching or His companionship as widely as some people might think He should have done. He was apparently more partial with His words than with His reputed miracles, for it is distinctly written that while the multitudes often misunderstood His words, and His apostles also, that He never took the trouble to explain His words to the people, but only to His "inner circle." And instead of being particular to arrange things so that He could be entertained in as many homes of those who believed in Him as possible, it appears that a few homes, notably one at Bethany, had that privilege and blessing. If we begin such a variety of criticism, where can we legitimately stop?

It often happens that one child of a family is possessed of natural

abilities and charms of character far in excess of all the others; it often happens that a community is blessed only once in centuries with some select and splendid soul. Why should not all the other people born in such a family, or such a community, criticize Providence, working through the natural world, for His apparent partiality? The same question might also be asked in reference to whole nations.

Why, for example, did Providence permit a nation like Rome to dominate the world instead of interfusing enough of intelligence and vigor generally, so that all the nations might have advanced hand in hand, no one being the slave of any other? Are these not just as legitimate questions as are those which Dr. McConnell has asked? Here it will be in place to repeat a statement which has already been made in this article, namely, the essential fact to keep in mind is just this, however God is conceived of as acting, whether immanently or otherwise, we should in every case apply to the conception the same ethical standard.

In connection with this criticism of the reputed miracles of Christ, the surprising assertion is made that Christ "belittles the belief that came from seeing many mighty works." The sources from which we may get our ideas of this are, either the words of Jesus as reported in the New Testament, or our own or other men's ideas formed, in large part, independently of the text. I prefer to form mine on the basis of what is given in the text. Here are some passages bearing on the subject: "And the disciples of John told him of all these things. And John calling two of his disciples sent them to the Lord, saying art thou he that cometh, or do we look for another? And when the men were come unto him, they said, 'John the Baptist has sent us unto thee, saying, art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?' . . . And He answered and said unto them, 'Go your way and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have the good tidings preached unto them.'" And in His reported lament over certain cities He is represented as having said: "Woe unto thee Chorazin! woe unto thee Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes." And when He sent forth the Seventy He did not instruct them simply to preach and to teach, but to work miracles; and it is further reported that they returned rejoicing, for one reason, because the "very demons were subject to them."

It is true that Jesus refused to give "signs" to the rulers, but that was because He was too wise to exert Himself to gratify mere curiosity, or to produce a spectacle when those who desired it were positively opposed to Him. He replied to faith and suffering, not to any such requests as the rulers made of him. We can see that in this He acted intelligently. We may also observe that on a few occasions He told those whom He had healed not to report it publicly. Whatever His reasons were for giving such commands, in the face of all the testimony which there is showing that He put high value on His miracles, they do not justify any such an idea as that He did so from any such a motive as this one suggested by Dr. McConnell.

But the most amazing item of this criticism is the approval which it gives to the protest of Zola against the credibility of the record concern-

ing the resurrection of Lazarus. The idea of the whole of this passage from Zola is given in its first sentence, namely: "Master! Master! why have you awakened me to this abominable life?" Lazarus is thus represented as being selfish enough, even in the presence of Jesus, to object to being of service to the world, and also as caring nothing for the grief of his two devoted sisters. Such a spirit is, of course, entirely out of accord with the spirit of Christianity. In a great passage of one of the epistles of the New Testament it is written that angels are often in specific ways "sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation." We may also recall the famous passage from Milton, concluding with the lines:

> "Who best
> Bear His mild yoke, they serve Him best. His state
> Is kingly; thousands at His bidding speed,
> And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
> They also serve who only stand and wait."

But here we have one who is contending, so he says, for the loftiest ethical conceptions, giving his approval to what would have been an expression of contemptible selfishness on the part of Lazarus.

J. Wallace MacGowan.

Hastings House, Norfolk Street, Strand, W. C.
June 21, 1913.

Sir:

My attention has only now been drawn to a review of *Hadji Murad* and *The Light That Shines in Darkness,* published, as long ago as June, 1912, in your influential and widely read magazine. I hope that, even at this late date, you will do me the courtesy of allowing me to point out a couple of mistakes, which do me serious injustice.

In the first place, the reviewer holds me responsible for the translation of *The Light That Shines,* whereas I do not even know who made the version in question.

Secondly, your reviewer holds me guilty of retaining in the text of the Tartar story, *Hadji Murad,* a number of Russian words "to annoy the reader." So different is this from my custom that I should be unable to understand the reproach had the reviewer not been kind enough to quote these "Russian" words: *naïb, kizyak,* etc.—and thereby made it plain that they are not Russian words at all, but Tartar. Tolstoy retains them in his own text because there are no single Russian (nor are there any single English) words which cover the same ground, and the use of circumlocutions would spoil the crisp, concise style in which the story is written. I hoped that my preface and foot-notes had sufficiently explained this point.

Furthermore, I am somewhat perturbed to learn that I am "neither an understanding commentator nor a good translator." This matter is of some importance to me, and as I do not wish the case to go by default, may I beg to call three witnesses for the defense?

Bernard Shaw writes: "Though I cannot say that Mr. Aylmer Maude is the best Tolstoy translator now living, that is only because I cannot

read the others, and have consequently no right to give my opinion about them. Translating Tolstoy is not a matter of pegging away with a dictionary; it is the labor of rethinking Tolstoy's thought, and re-expressing it in English. Tolstoy himself has appealed to Europe to judge *What is Art?* by Mr. Maude's translation, and not by the censored and mutilated Russian version. And nobody can possibly read it and suppose that Mr. Maude is not either a highly competent translator or else a man of original genius who is writing under the pseudonym of Leo Tolstoy."

A. B. Walkley wrote of one of my translations: "Mr. Aylmer Maude has accomplished an admirable piece of work in this translation, scholarly, solid, conscientious. His notes in their pregnant, concentrated brevity are models of what things should be. For my sins I have to peruse a good many translations in the course of a year, but I have never come across anything so good in its way as Mr. Maude's version of Tolstoy."

Finally, Tolstoy himself wrote of the translations made by my wife and myself: "Better translators, both for knowledge of the two languages and for penetration into the very meaning of the matter translated, could not be invented."

I hope this testimony may be allowed to weigh in the balance against that of my accuser, whose opinion may be entitled to great weight, but whose name I have not the pleasure of knowing.

I am, dear sir,

AYLMER MAUDE.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

La France Vivante en l'Amérique du Nord. By M. Gabriel Hanotaux. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1913.

Last year the eminent French publicist and statesman, M. Gabriel Hanotaux, visited this country with the Champlain Mission charged to present to the American nation on behalf of the Comité France-Amérique, the replica of Rodin's sculptural conception of *La France* which now adorns the monument to the great explorer on the margin of the lake named after him. The mission traveled extensively, there were numerous dinners and addresses, and now M. Hanotaux publishes the present volume which, since it contains so much purely commemorative material, may be regarded in some sort as an official souvenir of the occasion. But it is designed to have an independent value as well. It seeks to further in its own way those ends for which the committee was organized and for which the mission was undertaken. It is, says its author, "a book of action. Its object is concrete and definite: to develop the relation between France and America. This is precisely the aim that the Comité France-Amérique has proposed to itself—the same spirit animates the two works."

It is the spirit of *rapprochement,* and mutual understanding, between the two countries which, during his own Ministry of Foreign Affairs (it was in 1897 in the midst of the acrimonious dispute between Spain and the United States that preceded the outbreak of actual hostilities), he discovered to be deplorably lacking: "Suddenly and from no one knows where, the rumor spread that France was hostile to the great American republic. Certainly we had no need to take part against our neighbors and friends of the peninsula. But if any diplomacy was ever correct and applied conscientiously the rules of neutrality, it was the French diplomacy of the period, as the documents would establish if it were necessary. However, the rumor, once launched, grew till it became menacing throughout all North America. It was an admitted and accepted fact that Americans passing through Paris were hostilely received, molested, maltreated. France was putting herself at the head of a league of hostile nations against the United States! A little more, and she would be taking part in the war! . . . It was," comments M. Hanotaux with deep feeling, "one of the worst moments of my ministerial career; it filled me with rage to be at once *sans reproche* and powerless. It needed incessant vigilance and the employment of all agencies to double this difficult cape."

So the Comité France-Amérique was formed in 1909 for the purpose of removing from the marine charts such dangerous obstacles to inter-

national navigation, and M. Hanotaux's book, reviewing the historic grounds for friendship between the two countries, and seeking to dispel popular prejudices and misconceptions, may with propriety be regarded as a votive candle placed upon the altar of *la bonne Ste. Anne* by a pious sailor who has narrowly escaped shipwreck.

It is a pleasant little book and one that may be read with profit on both sides of the Atlantic. For not only does it recall the common memories of the Revolution, and the indebtedness of the framers of our Constitution to French political philosophers—which in particular we, on our side, are sometimes prone to overlook—but it contains an acute and candid, if somewhat cursory, comparison of the characters of French and American civilization at the present day, with a view to ascertaining in what ways each people might derive advantage from study and assimilation of the other's traits and institutions.

Assuming such assimilation to be possible, what would France gain through a closer contact with North America? The quality of self-control, says M. Hanotaux, is exemplified in the self-possession of the American woman of whom he subscribes himself the admirer: "The American woman is, perhaps, the most remarkable product of the transplantation of the old races to a new soil. A young French woman of the upper classes, having received a slight tincture of American exoticism, would lose nothing of her charm and would gain in savor, in intellectual resources, and in self-possession."

But there would be other benefits as well: "A more intense effort, a more sustained working capacity, a more serious reflection, a physical and moral bearing prouder and more upright, such are the high lessons that the American people can give to a race which, very fortunately, is not afraid of multiplying its tasks and its duties."

In return, France could inoculate America with her *élan chevaleresque*, her readiness to run every risk when a high cause offers, or for the sake of the future: with her intellectual idealism, or abstract passion for truth; and with her practical sagacity in the sphere of delicate social and economic adjustments, to illustrate which M. Hanotaux analyzes several articles of the Code Civil.

But before the younger country will consent to learn from the elder, certain erroneous impressions must be effaced or corrected. M. Hanotaux admits this necessity: "France requires to be defended before America," he asserts, and proceeds loyally to this defense. That "the French people is in decadence," "that France is a species of 'Poland' destined to an early dismemberment," is an opinion that he has found prevalent in America, and he has little trouble in demolishing it with respect both to commercial wealth and to political prestige based upon military power. As for the declining birth-rate, he admits the fact, confesses to a certain disquietude concerning the consequences, but does not despair of some check being found for a phenomenon which is by no means peculiar to France, and which seems to bear some relation to the "human saturation of the tillable soil." Certainly it is a social rather than a racial phenomenon, and is governed by purely local and psychological conditions. "We know," he says, "how vigorous the French birth-rate is in Canada; we know to a less extent that the French race in Algeria is the most prolific of all European stocks. It will be the same,

probably, in all colonies where the Frenchman can live. The formula would then be this: where there is available land, men are born. And, as new lands are not lacking to France, she should have, on this head, a recourse against the law which appears to strike her."

He is less successful in dealing with the idea of decadence in the domain of art, for the reason that he falls into the common error of confusing artistic decadence with social and moral disorder. In reality it is with the latter alone that he is concerned. And, as it is a simple matter to show that the charge of immorality can by no means be brought against French literature, any more than against French life, in general, he makes his point sufficiently well for his purposes. At the same time, however, it is at least a curious commentary upon this style of criticism that at the very moment when the moralist is defending art from the capital charge of decadence in the popular sense, this art should actually be showing a more marked dearth of genuine originality and imaginative power than it has shown hitherto for several decades. French literature at the present moment exhibits distinct traits of that exhaustion which from the purely artistic point of view can alone be considered decadent. Doubtless, however, this too is but a temporary phase and has no ulterior significance.

M. Hanotaux's second paper is entitled *La Leçon du Canada,* and is an attempt to bring to bear the bitter experiences of the past upon the problems of modern territorial expansion and empire-building. For the rest, as we have said, the book is made up of collected addresses by the author, and an account of the formation and activities, to date, of the Comité France-Amérique.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY. By JOSIAH ROYCE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Independently of all religions and of all philosophies, no one can sanely deny the importance to mankind of well-developed ethical ideas. Any mode of reasoning, therefore, which tends to clarify these ideas and to give us an even slightly better understanding of what their sanctions may be, is of inestimable value. Few persons, it may be maintained, obey conscience pure and simple; though most, perhaps, would be puzzled to state their ultimate ideals. However much, then, we may rely upon religious intuition or upon a bare "categorical imperative," it is certain that the intellectual concept—whether of God, or country, or simply of another person regarded as a model—is helpful, if not essential. From the viewpoint of conscience the betrayal of a friend, for instance, is simply an evil deed certain to be followed by remorse; but we are quite aware that when we call the betrayer a "traitor" we are taking a more advanced moral ground that when we simply call him a "villain." As in the particular, so in the general case. Broad and well-defined ideas of what we mean by such words as "traitor," and by such words again as "salvation," "sin," "atonement," and the like — all corresponding to some sort of deeply felt inner interests — such ideas, even if they cannot lead us to absolute knowledge, at any rate seem to bring us nearer the threshold of such

knowledge, and they undoubtedly strengthen the moral motives by which we all in a fashion judge and act.

Regarded in this light, the first volume (subtitled "The Christian Doctrine of Life") of Professor Royce's new philosophical treatise, is a notable work of edification. Readers of his previous books need not be reminded of the lucidity, the tact and sympathy, with which he handles problems which are not alone intellectually difficult, but also—as no one makes us feel more keenly—"intensely practical and passionately interesting." Reading this first volume, we have the curious experience—curious to most in this day and generation—of imbibing theology with enjoyment. We taste the savor, composed in equal parts of pleasure and profit, that in times past made the reading of technical theology a favorite exercise for the serious-minded. But as *Treasure Island* to earlier and cruder pirate stories, as *The Ancient Mariner* to the popular ballad—so is Professor Royce's book, with respect to inspiration and acceptability, as compared with the doctrinal theology of an earlier day.

In the author's own words, the problem of Christianity, as carefully stated after much definite discussion, is this: "When we consider what are the most essential features of Christianity, is the acceptance of a creed that embodies these features consistent with the lessons that, so far as we can yet learn, the growth of human wisdom and the course of the ages have taught man regarding religious truth?" In an attempt to throw light upon this question, three characteristic Christian ideas are analyzed and reinterpreted; namely, salvation, original sin, and atonement. The founder of Christianity, Professor Royce believes, purposely left undefined certain central features of his teaching. For example, the gospels nowhere make it wholly clear whether the Kingdom of Heaven was meant to be understood as a state of mind merely, or as an actual community—a social order. As later interpreted, however, by the early Church and especially by the Apostle Paul, the Kingdom of Heaven became practically identified with what Professor Royce calls "the beloved community"—the Church, of which Christ was conceived as the living and informing spirit. Thus "Christian love, as Paul conceives it, takes on the form of loyalty: this is Paul's simple but vast transformation of Christian love." Loyalty, then, to the beloved community is, historically and actually, the central Christian doctrine.

But such loyalty is not the normal result of the processes of growth and civilization. On the contrary, the very social environment that trains us to a high type of self-consciousness causes us to react against it as individuals. "The more outer law there is in our cultivation, the more inner rebellion there is in the very individuals whom our cultivation creates." Thus, "our very consciences are tainted by the original sin of social contentiousness," and it is only through a wholehearted reconciliation with the spirit of the community that we may escape from the domination of the law and of sin.

Supposing, however, that such reconciliation has been achieved—supposing that absolute loyalty has been pledged to the beloved community—a new kind of sin, quite different from the sinfulness born of social discord, becomes possible. Deliberate treason to all that the traitor holds highest is, in fact, according to Professor Royce, the unpardonable sin;

and it dooms the sinner not to a hell of physical torment, but to what the author terms "the Hell of the Irrevocable." No propitiation of an angry God, no sentimental penitence, no acceptance of an act of vicarious suffering, will serve to restore the sinner's shattered inner life. The simple fact remains that he cannot rationally forgive himself for what he has done. Nevertheless, without attempting to forgive the unforgivable, he may, after all, be enabled to view his act in a new light—as part, indeed, of the moral order. Through the good deed of another—a deed which becomes possible only through the traitor's own act of disloyalty—the traitor may in a sense be reconciled to the commission of the disloyal act. "It is impossible but that offenses should come, but woe to them through whom they come." Doubtless the traitor still feels that it were better for him if a millstone has been hung about his neck and he cast into the sea: nevertheless, he knows now that his act has furthered and not frustrated the interests of the beloved community. This then, in the rough, is Professor Royce's doctrine of atonement.

Now, undoubtedly, all this is extremely acceptable to the "modern man." Historically, it places him in touch with the traditional belief. Moreover, it furnishes a resting-point for his faith and a rallying-point for his loyal instincts. Interpreted broadly or narrowly, practically or mystically, the "religion of loyalty" has vitality. Most of us are inclined to accept without too much criticism the idea of a universal community, as something over and above the individual, as a sort of superior being. Here the skeptic finds least clearly marked the boundary between what he practically believes and what he doubts.

However, there inevitably arises the question whether the universal community as an object of loyalty can actually be proved to exist. This is the question metaphysically discussed in the second volume ("The Real World and the Christian Ideas") of *The Problem of Christianity;* and here, it is to be feared, most readers will find the parting of the ways. The question of the existence of the universal community as a real entity involves in the first place an analysis of what is called "the empirical self." It is a commonplace that our idea of the self is indefinitely extensible. It extends into the past and into the future; it extends to our clothes, our friends, and our reputations. On the other hand, few will profess themselves able to locate or define the real central self to which all these things are objective. It seems plausible, however, to regard memory as the cement, so to speak, of individuality. If I should forget all of my past experience could I then remain in any sense the same person?

Obviously here is great opportunity for argument "about it and about." If I were condemned to suffer excruciating torture, I should be in no wise reconciled to the prospect of being assured that before undergoing the pain I should completely forget all that I ever knew, although, if the memory theory be true, I ought to be able to think of the tortured person as entirely distinct from myself. Doubtless this is because there is no such thing as complete forgetting. My brain, unless it were fresh created, would remain in some degree affected by the past, and, so far forth, would remain the same brain. If my brain could be, so to speak, dissolved and then endowed with consciousness anew, then

indeed there might be no connection between the new individual and the old, but it would still be open to objectors to say that the difference of identity was due to a new act of creation and not to the destruction of memory in an individual already created.

Discouraged by the futility of such argument, we cannot but be a little skeptical as to the reality of what Professor Royce calls "communities of memory," and "communities of hope." Though we hope and remember the same things, are we really any the less isolated as individuals? It is difficult to believe so. It is not, however, upon the community of hope or of memory that Professor Royce really rests his case for the existence of the Universal Community. The core of his metaphysical theory is the doctrine of the "community of interpretation."

It is not possible here to go into the technical discussion designed to prove that "interpretation" is a logical process co-ordinate with conception and with perception, nor is it necessary. "The proper object of interpretation is either something of the nature of a mind, or else a process which goes on in the mind, or, finally, is a sign or expression whereby some mind manifests its existence and processes." We may accept this as an adequate definition, and we may concede that men are constantly engaged in interpreting their past selves to their future selves, even though we may not be able to make much of such assertions as that "time expresses a system of essentially social relations," and that "our very conception of our temporal experience, as of all happenings, is neither a conception nor a perception, but an interpretation." The doctrine of interpretation, if accepted, would unquestionably meet pragmatism on its own ground and defeat it; but it should be noted in passing that it is a very different thing to say, as the Pragmatists do, that our ideas are working plans *and no more*, and to argue that because they *are* more than merely working plans, something else is true.

What the "something else" in this case is, may be imperfectly indicated by brief quotations. "The relations," writes Professor Royce, "exemplified by the man who at a given present moment interprets his past to his future are precisely analogous to the relations which exist when any past state of the world is at any present moment so linked through a definite historical process with the coming state of the world, that an intelligent observer who happened to be in possession of the facts could, were he present, interpret to a possible future observer the meaning of the past. . . . What our own inner reflection exemplifies is outwardly embodied in the whole world's history. For what we all mean by past time is a realm of events whose historical sense, whose records, whose lessons, we may now interpret. . . . Any conversation with other men, any process of that inner conversation whereof our individual self-consciousness consists, any scientific investigation, is carried on under the influence of the generally subconscious belief that we are all members of a community of interpretation."

With the general tenor of all this we can all quite unaffectedly agree. Deep within us is the conviction, subconscious or not, that our unity with other men is not a mere matter of resemblance, or of being, so to speak, "in the same boat." But the fundamental question remains:

granting that we all do make use of a mental process which is neither purely conceptual, nor purely perceptual, nor merely a union of perception and conception—a process, moreover, that is "social" in its structure—and granting that the universe lends itself to this process of interpretation, does it follow that a universal community exists in any sense which can inspire loyalty? To speak somewhat summarily of a treatise that certainly deserves and requires the most careful, detailed analysis, it seems that no one but a born idealist can be quite convinced by Professor Royce's method of proof.

UNIVERSITY AND HISTORICAL ADDRESSES. By JAMES BRYCE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Occasional addresses commonly do not make the most delectable reading; it is generally too much to hope that they will either stir us to Olympian laughter or surprise us with profoundly original thought. On this account we admire the more the man who, despite the limits of an occasion, manages to say something, and to say it well. These addresses of Mr. Bryce's, delivered during his stay in this country as England's ambassador, do not bore us in the exordium, the middle part invariably contains something of value, and the peroration in each case is not only logically effective but winning. Mr. Bryce knows how to make the necessary introduction tactful and not tedious, and he puts the warmth of personality into familiar ideas and associations. Having to speak upon a great variety of subjects, from "The Beginnings of Virginia" and "What University Instruction May Do to Provide Intellectual Pleasure for Later Life" to "The Constitution of the United States," he has given eloquent expression to sound opinions, impressing his readers with a rational faith in realizable ideals.

Timely and convincing is the moderate plea for classical learning, which Mr. Bryce defends as on the whole more suited to further the ends of intellectual pleasure in later life than the sciences. Seldom has the liberal common-sense view of education been better expressed than in the following: "All education has two sides. It is meant to impart the knowledge, the skill, the habits of diligence and concentration which are needed to secure practical success. It is also meant to form character, to implant taste, to cultivate the imagination and the emotions, to prepare a man to enjoy those delights which belong to hours of leisure and the inner life." Speaking on another subject, the development of the common law, the author points out that the similarity in fundamental legal ideas between England and the United States is "a bond of union and sympathy whose value can hardly be overrated." In a later chapter, he frankly compares English and American methods of legislation, making various general suggestions of a highly practical nature. An appreciative consideration of the character and views of Thomas Jefferson leads to a discussion of the all-important question, "How far is it true that the people are sure to be right?" and to forcible emphasis of the wholesome moral: "No one must ever be afraid to be in a minority. . . . Where the question is one requiring wide knowledge or serious and independent thought, he who is in a minority is at least

as likely to be right as he who is in a majority." Touching upon topics less profound, Mr. Bryce is equally happy, and his suggestions regarding such matters as private reading and public speaking are as sensible and usable as they are well expressed. Sparkling good sense and mellow wisdom make these addresses far more rewarding than are most collections of the sort.

GERMANY AND THE GERMANS. By PRICE COLLIER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Mr. Collier has written a thoroughly readable if somewhat superficial book—a book of social and general observation, with a tendency to expand into world politics and political economy. It contains about the mixture of witty comment, solid thought, and felicitous generalization that one would expect to find in the conversation of a well-read, well-traveled man who professes to be master of nothing in particular. The historical introduction is somewhat floundering, but that may be skipped.

The chief impression, perhaps, that the author gives us of Germany as a whole is that of a people less formidable and politically more submissive than we are accustomed to think them. The Germans, in fact, are "not at all what the Americans and English think they are. They want peace, and we think they want war. The huge armaments are intended to frighten us. . . . They are the last comers into the society of nations and they mean to insist upon recognition. But this demand is an artificial one so far as the great mass of Germans is concerned." The nation, in fact, has but recently been hammered into its present shape. What we see chiefly is the result of the hammering process—a process absolutely dependent upon a strong centralized control. What the author would have us see is a populace somewhat crude, somewhat naif, somewhat lacking in confidence, initiative, *savoir faire*. Of these defects the tendency toward uniform-wearing, both material and spiritual, is symptomatic.

Mr. Collier has a genuine man-to-man sort of respect for the Kaiser, and seems to understand the point of view of a ruler who believes that he rules by divine right. Ruling by divine right, one sees, is a rather high calling for a man who takes it seriously and responsibly. On the other hand, it is justly pointed out that much of the obvious efficiency of German methods is due not so much to inward growth as to outward pressure. We cannot do all the things the Germans do, not because we do not know how, but because there is no one to make us do them, and because if there were, we would probably recalcitrate. The constant pounding-in of patriotism through the German educational and social system, Mr. Collier finds somewhat nauseating. "We do not find it necessary to feed our patriotism with a nursing bottle," he remarks.

For the social legislation which Germany has carried so far, Mr. Collier has no manner of use. Paternalism is but another name for slavery, and Germany furnishes an object-lesson in its evil effect. "Nowhere has socialistic legislation been so cunningly and skilfully used for the enslavement of a people. No small part of every man's wages is paid to him in insurance—insurance for unemployment, for accident,

sickness, and old age. There is but faint hope of saving enough to buy one's freedom, and if the slave runs away he leaves, of course. all the premiums he has paid in the hands of his master." It should be noted, however, that Mr. Collier approaches all such questions from the standpoint of individualism and philosophic democracy. He is all for competition and the survival of the fittest. His classical Americanism—not, of course, at all spread-eagly; but pleasantly cosmopolitan—seems a little inadequate in view of our own actual problems. It is refreshing to read of the German army, not as a world menace, but as a national school of hygiene and character.

Germany and the Germans is not a fault-finding book, but on the contrary conveys an effect of warm appreciation. Not too cleverly epigrammatic to be often just and informing, it can be criticized chiefly as a little too long, a little too loose and sweeping in its treatment.

The Unrest of Women. By Edward Sandford Martin. New York and London: D. Appleton & Co., 1913.

Nothing can be more charming than Mr. Martin's mingling of wit and wisdom in fluent talk, whether his subject be "The Luxury of Children," "The Reflections of a Beginning Husband," or, as in the present case, "The Unrest of Women." Mr. Martin is an optimist who believes in the essential reasonableness of things as they are. He counsels us to enjoy the honest satisfactions the gods send, and not to quarrel with the order of nature. Good sense and charity, expressing themselves in conduct and politics, are the cures, he believes, of most evils. It is natural that he should lay stress upon the thesis that marriage is woman's natural career, and it is characteristic of him that he succeeds in enforcing this thesis without offense. Recognizing the vital differences of sex, and perceiving their effects as influencing manifold interests, he yet refrains from the folly of talking as if men and women were of different clay or had different souls, and he deals amusingly with the extremes of the extremists.

Nevertheless, his word upon feminine unrest seems to come a little late in the day. Something is seriously, if temporarily, wrong with the present order of things, and if Votes for Women is not the cure something else perhaps is. Mr. Martin himself remarks that unrest is world-wide, and that its underlying cause seems to be economic. Now this is the very point on which we should like advice. We are contemplating, wisely or not, changes—political, economic, and social. We are asking ourselves whether time-honored laws, institutions, and even constitutions, may not be changed for the better. It is profitable to us to be gently warned away from extremes and to be reminded of the influences that after all keep humanity, on the whole, in the path of peace and progress; but we need practical advice more than quieting assurance. It is all very well to say that religion is the only force that can bring men's conflicting desires into harmony, but religion seems to be changing, like everything else. Mr. Martin's book smoothes over rather than solves the problems it raises.

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

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THE REORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

BY JAMES A. FOWLER

CAN the factions which prior to 1912 composed the Republican party be reunited; and if so upon what common grounds, and what should be done to bring such reunion about?

Before attempting an analysis of the differences between the opposing elements a few general observations are appropriate.

Every permanent political party is identified by a few well-defined principles. These principles form its groundwork, and are substantially unchangeable. A radical departure from them would destroy the identity of the party, and would forfeit the right to a use of its name. However, there may come about such a change in conditions as to justify a material modification of their application. When the exact conditions are not generally known, a difference of opinion as to the application of one or more of them may be entertained, and factions be thus created; but this does not affect the principle itself; and as reasonable men can agree upon a method of ascertaining the facts, there is no justification for such a division to become permanent.

Again, the changing conditions in society present from

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time to time new questions. These questions generally relate to some supposed need, which is either soon met or is shown not to exist, and, therefore, passes out of consideration. For illustration, for some years previous to 1893, there was a demand that railroad companies equip their rolling stock with safety appliances. In that year, after extensive hearings, such an act was passed, which has since been extended by amendments, and as there is no demand now even upon the part of the railroad companies for its repeal, that question no longer exists. Questions of this character are in a broad sense political, because they relate to the welfare of society, and require consideration by legislative bodies; but it is often better that they be kept out of the wrangle of organized politics altogether. It is not every good principle relating to human need or conduct that should be incorporated into political platforms. The merits of many principles are so palpable that it must be assumed that they are generally favored by the public. Furthermore, it is not infrequent that a meritorious measure is defeated because it is championed by the minority party.

It is apparent that such questions are continually arising, and that about some of them there may be many shades of belief. Hence, if a platform embraces many of them, some adherents of the party are certain to be more or less out of line with its declared principles. But as every citizen can not have a platform which conforms to his ideas in every respect, he is not justified in abandoning the party for that reason unless the declaration from which he dissents be of such importance as to overshadow for the time being the party's permanent principles.

As the National Government is separate from the several State governments, so in a very large measure should National politics be kept separate from the politics of the several States. In each State the National and State laws supplement each other, the two together making a harmonious whole. So in politics the National platform should be confined to National policies and the State platform should supplement the principles there declared by setting forth the principles which the party favors in conducting the affairs of the State. The conditions of society in one State may be entirely different from its condition in another, and hence a local policy good for one might be disastrous

to another. The fact that the sentiment of society relating to a principle applicable to local government only is opposite in one State to what it is in another, can afford no valid reason why the majority in both should not favor the same party nationally. What right has a Republican in Massachusetts to impose his views as to some local matter upon the Republicans of California? Each State has its own local problems, and the party therein should be left to choose its own attitude as to them; and it is apparent that if a party's National policies are sound, the citizen who believes in them is not best conserving the interests of his country by abandoning the party nationally, because he can not quite agree with some of its local policies. There are, however, certain principles which apply to both State and National Government, as for illustration, laws relating to commerce. Congress may enact laws regulating *interstate* commerce, while purely *intrastate* commerce must be controlled by State laws. But even in such instances the National platform should not be considered binding as to what attitude should be taken upon the subject by the party in each State, because the conditions in one locality may be entirely different from what they are generally, and the party in the State must be permitted to decide for itself what policy it will adopt locally.

One more general observation. In these latter days the word "progressive" is much in use. There are "progressive" Republicans, and others who feel that they can not afford longer to be called Republicans, yet there is much doubt as to the real difference between these Progressives and those who are still content with the old party name. It is certain that the shades of belief among the many varieties of Progressives are about as distinct as between some of them and the so-called "Stand Patters" or old-line Republicans. The real condition appears to be that there has been within the last few years a shifting of political ideals along rather indefinite lines, but arising largely from the belief that public servants have not had proper regard for the public welfare. It may be that some Republicans have hardly kept pace with this change of sentiment; but this was because the country has prospered under old-time Republican policies; and they regard the evidence insufficient to warrant the belief that a radical change would be profitable, and not because of any

corrupt motives or desire to oppress the masses for the benefit of the few, as has been often charged. The leaders of these various factions are in the main patriots; and certainly there is no reason why the rank and file should not desire to promote the welfare of the country. If there could be a temperate exchange of views, it would be found that all desire the principles and policies of the Republican party to be such as would best conserve the public interests under the conditions now existing, and that the differences of opinion as to those policies are not nearly so great as the heated controversy through which we have passed is supposed to indicate.

How can these differences be so very great? There was no controversy as to principles in the preconvention contest in 1908, or in the convention held in that year, nor was there during the ensuing campaign any desertion from the party or any complaint among its adherents resulting from its declaration of principles. It was generally understood that the party platform then adopted was prepared in Washington, and received the express sanction of some who are now the leaders of the most conservative Republicans and also of the most radical Progressives. What change in social or economic conditions occurred during the four succeeding years that justified the disruption of a party reaffirming those principles?

Having made these general observations, let us ascertain as far as possible the real differences between the factions which in 1908 composed the Republican party, and upon what grounds these factions may be reunited. The subject may be divided into two general heads, the first of which relates to principles of government, and the second to party organization and control.

The views and policies of the extreme Progressives are set forth in the platform of the Progressive party; and hence, the views between which there exist the greatest differences may be ascertained by comparing that platform with the Republican platform adopted in 1912. That there are differences between the principles therein declared, some of which are serious, can not be questioned; yet as to nearly all of them, is there not a common ground acceptable to all, and as to those differences which are serious, are there a material number of Republicans and former Republicans who are really out of harmony with the Re-

publican view? A brief consideration of the two platforms, will, I think, afford answers to these questions.

With reference to a protective tariff, there is no substantial difference between the Republicans and Progressives. All believe, and both platforms in effect declare, that American industries should be protected to such an extent as will enable domestic producers to pay a liberal wage to their employees and still compete on equal terms with their foreign competitors. The Progressive platform denounced the Payne-Aldrich bill because they believed many articles are protected thereby beyond this requirement. The Republicans have never contended that that bill is a perfect measure, and concede that some reductions should be made; but both platforms advocate the creation of a tariff board to make an impartial and exhaustive investigation of the cost and conditions of production both at home and abroad so that the principle as to which all agree may be properly applied.

Upon the following subjects both platforms express substantially the same views: limitation of campaign funds, the parcels post, improvement of inland waterways, prevention of Mississippi River floods, inquiry into and removal of causes of high cost of living, establishment of agricultural credits, conservation of natural resources, development of Alaska coal-fields under terms preventive of monopoly, and protection of American citizens against discriminations by foreign governments. The parcels post has been established, a Department of Labor created, and a bill passed providing for the valuation of railroads as favored in the Progressive platform, and hence these questions have been eliminated. Mere mention of the following principles enunciated in the Progressive platform will show that no material differences can exist among Republicans, or in fact among all American citizens, in regard to those subjects, to wit: a more compact organization of the health service; the enactment of a patent law that will prevent the suppression of patents and their use against the public welfare in the interest of monopolies; the co-operation of the Federal Government with producers and manufacturers in extending foreign commerce, and the appointment of diplomatic and consular officers with a view to their fitness and worth; the extension of good roads and rural free delivery; the use of the Panama Canal primarily for the benefit of the American people, and that it be maintained in such a way as to create competi-

tion between the ships using it and the transcontinental railway lines; the imposition of an inheritance and also an income tax; governmental action to prevent the congestion of immigrants in cities; and the application of the Civil Service Act to all non-political offices, and the enactment of an equitable retirement law.

With reference to the Navy, the Republican party favors the maintenance of a Navy adequate for the National defense, while the Progressive party favors building two battleships a year until an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces shall be made.

On the currency question neither platform is specific, except that the Progressives declare the present method of issuing notes through private agencies harmful and unscientific and oppose the Aldrich currency bill without offering any definite system. This question, though an important one, was mentioned but little during the campaign, and it certainly did not even contribute to the party division.

Much stress was laid during the campaign upon the Progressive plank denominated "Social and Industrial Justice." This plank declares in favor of both National and State legislation designed to promote the health and better the condition of laborers in the respects described, and prohibiting child labor, regulating wages and hours and time of service of women, and abolishing convict labor. In so far as these principles apply to the National Government, the legislation heretofore enacted by Congress shows that there is no substantial disagreement as to them. Among the laws passed relating to this subject are the several acts requiring rolling stock for railroads to be equipped with safety appliances; those fixing hours of service for laborers working on Government contracts, also hours of service for Government employees, and the minimum consecutive hours railroad employees engaged in interstate commerce may remain on duty, and the employer's liability act. In fact, the field for additional legislation of this character by Congress is not large.

The Progressive platform declares in favor of female suffrage. This, as are many of the other matters above mentioned, is strictly a State and not a National question. The Constitution of the United States has left it with the States to determine the qualifications of those who shall exercise the elective franchise even as to National matters;

and the National Government has no more right morally or legally to compel New York to enfranchise its women than it has to compel California to disfranchise its female citizens. Each State must determine for itself whether female suffrage will best promote its interests.

The initiative, referendum, and recall advocated in the Progressive platform is by its express terms limited to State action; and hence, however much many Republicans may oppose these methods of holding officials responsible to the people, and of giving the people an opportunity to initiate and reject legislation, there is no necessity that such dispute should divide the National organization. The same is also true as to the plank relating to the courts. The only suggestion as to the powers of the *Federal* courts is that "every decision of the highest appellate court of a State declaring an act of the legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the Federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation." This favors an extension and not a restriction of the powers of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Now let us consider those matters about which there is substantial disagreement.

The Republican platform favors the enforcement of the present Anti-Trust Law, but also declares that as to its criminal feature it should be so amended as to define with certainty what acts constitute an offense; while the Progressive platform urges the establishment of a strong Federal administration commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in interstate commerce, or such of them as are of public importance, doing for them what the Government now does for National banks, and what is now done for the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission. That is, the one party favors the prohibition of trusts and monopolies and the other their supervision and regulation by a commission. Here is certainly a vital difference. The merits of the two principles can not be here discussed, except to say that it would certainly be unwise to reverse the present policy before the most thorough test is made of its efficacy. If the policy of prohibiting monopolies and of maintaining competition

be demonstrated to be erroneous it will be an easy matter to change to the policy of regulation. But if great combinations and monopolies be permitted to arise by sanction of law, if such policy be found to be unwise, how could it then be changed from regulation to prohibition? There is certainly no popular demand for the *regulation* of trusts; and it is believed that comparatively few voters gave adherence to the Progressive party on account of this plank in its platform. A Republican Congress enacted the Federal Anti-Trust Law for which the party through its conventions when largely dominated by those who are now Progressives have often claimed credit; and practically all of those who were Republicans before the Convention of 1912 are undoubtedly in accord with the party on this question.

The Progressive platform pledges the party to "provide a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution." This is favored because, it says, a free people should have the power from time to time to amend their fundamental law so as to adapt it progressively to the changing needs of the people. This is directly opposed to the traditions and principles of the Republican party, which has always favored a strong central government and opposed every effort to weaken its stability. There is not a need of the people suggested in the Progressive platform which can not be sufficiently met by legislation within the Constitution as now written. It would be far better for the welfare of the country if instead of criticizing and thus destroying respect for that instrument, the people were taught to treat it as sacred; far better that it be imperfect but loved and revered, than perfect but despised and disrespected. The fact that it has been twice amended within the last four years demonstrates that it can be amended with sufficient ease. There is no demand for such a modification of our fundamental law, and it will be unfortunate for the Republic if such a demand shall become general.

Apparently, therefore, by the exercise of a reasonable amount of patience and by a display of a reasonable liberal spirit, an agreement between the different factions of the party can be reached so far as political principles are concerned.

The most important subjects relating to the organization and control of the party are, the basis of representation in the National Convention, the powers of the National Com-

mittee, and methods of choosing the delegates which compose the National Convention.

A brief historical review of the present basis of representation will be of interest. The first National Convention met at Pittsburgh on February 22, 1856, in response to a call made by a number of chairmen of State Committees, as recited, "in accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press." This convention was necessarily informal, and the principal business transacted was the issuance of an address and adoption of resolutions, and also the selection of a "National Executive Committee," consisting of a delegate from each of several States. On March 29, 1856, this Committee called a convention to meet in Philadelphia on June 17th, those favoring their principles being invited "to send from each State, three delegates from each Congressional District and six delegates at large." By resolution of the convention it was provided that in voting for a candidate for President, each State should be limited in its votes "to three times the number of electors to which such State is entitled"

In the call issued by the National Committee for the next convention (1860), the invitation was "to send from each State two delegates from each Congressional District, and four delegates at large to the Convention." On the incoming of the report of the Committee on Credentials, a lengthy discussion occurred over the representation from certain Southern States and Oregon, and the matter was recommitted to the committee; and in its subsequent report, which was adopted, the vote of Texas was reduced to six. After nominations had been made, Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, offered a resolution providing that thereafter "the basis of the nominating vote be fixed as near as may be in proportion to the number of Republican electors found to reside, at the last general State election preceding the nomination, in each Congressional District throughout the Union." This resolution was laid upon the table without debate.

In the call for the Convention of 1868 it was recited that "each State in the United States" was entitled to a number of delegates equal to twice its number of Senators and Representatives; and the National Committee interpreted this to exclude certain Southern States on the theory that they were not in the United States, but the convention

ordered that all States be called; and the report of the Committee on Rules, which was adopted, provided that four votes should be cast by the delegates at large for each State, and that each Congressional District should be entitled to two votes. However, some of the Southern States and a number of Congressional Districts were not represented. While the basis of representation has been the same ever since, except that delegates with the power to vote have been added from the Territories and the District of Columbia, yet it has not thus remained without dissent. In the Convention of 1884, on motion of Mr. Pierce, of Pennsylvania, the subject of a revised apportionment of delegates to future national conventions was referred to the Committee on Rules; and a minority report signed by eight members of the Committee was submitted, which provided for four delegates at large for each State, and one additional delegate for each Representative at large, and for one delegate from each Congressional District and an additional delegate for each ten thousand or majority fraction thereof of votes cast at the last preceding Presidential election. After a lengthy and spirited debate, the minority report was withdrawn. In the Convention of 1900, when the report of the Committee on Rules was submitted, Senator Quay moved a substitute for the Rule relating to the composition of the convention, which provided that thereafter each State should be entitled to four delegates at large and one additional delegate for each ten thousand votes or majority fraction thereof cast at the last preceding election for Republican electors, and that each organized Territory and the District of Columbia should be entitled to six delegates, the method of the selection of delegates to be provided for by the National Committee. After some discussion the matter was passed till the following day, when the motion was withdrawn.

In the Convention of 1908, Mr. Burke, of Pennsylvania, presented a resolution relating to the basis of representation, which was sent to the Committee on Rules. A minority report was submitted, signed by fifteen members of that Committee, recommending substantially the same basis as to the States as that presented by Senator Quay in 1900. After a prolonged discussion, the convention refused to substitute the minority for the majority report by the vote of 471 to 506.

The present plan can not be justified either by practical

results or by theory. It is easily understood why in the conventions preceding, during, and immediately after the Civil War special consideration was given those who for principles had forfeited all social ties with and incurred the bitter odium of their former friends. Furthermore, for some time after the enfranchisement of the negro it was supposed that the Republican Party would be powerful in the South on account of his presence there, and that favorable recognition of that section in the national conventions would tend to preserve and strengthen that power. But time has proven the fallacy of that supposition. This system has not only failed to strengthen the party in the Southern States, but, for reasons so apparent that they need not here be stated, in many sections has greatly tended to weaken its prestige.

Doubtless the present system had its origin in the Constitutional method of electing Presidents; but the underlying principles in the two systems are in sharp conflict. The Constitution provides that for the election of Presidents each State shall appoint a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress; and by another provision in the Constitution the Representatives are apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers. Hence, those electors who correspond to the Representatives are apportioned according to population.

There is a material difference between the election of a President and the nomination of a candidate for President by a political party. In the first instance the choice of the *entire voting population* is expressed through the electoral college, while in the latter the choice of *the party* is expressed through the convention. The nomination is made by the party, and is not participated in by those outside the party; and the nominee personifies the party's principles and ideals. Hence, the delegates selecting him should represent proportionately the membership of the party, and not the population of the United States, as is now done except as to delegates from the States at large.

If this is the correct principle, a few statistics will show how far the present system is wrong. In 1908 the seven extreme Southern States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas cast 159,948 votes for Mr. Taft. In the Convention of 1912 these

States had one hundred and sixty delegates. Pennsylvania and New York cast respectively 448,785 and 667,100 votes for Mr. Taft, or nearly three and four times as many as all the States mentioned combined, and yet the former State had only 76 and the latter 90 delegates in that convention. The injustice is just as glaring when comparison is made between those and other Southern States. Tennessee and North Carolina together cast 233,406 votes, or 73,458 more than the States mentioned; yet they had only 48 delegates. And the State of Kentucky gave Mr. Taft 244,092 votes, or 85,144 more than all of those States, and yet it had in the Convention only 26 delegates. The entire eleven distinctly Southern States, which include those first mentioned and Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, cast but 502,551 votes for Mr. Taft, or 164,549 less than the State of New York alone; but they had a combined delegation of 252 members, or nearly one-fourth of the entire convention. Such a condition could not possibly have been perpetuated had it not been to the interest of those who from time to time have controlled the party.

There appears no just reason why the delegates should not be apportioned according to the Republican vote cast in 1908. The total Republican vote of that year was something over seven and a half millions; hence if thus apportioned and if the convention be composed of about the same number of delegates as that of 1912, the basis should be one delegate to every 7,000 votes or a majority fraction thereof. In general, delegates should also be chosen by Congressional Districts and not by States, as by so doing the sentiments of each section would be represented. In States containing districts which on this basis would not be entitled to a delegate, from the vote cast by the entire State the vote of those districts which have delegates might be deducted, and the remaining delegates to which the State is entitled be selected by the delegates to the State convention from outside the districts entitled to representation. This plan is a mere suggestion, and has not been worked out to ascertain what the results would be in the several States.

It has been suggested by some that a reapportionment of delegates can be made by the National Committee without additional authority being conferred upon that body by a national convention. That the Committee is vested with no

power to give substantial relief of that kind can admit of no doubt. Precedents could be cited which show that both the Committee and national conventions have distinctly recognized that no such power is possessed by the Committee, but such citations are unnecessary.

The first rule reported by the Committee on Rules and adopted for the government of the Convention of 1908 provides that "*Hereafter* the Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State," etc. By the twelfth rule of the report provision is made for the National Committee, and it is authorized to designate the manner in which the delegates shall be chosen. In the Convention of 1912, the first rule in the report of the Committee on Rules adopted the language of the first rule in 1908, but it appears that the entire report of the Committee was laid upon the table; and the National Committee therefore are still acting under the rules adopted in 1908. Hence, the very document under which the Committee exists expressly specifies the basis of representation, and thereby excludes every implied power relating thereto that might otherwise exist. The use of the word "hereafter" in this connection appears to have originated in the Convention of 1908, as theretofore the rules provided for the representation in the convention then organized, and not, except by implication, for representation in subsequent conventions.

But if the Committee possessed such power it would be unwise to exercise it. Such a fundamental change would create great dissatisfaction unless made after the most mature consideration by a regularly called and organized convention.

There has been much criticism of the National Committee with reference to the manner in which it has made up the temporary rolls of delegates. This power is certainly a far-reaching one, as the permanent control of the convention largely depends upon the temporary roll. It may be interesting, therefore, to learn whence such power was derived.

In the Convention of 1864 Thaddeus Stevens moved "that all contested cases be laid over, and that the delegates from such States shall not be entered on the roll until the credentials shall have been sent to a Committee on Credentials and reported back," which motion was adopted; and the States whose delegates were contested had no representation on the Credentials Committee. In the Convention of

1868 California and Maryland did not participate in the organization of the Convention, and were not represented on the Credentials Committee, because their delegations were contested; and for a like reason Utah and Dakota did not participate in the organization of the Convention of 1872. In organizing the Convention of 1876 it was moved "that in case of any State or Territory where there is a contest as to the proper delegation, or where there are contesting delegations, such State or Territory be passed upon the call of the roll," which motion was adopted after the District of Columbia was added.

For the Convention of 1880 the Committee appears for the first time to have prepared a temporary roll, from which they excluded Louisiana. Apparently no additional authority was given the Committee in this respect by the Convention of 1876; and it was a far-reaching innovation inaugurated on its own initiative. In the twelfth rule adopted in 1904, it was provided that "Twenty days before the day set for the meeting of the National Convention the credentials of each delegate and alternate shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the National Committee '*for use in making up the temporary roll of the Convention,*'" and the same provision appears in the rules adopted by the Convention of 1908. This was apparently an authoritative recognition by the convention of the power of the Committee to prepare such a roll.

It is easily seen how this power may be abused by a Committee; yet the former custom of excluding all contested delegations from participating in the organization of a convention is subject to equal, or even greater, abuse. Under such a system many frivolous contests might be instituted for no other purpose than to control the organization. But it might be more satisfactory than either of these methods for each convention to choose a number of persons well known for their probity and ability to perform that function for the succeeding convention, their jurisdiction to extend solely to a determination of whether contests are frivolous, with direction that where a contest has merit neither the contestees nor contestants shall appear upon the roll. At present there is no limitation upon the power of the Committee in this respect; and it has been accustomed to determine contests fully for all purposes relating to the temporary organization.

In considering the basis of representation and the powers of the National Committee it has been assumed that the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President for a time at least will continue to be made by conventions, as otherwise the composition and organization of the convention are not matters of so great importance.

At present there exists no National primary law, and there is apparently no pronounced sentiment in favor of such a law, even if Congress has the power to enact it; and but few States have statutes which enable the voters to express a preference for a Presidential nominee.

Heretofore delegates have been selected generally by State and Congressional District conventions composed of delegates chosen by county conventions. In the smaller counties, and sometimes in counties of considerable size, these conventions are mass-meetings, in which every Republican present has the right to participate. As these meetings are now conducted it is doubtful whether any other scheme could be devised which would give greater opportunity for the real sentiments of the people of a county to be misrepresented.

For selecting delegates to the State convention a county convention is called, at the instance of the State Committee, by the County Committee or its Chairman, and the meeting is called to order by such Chairman, his sole duty being to receive nominations for temporary Chairman, take the vote thereon, and declare the result. In conventions called to select delegates to a Congressional convention this function is sometimes performed by the Congressional Committeeman for that county.

For several days preceding the convention the leaders of each faction engage in an effort to secure a larger attendance than their antagonists; and success by no means depends upon the sentiment of the people, unless the sentiment be pronounced and the popular interest great. Visits to county towns by most country people are infrequent. Many of them reside some distance away, and unless specially urged are unwilling to lose a day from their labor to attend a convention the only object of which is to choose delegates to another convention. But with a small amount of money a leader can employ messengers to canvass the entire county and make a personal appeal to many friends, and also leave a few dollars with an active citizen of each

neighborhood charged with the duty of bringing his friends to the meeting. It is apparent that thus a great advantage can be gained over an opponent who has no money to spend, or, if he had, would refuse to spend it for that purpose. Then naturally those most conveniently situated will attend in the largest numbers. A town upon a railroad, especially where one faction has sufficient funds to pay for transportation, will be largely represented; and sometimes a convention is overwhelmed by the employees of some factory temporarily closed for the purpose, or in large towns, by the riffraff, who for a small sum each are corralled and marched to the convention and voted in a body. When the time for opening the meeting arrives the principal struggle is over the election of a temporary chairman, as that affords the first test of strength, and the course of the convention is controlled largely by the presiding officer. If the person whose duty it is to call the meeting together is fair, he will see that the meeting is called in a room designated some time before the assembling, and large enough to hold all present; or, if such a room cannot be found, that it be called in the court-house yard or public square, that ample opportunity be given for the nomination of candidates, and that a division of the crowd be made and a count actually taken by impartial men selected from all factions, and that the result be declared according to the count. But if such person permits his personal preference to prevail over his sense of fairness he may call the meeting to order in a room packed with his friends while the opposition is forced to remain outside unrecognized; or he may permit the opposition to understand that the meeting will be called in one room, while secretly having the leaders of his faction fill another room with his friends, where it is actually called; or he may refuse a division and declare on a *viva voce* vote the candidate of his faction elected, and thus force the opposition to organize independently. In contests between delegates much stress is laid upon "regularity," and hence the importance of being selected by a convention the organization of which can be traced back to the regularly constituted source of authority. In such cases the opposition must rely upon showing that the unfairness of their antagonists was so glaring, and that they so greatly preponderated in numbers, that the technical claim of regularity should not be sustained. Sometimes, notwithstanding the

fairness of the presiding officer, the opposing faction under some pretext will organize an independent convention. In such instances they rely wholly upon the sympathies of those by whom the contest will be decided. Thus the seats of more than half the delegates to a Congressional District convention may be contested, or at least enough to determine the action of the convention. If the Congressional Committee assumes to prepare a temporary roll, the faction which the majority of such Committee favors has a great advantage, and the validity of its action will in all probability be denied by the other faction; or it may be that the uncontested delegates will undertake to organize the convention, which action will be attacked by those displeased by their action. Where there is a considerable number of contested delegates the result generally is that two conventions are held, and two delegations sent to the National Convention.

The same result may occur in a State convention, though on account of their size it is not so probable. When the matter is heard by the National Committee or the Credentials Committee of the National Convention, unless the contest be an unusual one, not more than thirty minutes, and often less, is given each side to present its claims, which is done without the introduction of witnesses, but by a mere statement made by some one selected for that purpose. It goes without saying that where the facts are complicated or doubtful such a hearing cannot inform the Committee of the real facts, and that the members of the Committee necessarily vote in accordance with their predilections.

This is the way the American people have been choosing candidates for the highest elective office which has ever existed. The wonder is that by such a crude system men of such high character and possessing such pronounced ability have always been chosen.

It is not intended to condemn political conventions in general, and to indorse primary elections as a substitute for them. This is especially so while but few States have laws regulating primaries. The holding of such elections is expensive; and when candidates are required to advance the means to defray those expenses, every person, regardless of merit, is excluded from the running who has not the necessary amount and is not willing to place himself under obligation to others for its advancement. Moreover,

primaries offer even greater opportunity than conventions for the improper use of large sums of money, and unless carefully guarded by law may be used as vehicles for gross frauds. Furthermore, the convention system possesses a peculiar merit for a self-governing people. There the statesman often has his first experience, and it is of much practical value for the leading citizens of a county to assemble and engage in a contest of this character which involves a choice of both persons and principles, provided the contest be fairly conducted.

The fundamental defect in the present system appears to be that there are no fixed rules which specify how such conventions shall be organized and their business conducted, and no method provided by which it may be determined in a judicial way whether such rules have been substantially adhered to.

In order to avoid county conventions packed in the manner described and to procure representation therein from each section of a county, it is suggested that they be composed of delegates from each district, township, or ward, selected by ballot, at such hour and place as would be most convenient for the people of each locality. This method is used to a considerable extent in large counties, and could be used with equal profit in counties less populous.

Then, definite rules should be prescribed for the government of all conventions which participate directly or indirectly in the selection of delegates to the National Convention, and a substantial compliance with such rules should be required. Such compliance can be accomplished by devising a method for determining contests by which the real merits of the claims of the respective parties can be thoroughly considered, which would necessitate a review of the proceedings, not only of the State and Congressional District conventions, but also of the county conventions upon whose action the rights of the contesting parties might depend. The task would probably not be a very great one, as the contests would be much fewer in number were conventions held under fixed rules, and it were understood that these rules would be strictly enforced. The body heretofore suggested charged with the duty of preparing a temporary roll might meet for such a length of time before the date of the convention as would enable them to thoroughly investigate each contest, sending a special agent upon the ground to take testi-

mony if necessary, and to report the facts for the benefit of the Credentials Committee.

Precautions equal to these are exercised every day by the courts of the country in determining the rights of private individuals in actions involving but a few hundred dollars, and there is no just reason why the same principles of justice should not be applied in contests upon which the welfare, and possibly the life, of the nation depends.

As suggested, these changes in the organization and government of the Republican party can be made only by a national convention; but there is grave doubt that the present is, or the immediate future will be, an opportune time for such a convention to assemble. The factional feelings engendered by the recent contest remain too intense for the coolest deliberation. A further season for reflection could be used with much profit by the leaders of the factions in the different States getting together and talking the situation over in a friendly way. In 1914 there will be a great contest involving the control of the Sixty-fourth Congress. Would it not be well to inaugurate that campaign with a national convention, dominated with such a spirit of liberality that it will awaken new enthusiasm in the party throughout the length and breadth of the land?

James A. Fowler.

AMERICAN AMBASSADORS ABROAD

BY ANGLO-AMERICAN

THE real reason, I take it, why the United States has no regular diplomatic service is that it has no regular foreign policy, and that American Ambassadors, in consequence, represent for the most part what is little more than a vacuum. In spite of the Spanish war and of semi-colonial holdings in the Pacific and the Caribbean, and in spite of the multiplication every year of fresh points of diplomatic contact with the outer world, the distinguishing fact of America's position in the general scheme of *Weltpolitik* is still, as it has always been, her comparative isolation. It would be an interesting venture, by the by, to trace the reflex action of this isolation upon the national character and to estimate how far the immunity of America from the effects, at once complicating and fortifying, of a constant external pressure has been a gain or a loss. But whatever one's opinion of its advantages and drawbacks, the fact itself is indisputable that, alone among the Great Powers, the United States is not menaced. Her size and strength and the accident of her geographical situation and surroundings, have combined to shield her in an almost unvexed tranquillity. Nothing endangers her national security. So far has fortune exempted her from the animosities and distractions that convulse the older world; so little is she ever called upon to realize that national safety, national existence even, depends to-day, as much as it ever did, upon brute force; so serenely does she stand apart from the elements of international strife—that one is almost tempted to think that a law of nature has been virtually suspended in her favor. With no enemies to guard against, no definite or even probable crisis to prepare for, knowing next to nothing of all that follows when two Powers of nearly equal strength and of possibly conflicting interests live within striking distance of each other, and herself, if not invul-

nerable, at any rate unconquerable, America is privileged to dwell in an atmosphere of simplicity, spaciousness, and self-absorption that more, perhaps, than anything else separates her from both Europe and Asia.

To a pugnacious people—and the American temper has its full share of belligerency—such conditions are occasionally irksome. The combative instinct needs an outlet, needs, at any rate, a punching-bag; and having no real and imminent antagonists or crises to face, Americans from time to time have been reduced to the necessity of manufacturing them. Thus they have fixed on Great Britain or Germany or Japan as "the enemy" and have diligently worked up a satisfying assortment of "scares." But these manifestations have never been anything but highly artificial, have never had a political, in addition to their psychological, value, have never possessed that immediate and tangible reference to actualities and probabilities that would at once and rightly have been ascribed to them had they emanated from a European people. The American Press and American politicians can indulge a propensity for rather heedless talk and behavior, and can habitually make international mountains out of molehills, because of a well-understood consensus that it is not really serious and will entail no material consequences. A diplomatic dispute with another power, conducted by either side on the implication of force, is of all experiences the one most foreign to the normal American routine. Indeed, when you have mentioned the Monroe Doctrine you have pretty well indicated the sum total of the average citizen's interest in external politics. It was, I believe, Mr. Bernard Shaw who described the Americans as "a nation of villagers," and the description still holds good in the sense that their local consciousness is far more intensive than their national, and still more so than their international, consciousness. The education they receive in world-politics is meager and intermittent in amount and extremely unsatisfactory in quality. During several years in the United States I do not recall a single well-informed debate in Congress on the foreign policy of the Republic, or a single member who treated his constituents to an address on so alien a topic. Americans are apt to regard all European happenings with an amused and impersonal indifference, as of no possible concern to their own fortunes; they can hardly as yet conceive a definite connection between their own welfare and

affairs and the issue of a rivalry between two European Powers—Great Britain and Germany, for instance—that will be decided, if at all, several thousand miles away from American territory. The idea that Europe has one set of interests and America another is still, I suppose, subscribed to almost unanimously from Maine to California; and the average, busy, complacent citizen, self-contented and remote, knowing nothing of the fierce juxtapositions, the pressures and counter-pressures, of Europe, and convinced of the unassailable strength of the United States, continues, probably, to regard the wars and diplomatic contentions of the Old World with a purely spectacular interest, as a sort of drama provided for his diversion. The questions that really touch him are American questions; in no other country in the world, I believe, could so significant a step as that taken by President Wilson when he withdrew the Government of the United States from participation in the Chinese loan have been received with such complete public indifference; even the masterly lucidity and comprehension with which Admiral Mahan has analyzed and explained the present state of European and Asiatic politics and has traced their irrefragable connection with American interests, seem to have failed of any deep effect on the national intelligence; and it is clear that many years must pass and many gaps be filled up before the average American newspaper ceases to treat international affairs in a spirit of either levity or sensationalism and before the average American citizen fully envisages the position of his country in the family of nations or reaches an adequate understanding of the first elements of *Weltpolitik*.

Such conditions as these, assuming that I have diagnosed them with approximate accuracy, make it well-nigh impossible for Americans to look upon diplomacy as a serious profession. The conventions of international intercourse demand that there should be such persons as ministers and ambassadors, and the United States bows to usage in supplying them; but it is always with the consciousness that hardly once in a decade does it make any real difference to the interests of the nation whether she is adequately or inadequately represented abroad. To the element of "prestige" as it is embodied in and upheld by the personality and general style of an American Ambassador in a foreign capital, the vast majority of his stay-at-home countrymen

are frankly indifferent; and an American who was seriously exercised over the deficiencies of his country's representative at Vienna or Pekin or Athens would be decidedly something of a phenomenon. The idea obtains that diplomacy is part of the fuss and feathers of an effete dispensation, somewhat unworthy of the patronage and assistance of sturdy democrats like the Americans, that it is implicated in bowings and scrapings and knee-breeches and lace ruffles and other diabolical accessories that curdle the milk of Jeffersonian simplicity and are contrary to the customs and instincts of the leading citizens of Kalamazoo, and that, on the whole, while it may be tolerated as a diversion for young men of means who have yet to come to their senses, and for elderly lawyers, writers, and politicians who have outlived their usefulness, it cannot claim to be regarded as a career. Nor is it so regarded even by those who embark upon it. Americans hop in and out of diplomacy just as in simpler days they used to hop in and out of journalism and schoolteaching. But very few of them give their whole lives to it or look upon it as other than a temporary avocation, indulged in for the pleasant experiences it can always be made to yield. I doubt whether there is to-day a single American Ambassador who began as Third Secretary on the lowest rung of the ladder and has climbed and climbed till he has reached the top. On the other hand, in pretty nearly every important capital you will come across men who after occupying themselves for years with diplomatic work have abandoned it for finance, commerce or are living a life of more or less unprofitable leisure on the shelf to which they have been relegated.

It is, indeed, one of the distinguishing features of the American diplomatic service that it is not a service at all. There are, I believe, no examinations to pass to enter it; there is no permanency of tenure; there is no regularized system of promotions either by merit or seniority or in any other way; and there are no pensions. All the appointments are made by the President, and the men he appoints belong as a rule to his own party. When the other side comes in, there is nothing to prevent a clean and world-wide sweep of every American representative from the most honored Ambassador to the rawest Third Secretary. Next to the fact that the American diplomatic uniform is no uniform at all, being just plain evening dress and doubly conspicuous on

that account, this way of doing things is what chiefly distinguishes the American service from those of Europe. It may be a very excellent way, but it cannot be said that all of its products, as one encounters them in Europe, are superficially attractive. The individuals may be most estimable in all the private relations of life, but it is in their public capacity, as accredited envoys from the United States, as officials from whose conduct and manners foreigners would be inevitably apt to form their judgment of American civilization, that they sometimes fall short, as there are instances to prove. There are failures of one kind or another in every service, but this particular sort of failure is the monopoly of the system or lack of system adopted by the United States in choosing its Ambassadors. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? Some of them are bound to be men who have had very few social opportunities in their own country, who have picked up whatever education they possess, who owe their official honors either to their claims upon the party or the President, and who necessarily lack the rare gifts of flexibility that enable a man, when past middle age, to adapt himself to a new and strange environment. It thus not infrequently happens that Americans become the representatives of their country with a delightful ignorance of the ceremony and the etiquette that are the breath of diplomatic intercourse and with a personal equipment inadequate to the task of standing forth before alien and critical peoples as exemplars of the best that there is in American life.

Diplomacy is half business and half society. The business end, American Ministers and Ambassadors, technically untrained though they are, usually contrive to manage admirably through the sheer exercise of native ability. But in the social half of their duties they are set at times an almost impossible task. They have not been brought up to the work and as a rule they are past the time of life when it can be learned. Every one must have come across the type of American representative I have in mind, a naïve, big-hearted, kindly man, a gentleman in everything but the technical sense, whose only defect is that, being unversed in the conventions, he is liable to be misunderstood, and, being misunderstood, is liable to be slighted and looked down upon. And if he is also, and he usually is, a man of moderate means, he finds himself utterly unable to compete with his

rivals and colleagues of the diplomatic corps; he is often worse housed than the representative of the pettiest Spanish-American Republic; and he parts inevitably with the tremendous power that is exercised through social prestige. With American Consuls the case is the same, only more so. Consulships still very largely rank among the spoils of politics, and American editors, lobbyists, political colonels, writers of campaign literature, and defeated candidates for minor offices girdle the earth. Most of them, too, make excellent officers; but their excellence is due not to the system of appointment, but to the wondrous fact that an American, even an American politician, whether at home or abroad, finds it easier to be useful than to be idle. They prove indefatigable and intelligent workers, and the Government backs them up and encourages them by publishing a daily journal wholly composed of Consular reports. The American consular service, with its quick changes and its incessantly varying supply of fresh men with fresh minds, does undoubtedly "sell goods," open up new branches of trade, and keep American exporters admirably informed of business conditions and opportunities all over the world. Yet very few Americans return from a trip abroad without having a contemptuous fling at their Consuls. The reason, and usually the sole reason, is that their social aptitudes and experience and the personal impression they make are much below their business capacity.

I often think that Americans do not do sufficient justice to their public men as a class. In England, for instance, the material rewards, the social distinction, the power and *kudos* that belong to a man who reaches high office are very great, great enough, indeed, to attract the best men to the public services. A Cabinet Minister in England enjoys an ample salary, has all London at his feet, finds himself honored and bowed down to wherever he goes, and leads a life which, if very arduous, is superlatively interesting, varied, and exciting. An American Cabinet officer knows little of these seductions. He is disgracefully underpaid; the attractions of Washington in winter, though indisputable, can hardly be considered an overwhelming inducement to enter official life; the national interest in his actions and his personality lacks something of respectfulness and soon becomes an intolerable nuisance; being chosen for his post by the President, he has no guarantee of a secure tenure;

the sharp division between the Executive and Congress makes it very improbable that, when out of office, he will continue to be a power even in his own party, much less in the life of the nation; and being merely an administrator, and not, like Cabinet Ministers in England, administrator and legislator combined, he has few opportunities for writing his policies in the statute-book. Yet you can go to Washington at any time and find there a body of public servants who are not surpassed, even in Germany, for efficiency, self-sacrifice, and an absolute devotion to their country's interests. Many of them are poor men, without private means, who have voluntarily abandoned high professional ambitions and turned their backs on the rewards of business to serve their country on salaries that are not merely inadequate, but indecently so. There is not one of them who is not constantly assailed by offers of positions in the world of commerce, finance, and the law that would satisfy every material ambition with which he began life. There is not one of them who could not, if he chose, earn outside Washington from ten to twenty times the income on which he economizes as a State official. But these men are as indifferent to money and to the power that money brings as to the allurements of Newport and New York, or to merely personal distinctions, or to the commercialized ideals that the vast majority of mankind accept almost without question. They are content and more than content to sink themselves in the national service without a thought of private advancement, and often at a heavy sacrifice of worldly honors, and to toil on invigorated by the infectiousness of the President's lead and comradeship and sustained by their own native impulse to make of patriotism an efficient instrument of public betterment. They are a standing illustration of the truism which Europeans find such ludicrous difficulty in grasping, that America is the land of the Great Unpaid, that money as a consideration counts for less there than almost anywhere else, and that the best work done in the United States as well as out of it is done without regard to its material emoluments. I do not infer from these conditions that the United States ought therefore to feel itself relieved from the obligation of paying its public servants an adequate living wage. None the less it remains a fine and wholesome thing that there should always be found in the United States a plen-

tiful supply of first-rate men who are ready to serve their country to the detriment of their private purse and their personal interests. In general, no man can make, or ought to wish to make, anything more than a bare competency out of public office. Very few succeed in even doing that. The highest salaried posts, such for instance, as the Viceroyalty of India, entail as a rule a more than proportionate drain on the banking accounts of those who hold them. Even kings, the best paid of all State officials, are often hard pressed to make both ends meet. The man who refuses an opportunity of public service because it involves him in personal sacrifices declares his own unworthiness; and a Government that overpaid its servants would be far more reprehensible and incidentally would receive a much poorer return, than a Government that went to the opposite extreme of parsimony. Most kinds of work are better done when a man has to pay in cash or by the surrender of selfish inclinations for the privilege of doing it; and I should rather suspect any official who was able to save much money out of his public salary.

The question, therefore, of the honorarium that should be awarded to American Ambassadors has emphatically more than one side to it. At present they can hardly be said to be paid at all. Their fixed and inclusive salary is seventeen thousand five hundred dollars a year, and out of this they have to meet the cost of renting a furnished house—there being no official residence for the American Ambassador in any capital—as well as all private living expenses. To dwell in any European capital and to keep up the state that the diplomacy of to-day insists upon and that is no less essential to the dignity of the United States, and to do this on a salary of seventeen thousand five hundred dollars a year is a sheer impossibility. Any American who accepts a first-class Embassy must be prepared either to forego the entertainments and the scale of living appropriate to his office or to dip heavily into his private means. By taking a modest house in a remote and unfashionable quarter, by rigorously restricting his hospitality and by confining himself to taxi-cabs, he might just be able to cover his obligatory and unavoidable expenses. But an Ambassador ought not to have to pinch and screw in this unseemly fashion. It reflects nothing on him personally, but it does reflect directly and discreditably on the country he represents, and it is not less

an affront to the ruler and people of the country to which he is accredited. No Ambassador that I have ever met in whatever country or of whatever nationality, but had to confess more or less ruefully to a deficit at the end of his term. It is one of the conditions of the service in all lands; indeed, in most lands the possession of private means is essential even to admission into the service at all. But where Ambassadors are provided with an official residence, a certain uniformity of practice is established which serves as a guide to each of its occupants in turn. Any one who knew the British Embassy at Washington as it was fifteen years ago under Lord Pauncefote and as it was last year under Mr. Bryce and is to-day under Sir Cecil Spring-Rice would be puzzled to say in what, if any, particular its general scale of hospitality has changed. That is because a fixed residence and the traditions and ways of doing things that quickly become established in a fixed residence, help to preserve a continuity of observances, methods, and standards that each Ambassador tends naturally to confirm, and helps also to nullify the difference between a comparatively rich man and a comparatively poor one. More than anything else it is owing to the absence of official Embassies that the present disparity obtains between the mode of life adopted by one American Ambassador and that of his successor or predecessor in the same capital, or that of his contemporary colleague in a neighboring capital. Here you find an American Ambassador living in a palace like a prince; there all his appointments and style bespeak the necessity of a rigid economy; somewhere else he maintains the kind of state that to my mind is most congruous to the spirit of the American Republic—one of comfortable and distinctive refinement, equally removed from pretentiousness and obscurity.

The keynote of the situation, therefore, seems to me to be the provision, whether by lease or purchase, of permanent American Embassies in the leading capitals of the world. If they were once acquired, a salary of, say, thirty thousand dollars a year would enable any man in any capital to represent the United States with ease and dignity, but without any excessive display. He could fulfil all the obligations of his office as well as, but no better than, they ought to be fulfilled. He would still have to draw to some extent on his private means, but not more so

than a man who was moderately well-off could easily and gladly afford; and, as I have said, certain standards of living and of expense would be quickly evolved that would restrain the millionaire, relieve the less affluent man from his present disadvantages, and spare future American Presidents the humiliation of finding their offers of Embassies continually refused on grounds of finance. Given a permanent official residence, an American Ambassador would no longer have to begin his diplomatic career by taking up his quarters in a hotel and hunting for a house to live in—as unimpressive a *début* as could well be imagined; the rich man would be under no temptation to spend, as many American Ambassadors have spent, from fifty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year out of their own pockets; and the poor man would no longer be compelled to stand the comparison between his own ways of doing things and those of a possibly too lavish and ostentatious predecessor. As matters are at present the American diplomatic service presents itself to the world as a jumble of incongruities and anomalies unrelieved by a single settled rule or custom. It deprives the United States of the services of many admirably qualified men, and it involves Ambassador after Ambassador in personal predicaments that for the good name of his country ought to be avoided.

The sort of predicament I am referring to was very well illustrated some five years ago when that accomplished scholar Dr. David Jayne Hill was appointed to succeed Mr. Charlemagne Tower as the American representative at Berlin. Mr. Tower, besides possessing an engaging personality, is a man of very great wealth. Throughout his term of office he inhabited what is, I think, quite the finest mansion in Berlin. He dispensed an open-handed and graceful hospitality, and some at least of the wide popularity he enjoyed could fairly have been ascribed to the splendor and attractiveness of his entertainments. No one who looked the facts in the face could doubt that it was a source of natural pleasure to the Kaiser, to the Court, and to the American colony in Berlin, to see the American Ambassador upholding with such complete and elaborate success the social side of his position. That is a kind of achievement which carries greater weight in Berlin than in any European city. No community in Europe is so susceptible to the ap-

peal of money and display; and I for one do not question in the least that the state which Mr. Tower was able to maintain, his generous and finished hospitality, the style and scale of his personal appointments, and so on, had a decided effect not only in confirming his own popularity, but in enhancing American prestige. If the American colony in Berlin had been polled they would have voted to make Mr. Tower Ambassador for life. This, no doubt, would have been a solution eminently agreeable to the Kaiser himself. Failing that, he hoped at the least that the new Ambassador would be able to continue the social successes won by Mr. Tower, and to maintain all the embellishments and outward dignities of his position on the same scale as his predecessor. When, however, it was ascertained that Dr. Hill's resources only permitted of a modest establishment, the Kaiser, as a friend of America, and anxious for the preservation of American prestige in Germany, felt that President Roosevelt was making a mistake. He accordingly suggested or let it be known that while Dr. Hill on all personal grounds was entirely acceptable, the United States, for her own sake, would be better advised in sending a representative who would run no risk of being overshadowed by the Ambassadors of other Powers, and who would be in a position to follow in Mr. Tower's footsteps with the same certainty and *éclat*. Otherwise the new Ambassador might be troubled by the awkwardness of the inevitable comparison, and the United States, in parting with the power of social influence, might be doing herself a political disservice. There was nothing unfriendly in the Kaiser's representations. They were not meant in any way to be discourteous either to Dr. Hill or to the United States. He had apparently convinced himself that America was embarking on a course which he believed to be injurious, and at the eleventh hour he tried to save her from it. The result of his intervention was an "incident" that placed Dr. Hill in a very unfair and invidious position, and that irritated Americans without convincing them that their failure to maintain an Embassy of their own was at the root of the whole difficulty.

A very similar situation, but met in a very different spirit, arose when the death of Mr. Whitelaw Reid left vacant the American Embassy in London. Mr. Reid, like Mr. Tower, was a man of large wealth, which he spent ungrudgingly in

his country's service. He rented the most magnificent house in London, maintained it in the most elaborate style, and dispensed a hospitality that became famous even in that city of endless entertainments; and like Mr. Tower, he made multitudes of friends by his kindliness, his easy and ingratiating manners, and his great conversational gifts. But undoubtedly he raised the question whether it was altogether appropriate that the United States, with its traditions of Republican simplicity, should be officially represented on so sumptuous a scale; and undoubtedly, also, he made it difficult for President Wilson to find any one to succeed him. President Wilson has solved the difficulty in a way that Englishmen are already grateful for, and will be still more grateful for the longer they know Mr. Page. It is interesting to note the President's endeavor to resuscitate the Ambassadors of the Motley, Lowell, and Bigelow class. He has sent Mr. Walter Page to London, Dr. Van Dyke to The Hague, Mr. Nelson Page to Rome, and Mr. Schurman to Athens, and he has offered other Embassies to professors and writers and to men mainly known, not for their possessions, but for their intellectual distinction. That is a move in the right direction, and unless it encourages Congress to persevere in its niggardliness and to refuse to establish permanent Embassies on the ground that almost any habitation will do for professors and such like, it will prove a very wholesome move. But the problem of the American diplomatic service as a whole still remains. Is it to be put on a purely professional basis, with a graduated scale of promotions, a pension system, and little or no recruitment from the outside world of distinguished amateurs? Are the higher posts still to be reserved for men of eminence who have never gone through the diplomatic mill? Is it possible to provide official residences and to pay adequate salaries without risking an invasion of party politicians on the make? If as a foreigner I may without impertinence express an opinion on matters which are primarily of American concern, it would be in favor of permanent Embassies, salaries of thirty thousand dollars a year, and as many men of the Lowell and Choate type as the United States is fortunate to possess and able to spare for the delectation of the capitals of Europe.

ANGLO-AMERICAN.

NATIONAL AID TO GOOD ROADS

BY JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

THE idea of national participation in highway improvement is by no means new. As long ago as 1802, Congress passed an act for the admission of the State of Ohio and included in the act a provision that five per cent. of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands in the State should be applied to the laying out and construction of public roads connecting the Ohio River with navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic.

The money thus to be expended was Federal money. The road to be constructed was an interstate road. The obligation was one assumed by the Government chiefly in behalf of the State of Ohio, but also for the benefit of people of other States. Subsequent acts for the admission of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri contained similar provisions as to the expenditure of five per cent. of the net proceeds from public-land sales, and the western terminus of the proposed road was extended to Jefferson City, Missouri.

The States named accepted the provisions of the acts mentioned, and the legislatures of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania enacted laws permitting the Government to construct the road through their jurisdictions. The first appropriation for the road was made by Congress in 1806 and every administration for nearly forty years thereafter made appropriations for the road, known as the Cumberland Road, although President Monroe vetoed one bill for this purpose, giving as his reason that he believed Congress had no such authority. Nevertheless, by the action of the National Government for a period of forty years and by the separate action of several of the strongest of the States, the power of Congress to build roads was recognized. The total amount appropriated for the Cumberland Road was over $6,800,000. The road was ultimately taken over by the States through which it passed.

I have stated these historical facts, not for the purpose of establishing by precedent the validity of appropriations of this kind, for I should assert the right of Congress to appropriate money for and build public roads, even though there were no precedent. My object is to show the early date in American history when this Federal power was recognized.

The constitutionality of the appropriations was supported chiefly upon some one or all of the following express Federal powers: to establish post roads, to regulate commerce, to declare war, to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare.

Among those of legal training, a technical discussion of the constitutionality of national highway appropriations would no doubt be interesting, but I believe the time has long since passed when controversy over this question could be deemed appropriate. Even a cursory review of the ever-expanding activities of this Government, covering the purchase of Louisiana and Alaska, the improvement of harbors and interior rivers, appropriations for educational work, construction and reclamation projects, purchase of private lands for the formation of public forest reserves for protection of watersheds, demonstrates that a discussion of the constitutional question is purely academic.

Federal aid to good roads will accomplish several of the objects indicated by the framers of the Constitution: establish post roads, regulate commerce, provide for the common defense, and promote the general welfare. Above all, it will promote the general welfare.

From an economic standpoint, the most important problem now before the American people is that of rural highway improvement. Transportation is the key to industrial and commercial prosperity. The United States leads every other country in the world in steam and electric railway development, but is behind several nations in the development of its wagon roads. This is not said in criticism of this country, for America is yet young in years of industrial growth. The leading European nations laid out their road systems and constructed their best-known highways while the major portion of this country was still a wilderness.

The fact remains, however, that the improvement of our highways is not keeping pace with other transportation development, and, as a consequence, the wagon-haul to and

from the railroad is relatively the greater part of the cost of transportation between producer and consumer. This phase of the subject has been so frequently and so thoroughly discussed by transportation experts that the facts are now well known. No one now questions the social and economic importance of highway improvement. The sole problem now is to devise a means of attaining the desired end. To the solution of this problem I have devoted many months of close attention and believe I have devised a plan by the adoption of which Federal aid to good roads can be provided without incurring any of the evils so likely to attend a Government undertaking of such broad scope and wide application.

The bill I have suggested, briefly stated, permits a State to deposit its fifty-year 4-per-cent. bonds in the United States Treasury and receive the face value thereof from funds raised by the sale of Government 3-per-cent. nontaxable bonds, the State bonds to be retired without the payment of the principal otherwise than by crediting the States with the difference between 3 per cent. and 4 per cent., together with 3-per-cent. compound interest on this difference. In other words, the States would pay the same rate of interest usually paid on State bonds, and the difference between that rate and the lower rate at which Government bonds will sell would be credited to a sinking-fund which would, with interest thereon, amount to the principal in a little less than fifty years.

In principle, this is the system of financing adopted by Great Britain many years ago in connection with the purchase of landed estates in Ireland and the resale of same to the tenants. The Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903 contains the latest application of the plan in Great Britain. Under that act, British securities are issued, bearing 2¾ per cent. interest, while the Irish tenants repay the loan at 3¼ per cent., but the principal of the loan is deemed to have been paid whenever the sinking-fund, with accumulation of compound interest thereon at 2¾ per cent., equals the amount of the loan. The financing feature of my plan is the same, but I have added a number of other features which I deem essential in order to produce desired results.

My plan provides for Federal loans to the total amount of $1,000,000,000 for construction and the apportionment of this aid among the States upon a basis of area, population,

assessed valuation and road mileage, each factor being given equal weight. Thus each State will receive aid in accordance with its needs.

This plan also provides for aid in maintenance, each State to receive annually from the Federal Treasury an amount equal to 2 per cent. of the amount of State bonds on deposit, provided the State expends a similar amount for maintenance. This plan leaves it to the State to determine the amount of aid it shall receive and eliminates the possibility of a pork barrel.

It is also provided in the suggested plan that no State shall receive Federal aid until it has established a State Highway Commission with general supervision over the expenditure of funds received from the Government and also that the bonds of the State shall not be accepted if the total bonded indebtedness of the State, including the bonds issued in accordance with the provisions of the national highway law, shall exceed 10 per cent. of the assessed valuation. These requirements insure efficient supervision of road expenditures and prevent such an excessive indebtedness as might impair the credit of a State or cast doubt upon the soundness of its bonds. In order to prevent throwing too large an amount of Federal bonds upon the market at one time, the plan also provides that no State shall apply for more than 20 per cent. of its allotment in any one year.

To provide a supply of qualified engineers to supervise highway construction and maintenance, I have included in my plan a provision for the establishment of an academy of highway and bridge engineering to be located at Washington, D. C. I believe such a school would be far more efficient and turn out more highly qualified engineers than would numerous schools not so well equipped for the work and scattered over the country. It would be in many respects a post-graduate school, giving the special instruction which local colleges are not prepared to give. It would establish an *esprit de corps* among the highway engineers of the country and maintain high standards of work. It would be a clearing-house, if you please, for information and new ideas relative to highway improvement.

In connection with such a school I would have a testing laboratory maintained, so that any State road official could send road material to be tested free of charge and by the

most approved methods. Here would be located the best authorities in the world on highway problems.

As the provisions of the bill I have suggested are brief and as the thorough consideration of any plan before adoption is of utmost importance, I shall present the text of the bill in full:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That in order to establish, construct, improve, or maintain public roads that are now or may hereafter be needed for use as post roads, military roads, or for interstate commerce, there be, and hereby is, created a fund to be known as the United States Highway Fund. Said fund shall be raised in the manner herein provided, but the Treasurer of the United States is hereby authorized to receive and place to the credit of said fund any money that may be contributed from other sources and to expend the same upon the order of the United States Highway Commission or in accordance with the conditions of the contribution.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of providing money for the United States Highway Fund the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to issue and sell by popular subscription and upon a pro rata allotment basis, at not less than par, bonds of the United States in such form as he may prescribe and in denominations of $20 or multiples of that sum, said bonds to be payable 50 years from the date of issue and to bear interest, payable semiannually, at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, the total amount of said bonds not to exceed $1,000,000,000 and the issue and sale of same not to exceed such amounts as may be necessary from time to time to enable the Treasurer of the United States to make payments from the United States Highway Fund to the several States in accordance with the provisions of this act. Bonds issued under authority of this act or the income therefrom shall not be subject to taxation of any kind for any purpose.

SEC. 3. That before any State shall be entitled to take advantage of the provisions of the act, it shall establish by law a State highway commission having general supervision of road construction and improvement in that State, which said commission shall have general supervision of the expenditure of money received from the United States Highway Fund, subject only to the provisions of this act and of State laws not inconsistent therewith.

SEC. 4. That the United States Highway Fund shall be apportioned and credited to the several States in the following manner: The United States Highway Commission, hereinafter created, shall ascertain in the most practical manner from the best information available the total land area, the population according to the last Federal census, the total assessed valuation of all taxable property, and the total mileage of public highways in each of the several States, and shall compute the percentage of the total of each of these four items possessed by each State. They shall then compute the average of the four percentages for each State, and this average shall be the per cent. of the $1,000,000,000 United States Highway Fund that shall be apportioned and credited to each State. Said commission shall notify the Treasurer of the United States of the result of their ascertainment and computation, which shall be

made as of a date to be fixed by the commission. Such fund, so apportioned, shall be paid to the States only in accordance with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 5. That whenever any State, through its duly authorized agents, shall apply for any part of its share of the United States Highway Fund, but not exceeding 20 per cent. thereof in any year, and shall deposit with the Treasurer of the United States its bonds for such amount payable in 50 years and bearing interest, payable semiannually, at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, said Treasurer of the United States shall issue and sell by popular subscription and upon a pro rata allotment basis United States highway bonds herein authorized to the amount that may be necessary to pay to said State the amount of money applied for, and upon the sale of said bonds shall pay over the proceeds to the custodian of the public funds of the State: *Provided*, That the bonds of any State shall not be accepted if the total amount of bonds of such State, including the bonds issued to take advantage of the provisions of this act, shall exceed 10 per cent. of the amount of the assessed valuation of all taxable property in such State. When the Treasurer of the United States shall receive any payment of interest on State bonds deposited in the manner above provided he shall devote three-fourths thereof to the payment of the interest due on the corresponding United States highway bonds and one-fourth, herein designated as a sinking-fund, he shall deposit in the Treasury of the United States to be used from time to time as the general funds of the United States are used. The Treasurer of the United States shall keep an account with each State that shall deposit bonds and receive funds under the provisions of this act, and shall credit said State with interest compounded annually at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum on the sinking-funds paid in. At the time of the maturity of the bonds deposited by any State, if all payments of interest have been made when due, the Treasurer of the United States shall cancel said bonds and return them to the State issuing the same, without requiring any payment of the principal.

SEC. 6. That on the 1st day of February of each year the Treasurer of the United States shall pay to the custodian of the public funds of each State, from any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, an amount of money equal to 2 per cent of the amount of State bonds said State has on deposit with the Treasurer of the United States under the provisions of this act. The money so paid shall be expended by said State only in the maintenance of public highways. The Treasurer of the United States shall withhold the payment of money to any State under the provisions of this section in the event that such State default in payment of any interest due or in the event that the United States Highway Commission herein created shall certify to said United States Treasurer that money theretofore paid to said State for maintenance purposes has not been expended with reasonable effectiveness for the maintenance of public highways or that the State has failed to expend an equal amount of its own funds during the preceding twelve months for the same purpose.

SEC. 7. There is hereby created a United States Highway Commission, to be composed of the chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, the chairman of the House Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, and the Director of the Office of Public Roads.

Such commission shall have only an advisory voice in the expenditure of the United States Highway Fund in the several States. It shall have its head office in the District of Columbia, but may create highway divisions, never exceeding in number one for each State, and may maintain a division office in charge of a United States highway engineer in each division. Said commission shall have power to employ such clerical and expert assistance as may be provided for by appropriations made by Congress from time to time, and may require the assistance and co-operation of the officers and employees of any department in its work.

SEC. 8. For the further aid and encouragement of highway improvement in the several States, the United States Highway Commission shall maintain in the District of Columbia a school for special instruction in practical highway and bridge engineering, the entrance requirements of which school shall include completion of preparatory courses in civil engineering and such other studies as the commission shall specify qualifying the student to enter upon the special study of the practical problems of highway and bridge engineering. The rules, regulations, and curriculum of said school shall provide for instruction for two years for one student from each Congressional district, selected by competitive examination, but if there be no qualified applicant for admission from any Congressional district such vacancy may be filled by the admission of a student from some other Congressional district in the same State. Upon the admission of a student to the school of highway engineering such student shall be paid as traveling expenses four cents for each mile of distance necessarily traveled in going from his home to Washington, D. C., and at the end of each calendar month thereafter during continuance of such student in said school he shall be paid fifty dollars to cover living and incidental expenses. The United States Highway Commission shall make rules and regulations for the management of said school and shall have entire control of same, subject only to the Constitution and laws of the United States. In connection with said school said commission shall maintain a testing laboratory in which said commission shall cause tests to be made of road or bridge building material free of charge at the request of the duly authorized highway officials of any State.

SEC. 9. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, there is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated the following amounts or so much thereof as may be necessary:

For the renting of suitable quarters for the United States Highway Commission in the District of Columbia, $———.

For the renting of suitable quarters for the school of highway and bridge engineering, $———.

For the payment of salaries of clerical and expert assistance for the United States Highway Commission, $———.

For the payment of salaries of instructors in the school of highway and bridge engineering, $———.

For the purchase of testing laboratory equipment and office furniture and supplies, $———.

For the payment of the salaries of ——— division engineers, $———.

For the renting of quarters for ——— division engineers, $———.

The following table shows the percentage and amount of apportionment each State would receive under a plan giving area, population, assessed valuation, and road mileage equal weight in the calculation, these percentages being computed to only two decimal places and the amounts given in round numbers:

State.	Land area in square miles.	Population, 1910.	Assessed valuation, fiscal year 1912.	Total mileage of roads.	Apportionment to each State.	
					Per cent.	Amount.
Alabama	51,279	2,138,093	$484,851,212.00	49,639	1.72	$17,200,000
Arizona	113,840	204,354	140,338,191.00	5,987	1.13	11,300,000
Arkansas	52,525	1,574,449	[a]425,478,614.00	36,445	1.44	14,400,000
California	156,092	2,377,549	2,919,342,889.00	48,069	3.59	35,900,000
Colorado	103,658	799,024	430,000,000.00	29,693	1.59	15,900,000
Connecticut	4,820	1,114,756	[a]1,041,334,019.00	12,583	.87	8,700,000
Delaware	1,965	202,322	92,575,760.00	3,000	.14	1,400,000
Florida	54,861	752,619	218,887,518.00	17,579	.95	9,500,000
Georgia	58,725	2,609,121	842,000,000.00	82,230	2.45	24,500,000
Idaho	83,779	325,594	418,780,394.00	18,403	1.16	11,600,000
Illinois	56,002	5,638,591	2,343,673,232.00	94,141	3.94	39,400,000
Indiana	35,885	2,700,876	1,891,602,077.00	67,996	2.51	25,100,000
Iowa	55,586	2,224,771	713,318,825.00	102,427	2.50	25,000,000
Kansas	81,774	1,690,949	2,746,900,291.00	98,302	3.28	32,800,000
Kentucky	40,181	2,289,905	1,089,265,143.00	53,744	1.98	19,800,000
Louisiana	45,409	1,656,388	546,650,157.00	24,962	1.32	13,200,000
Maine	29,895	742,371	478,192,054.00	25,528	.92	9,200,000
Maryland	9,941	1,295,346	979,309,976.00	16,773	.99	9,900,000
Massachusetts	8,039	3,366,416	4,249,699,855.00	17,272	2.73	27,300,000
Michigan	57,480	2,810,173	[a]2,288,000,000.00	68,906	2.88	28,800,000
Minnesota	80,858	2,075,708	1,212,567,794.00	79,323	2.59	25,900,000
Mississippi	46,362	1,797,114	[a]399,029,000.00	39,619	1.48	14,800,000
Missouri	68,727	3,293,335	1,736,371,588.00	107,923	3.35	33,500,000
Montana	145,776	376,053	346,550,585.00	23,319	1.72	17,200,000
Nebraska	76,808	1,192,214	463,371,889.00	80,338	2.05	20,500,000
Nevada	109,821	81,875	[a]85,347,058.44	12,751	1.12	11,200,000
New Hampshire	9,031	430,572	397,647,530.00	15,116	.51	5,100,000
New Jersey	7,514	2,537,167	2,289,770,280.78	14,842	1.77	17,700,000
New Mexico	122,503	327,301	[b]72,000,000.00	16,920	1.35	13,500,000
New York	47,654	9,113,614	11,022,985,914.00	79,279	7.86	78,600,000
North Carolina	48,740	2,206,287	[a]494,708,570.00	48,285	1.74	17,400,000
North Dakota	70,183	577,056	294,770,325.00	61,593	1.56	15,600,000
Ohio	40,740	4,767,121	6,400,000,000.00	88,861	5.02	50,200,000
Oklahoma	69,414	1,657,155	1,326,840,833.00	71,325	2.33	23,300,000
Oregon	95,607	672,765	[c]905,011,679.00	29,475	1.66	16,600,000
Pennsylvania	44,832	7,665,111	5,917,119,205.25	87,387	5.65	56,500,000
Rhode Island	1,067	542,610	552,991,854.00	2,121	.39	3,900,000
South Carolina	30,495	1,515,400	291,531,003.00	32,075	1.15	11,500,000
South Dakota	76,868	583,888	354,278,413.00	56,354	1.58	15,800,000
Tennessee	41,687	2,184,789	625,010,886.00	45,913	1.70	17,000,000
Texas	262,398	3,896,542	2,515,594,636.00	128,971	5.66	56,600,000
Utah	82,184	373,351	200,299,207.00	8,320	.96	9,600,000
Vermont	9,124	355,956	221,447,887.00	14,406	.42	4,200,000
Virginia	40,262	2,061,612	907,273,651.00	43,399	1.73	17,300,000
Washington	66,836	1,141,990	1,005,086,251.00	34,284	1.64	16,400,000
West Virginia	24,022	1,221,119	1,119,828,173.00	32,109	1.32	13,200,000
Wisconsin	55,256	2,333,860	2,077,925,166.00	61,090	2.56	25,600,000
Wyoming	97,594	145,965	182,028,280.00	10,569	1.05	10,500,000
Totals and average	2,974,099	91,972,266	$67,763,587,864.45	2,199,646	....	$1,000,100,000

[a] 1911. [b] Rough estimate. [c] 1910.

The practical working of the plan I have suggested may be illustrated by supposing that all the States avail themselves of the opportunity of utilizing the superior credit of the United States up to the 20-per-cent. annual limitation for each State. We would have $200,000,000 of fifty-year semiannual 4-per-cent. State bonds deposited with the Treasurer of the United States, upon which collateral the

Secretary of the Treasury would offer for popular subscription, at not less than par and upon a pro rata allotment basis, $200,000,000 of 3-per-cent. Federal bonds, and from the $200,000,000 obtained in the sale of same pay to the States the par amount of their bonds. The Federal Government would receive from the States, in semiannual payments, interest at the rate of 4 per cent., or $8,000,000 annually. Out of this it would pay to the investors in the Federal bonds $6,000,000 annually, as interest on $200,000,000 United States fifty-year 3-per-cent. bonds, leaving an excess of $2,000,000 annually received from the States over what the Federal Government would pay in interest charges on a similar amount of Federal bonds.

On this excess of $2,000,000 the Federal Government would allow 3-per-cent. annual compound interest. At the end of 46.89 years this sinking-fund would amount, under this plan, to $200,000,000, so that the Federal Government would have the funds to pay off the bonds it had issued to the public for which it held the State bonds as collateral, and at the end of fifty years from the date of issuance of the State bonds the Federal Government would return said bonds to the respective States marked "canceled." By depositing their bonds with the Federal Government as collateral and utilizing the superior credit of the Federal Government in getting money at 3 per cent., the States would ultimately have received $200,000,000 cash at 1-per-cent. cheaper interest than they themselves could secure in a public sale of their own bonds. This utilization of the Federal Government's superior credit, without any greater expense to the States than the interest charge alone if they sold their bonds in the open market, together with the Federal Government's 3-per-cent. annual interest allowance, would provide the fund with which the obligation of the States would be entirely liquidated at the expiration of fifty years.

The money received from the sale of the Federal bonds would be turned over to the Highway Commissions in the States, which commissions should be directly accountable to the electorates of the States, thus preventing interference with State rights and eliminating any direct legal supervision on the part of the Federal Government and minimizing the danger of building up a large Federal Bureau. At the same time co-operation would be assured because of

realization on the part of the members of the State Highway Commissions that although the Federal district engineers would have no legal supervision as to the expenditure of the money put into construction of roads, yet in their inspection of the maintenance of roads the Federal and district engineers would necessarily learn whether the road construction had been honest and intelligent, and the anticipation of this maintenance inspection by Federal agents would cause the State engineers to do better construction work.

There would seem to be little doubt that the people of the United States would buy the Federal 3-per-cent. bonds at par. These bonds, being non-taxable, would be the equivalent of a 4-per-cent. taxable bond, especially if the contemplated income tax be enacted.

On June 14, 1912, the banks of the United States showed the following individual deposits:

	Number.	Amount.	Average rate of interest paid depositors.
National banks	7,372	$5,825,461,163.36	No data
Mutual savings banks	630	3,608,657,828.11	3.90
Stock savings banks	1,292	842,897,859.61	3.03 to 3.64.
State banks	13,381	2,919,977,897.99	No data
Private banks	1,110	152,494,618.90	No data
Loan and Trust companies	1,410	3,674,578,238.92	No data
Total	25,195	$17,024,067,606.89	

Since 3.9 per cent. is the average rate of interest to depositors in the 630 mutual savings-banks, and 3.03 per cent. to 3.64 per cent. is the rate of interest paid depositors in the 1,293 stock savings-banks, there can be no doubt that depositors in these institutions would prefer the Federal 3-per-cent. non-taxable bonds with the Government credit behind them to the security and interest offered by the savings-banks.

Several States and municipalities have recently experienced difficulty in floating large bond issues sold *en bloc*. One or two cities have overcome the difficulty by selling the bonds in small denominations to small investors. This plan provides against any such contingency by requiring that bonds be in denominations of $20 and sold by popular subscription and pro-rated among the subscribers if the issue should be over-subscribed. In view of the amount of

money now on deposit in banks with or without interest, and in view of the fact that on June 30, 1912, there was over $1,700,000,000 in money in the United States not on deposit in the banks, there is very little reason to doubt but that there would be a very general desire to take up the highway bonds as rapidly as issued, which could not be at the rate of more than $200,000,000 in one year and probably would be less than that.

Maintenance of roads is of no less importance than construction. By the suggested plan, the Federal Government would contribute to each State 2 per cent. of the total amount of Federal aid that had been extended to the State for construction in utilization of the Federal Government's superior credit. Thus, the States, if they deposited the aggregate of $200,000,000 of State bonds during any one year and received $200,000,000 in money from the Federal Government, would thereafter receive $4,000,000 annually as a direct contribution from the Government, provided these States expended an equal amount for annual maintenance.

While some Federal inspection will be necessary to determine whether States have expended their own and the Government maintenance funds in an effective manner, yet the plan suggested avoids building up a large force of Federal employees. Such a force presents obvious dangers which might be obviated if the United States were divided into Federal Road Districts composed of States or groups of States containing approximately 50,000 miles of roads and create a number of district road and bridge engineers, so that there would be one Federal representative for each district. All other employees would be under State control.

The duties of this engineer then would be to ascertain and report to the United States Highway Commission in Washington whether the annual maintenance contribution of the Government apportioned to that district had been intelligently and honestly expended. He could also give lectures as opportunity permitted, regarding road engineering and practical construction, and furnish the State Highway Commissions with such information as the Federal Bureau had touching on the subject, but neither he nor his superior, the Federal Director of Public Roads, would have the right to withhold the Federal maintenance actually contributed to his district simply because his judgment differed

from that of the State Highway Commission with reference to intelligent and honest expenditure of the Federal part of the maintenance fund. The United States Highway Commission, consisting of the chairmen of the two Committees on Post Offices and Post Roads, with the Director of Public Roads, would have the final voice and decision as to whether this fund should be withheld or not.

Briefly summarized, the plan of Federal aid here outlined insures extensive road construction and adequate maintenance over a long period of years, enlists the cooperation of the States, provides for efficient supervision, guards against the subservience of State officials to a Federal bureau, prevents the building up of a large organization that could be used for political purposes, and avoids legislation that might degenerate into a pork barrel. Adoption of this plan will result in a vast saving of cost of transportation on highways and a corresponding increase in the value of farm property. The increase in the value of property will far exceed the investment in construction, and the saving in cost of transportation will far exceed the annual expenditure for maintenance. From the standpoint of good business judgment there is no investment that offers larger returns than expenditures for highway improvement, provided the expenditures be made in accordance with a systematic plan that guards against waste.

JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

NAGGING THE JAPANESE

BY FRANCIS G. PEABODY

An American who has spent the spring months of this year in Japan and returns this summer through California encounters a sharp sea-change of public opinion. In Japan, among responsible people, the anti-Japanese legislation of California created a general sense of bewilderment. The United States had been regarded as the most disinterested and trustworthy of Western nations. A monument to Commodore Perry had been recently unveiled. A "Gentlemen's Agreement" had checked the migration to America, so that the number of Japanese in California had decreased by four thousand nine hundred and thirty-three during the last three years. The holdings of land by Japanese in 1910 amounted to but twelve thousand seven hundred and twenty-six acres, or about one per cent. of the twelve million acres of agricultural land. The purposes of the Japanese Government were conspicuously directed to the promoting of emigration to Korea and Manchuria rather than to the West. Suddenly, and with no apparent provocation, California descended on this insignificant number of Japanese settlers with legislation which was practically confiscation. The prevailing public opinion in California, with many exceptions of individuals and neighborhoods, seemed to be made up in about equal parts of racial prejudice and economic fear. All Orientals, it was often maintained, were unclean and immoral, and their presence was a threat to our families and children. This was a white man's country. The Japanese, it was more particularly urged, were undesirable citizens because they were so industrious and acquisitive. They make a living where a white man would starve. They lease a bit of unproductive land, and soon they own it, and the next piece, too. They crowd out white competition in the fisheries, the potato fields, and the market-gardens. Thus a

question of land-holding which, after twenty years remained insignificant, and which showed no signs of immediate gravity, was magnified in the public press into " a horde of settlers," " a strangle-hold on the State," " the grip the Japanese are securing." The consequence was a policy which may be described as nagging the Japanese. Precisely as in a home there may be no legitimate ground for divorce, but life may be made miserable by petty irritations and insults, so California, being precluded by treaty from direct discrimination, proceeded to make life as uncomfortable as possible for a handful of Japanese, and to treat a proud and friendly nation as though it were a nation of lepers. Some of the talk which one might hear in California was of the loosest and most reckless description. A wall, it was half humorously said, ought to be built round the State, and its resources reserved for its own people.

Here, then, is a situation which takes on a wholly different look when seen from opposite sides of the ocean. What to California is a local irritation created by a few objectionable settlers is regarded in Japan as a national insult. To the Japanese our Federal system is almost incomprehensible. In a nation where loyalty to the throne is an overmastering passion, the conception of a divided authority, permitting one section of a country to oppose or thwart the will of the rest, seems like governmental chaos, and the impression persists that somehow California might be overruled. A nagging policy is therefore the most irritating that could be devised. Exclusion would be more endurable to the Japanese than insinuation. If a proud and sensitive country should be goaded to retaliation, it would be because it had been treated superciliously, and because the Government at Washington moves so slowly in reparation, if indeed it is moving at all. Here is the gravity of the case; and until the issue is dealt with, not as a tool of local politics, but as a case of international comity, no satisfaction is likely to be felt in Japan. One State may do the nagging, but the whole country has to bear the blame. One State might involve us in a war which, as a San Francisco newspaper remarked, would make California " an object of derision from Bangor to New Orleans "; yet even then it would be difficult to follow the suggestion of an Oregon newspaper, and " let California do the fighting, while the other States look on." It is high time, then, to consider what are

the elements in the problem which should be clearly recognized, if a policy of local nagging is to be supplanted by a policy of sane diplomacy.

The first of these conditions of settlement is an appreciation of the fact that we are dealing with an equal. It is often remarked with amusement by the Japanese that the Western nations did not think them worthy of respect until they had killed a great number of Russians. That achievement suddenly called to the attention of the West a people whose culture had its Golden Age before America was discovered, and whose arts, crafts, philosophies, passionate love of natural beauty, and not less passionate patriotism are quite without parallel in the world. The victory of Germany over France in 1871 was not unreasonably described as a victory of the universities. War had become an applied science, and soldiers were scholars. The same results of universal and scientific education were exhibited by Japan in war, and are now to be witnessed in the amazing industrial expansion which has followed war. Sixty years in Japan have accomplished in large degree what took six hundred years in Europe,—the transition from a feudal system, with its lords and vassals, its stationary civilization and mediæval virtues, to a modern State, with parliament, suffrage, freedom of religion and of the press. Admiral Mahan, in his forcible argument for exclusion, has remarked that an Oriental civilization may be equal to ours, but is different. The converse proposition is not less important for the moment to enforce. Because the Japanese are different from Californians, it does not follow that they are inferior. The obvious fact is, that much of the hostility to Japanese in California is a testimony to their excellence. Earlier immigrants who do not work as hard or as skilfully find themselves beaten in industrial competition, and cry out that the nation is in danger. It would be much more just, and much more welcome to the Japanese, if it were frankly said: "You are too clever for American citizenship. We are afraid of your extraordinary persistence and industry. Our only chance to survive is to keep you out."

A second step in adjusting this issue may be taken by a revision of our laws of immigration and naturalization. The practices now followed have become quite absurd and archaic. We recognize white and black; but when the Fifteenth Amendment was passed the yellow race had not

risen above our horizon. We accept as citizens the off-scourings of Eastern Europe, and shut our door on the thrifty Japanese, whose color may be no darker, and whose descent may be from much the same original stock. What nags the Japanese in the matter is the indirect insinuation of bad blood, the intimation that a people whose education is compulsory and self-help is universal may not prove as serviceable elements in a commercial democracy as the average of Syrians or Copts; that, in short, the Far East is intrinsically inferior to the Near East. To restrict immigration to definite, and even very small, numbers, of each nationality; to require satisfactory passports; to enforce sanitary regulations; to compel not only naturalization in the United States, but denaturalization in the country abandoned; all these might be reasonable precautions; but to discriminate between shades of skin, or assume that a passenger arriving through the Panama Canal is desirable and a passenger crossing the Pacific is a menace, is not so much statesmanship as stupidity. A policy of strict limitation and rigid selection equitably applied would be much more tolerable to a proud nation than the present practice of international insult.

It has been said in California, and even in Congress, that Japan herself denies to aliens the right of land-ownership, and that retaliation at this point is therefore justifiable; but this statement, though it has the form of truth, is in fact a most unfortunate misrepresentation of the declared purpose of Japan. It is true that under the law of 1873 it was "forbidden to sell or pawn land to foreigners"; but even under that earlier law a foreigner in the open ports and in Tokio might lease land "in perpetuity"; and by a law of 1894 these leases "granted in perpetuity by the Japanese Government to aliens and alien corporations shall be considered rights of possession, and ruled by the provisions of the civil law of Japan." Thus, for example, the property of the Unitarian Mission in Tokio is leased for ninety-nine years to Rev. C. E. St. John, now of Philadelphia, but formerly Secretary of the American Unitarian Association in Boston; while the large property of the Doshisha University in Kyoto is held in perpetuity by a corporation. It is a curious commentary on the supposed prohibition by Japan of alien ownership that a very considerable proportion of the most desirable areas of Tokio are at this moment

occupied by the extensive grounds of foreign Embassies and of Christian mission stations, without any apprehension of insecurity in tenure.

But this is not the end of the Japanese policy. On April 13, 1911, a new law passed the Diet and was promulgated, providing that " foreigners domiciled in Japan and foreign corporations registered in Japan have the right to own land in Japan, provided that Japanese subjects or corporations enjoy the like privilege in such foreign country." Article II, however, of this law prescribed that " The date of enforcement of this law is to be fixed by Imperial decree "; and this Imperial sanction, though it is regarded as a merely formal endorsement, has been thus far delayed, partly, perhaps, because of the death of the late Emperor, and partly because of the slow processes of diplomatic correspondence with other countries concerning the privileges therein granted to Japanese. The California agitation, therefore, instead of recognizing this declared intention of Japan, has taken advantage of a moment of transition to propose retaliation against a policy which the Japanese Government has definitely abandoned, and which even under the earlier law was more nominal than real.

A third contribution to sanity and prudence in dealing with this issue may be suggested by considering the possible alternatives to the present friendly relations with Japan. If it be true that the world's trade is soon to seek the Pacific Ocean; that, as one hears in California, " The United States faces West "; if the Golden Gate is the gate of the future; then it certainly seems a questionable policy to irritate our nearest customer by nagging legislation. There has been some talk in Japan of a boycott on Californian trade and the diverting of commerce to northern ports, and though this would involve much loss on both sides,the sacrifice would be as nothing to the Japanese if their honor were involved. As to war itself, it should be understood that all responsible people in Japan regard the question as altogether beyond the sphere of practical politics, and as simply offering an opportunity, on both sides of the ocean, for irresponsible oratory. The notion of a formidable fleet venturing six thousand miles from its base to attack the American Republic seems in Japan as fantastic a nightmare as ever the advocates of a great American navy dreamed. A war with the United States, it is appreciated,

would mean in the end the extinction of Japan as a nation, though probably not at the hands of the United States. On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to speculate what the provocation of conflict by a nagging policy, if imagined as possible, might mean for the United States.

Japan is not a warlike nation. Her gifts and tastes are for the arts of peace, and all her capital—and much more—is needed for the industrial development which is one of the miracles of the modern world. None the less, Japan has shown that she can fight for her life, and has given evidence of a patriotism which totally disregards defeat or death. If it were conceivable that she should be goaded beyond endurance, she could without serious effort take the Philippines, and perhaps get temporary possession of the Hawaiian Islands, she could then sit still and wait; and the United States would have on its hands a war of retaliation and recovery. And what a war! The vastness, dubiousness—not to say the wickedness—of such an enterprise make it not so much a political possibility as a rhetorical opportunity.

And what, still further, would be the effect of war, or even of the talk of war, on the now promising work of Christian missions? Millions of American dollars and hundreds of American lives have been consecrated to the service of Christ in Japan; and these Christian missions have been received with respectful attention by statesmen and philosophers as well as by plain people. It would be a strange ending to this story of increasing fellowship and confidence if the same nation which had found a welcome in Japan for its messengers of brotherhood and peace should despatch thither as their successors, its messengers of devastation. A Tokio newspaper, appreciating this cynical contrast between missions and militarism, recently remarked, in an editorial on "The Heathen Americans": "Where is there any proof that the United States is a Christian country? Christianity teaches the principle of righteousness. Whoever acts in defiance of this principle cannot be called a Christian. The Americans send their missionaries to Japan; but a time may come when we shall have to instruct them in the teachings of God."

We are brought by these considerations to a fourth, and the most important, means to a better understanding,—namely, a better acquaintance. Charles Lamb is reported to have said of a neighbor, "I hate that man." "How can

you hate him?" said a friend, "You do not even know him." "That is precisely the reason," answered Lamb. If I knew him, I probably should not hate him." The same ground for hate exists very generally in the United States. A long-standing and industriously propagated tradition has pronounced the Japanese a slippery and tricky people, or, as Mr. Chesterton once said, appropriating the name of the Japanese system of wrestling, which wins by yielding, "A Judo civilization." Now there are no doubt many tricky people in Japan; and the ancient hierarchy of occupations which put trade in the lowest place, as if no gentleman would think of money-making, tended no doubt to drop the least honorable type into business. It should be remembered, however, that precisely the same reputation for tricky trading is still generally supposed by the world to be characteristic of the Yankees, and still affects with extreme caution both commercial and diplomatic relations between other countries and the United States. It must be further appreciated that the new expansion of business in Japan has developed a new type of business men, who administer great affairs in as scrupulous and honorable a manner as can anywhere be found. The leading banker, often described as the Morgan of Japan, narrated not long ago to a few friends the story of his career, and his deliberate decision to forego the tastes which led him to the field of government or diplomacy, because, as he said, the new needs of his country called for a new form of service, and he could serve her best as a man of business. The same hasty judgment is often built in the United States on the ancient myth, which I have heard repeated four times within a few weeks, to the effect that Japanese bankers have to employ Chinese cashiers, because their own people cannot be trusted,—a tale which, whatever may once have been the case, has now scarcely more foundation than if it were said that Chinamen were called in to balance the sales of Wall Street. It may be true that the type of Japanese settler who has taken up land in California is apt to be pushing, suspicious, and even unscrupulous; but it would be strange indeed if any type except one not much desired at home could be tempted to settle where every possible means of force and law is employed to annoy and eject. The fact is, then, that we do not know the Japanese as they know us; and do not credit them, as they do us, with generous or even respectable motives. Their

students run every risk of poverty and insult that they may have the chance to learn our sciences; but what do our students know of their subtle philosophies and tranquillizing religions? Their art has qualities which in their own sphere are unique and supreme, yet Japanese art still remains the precious possession of connoisseurs, and is purposely debased and vulgarized in order to meet American taste. They receive American travelers, physicians, and missionaries, not only with toleration, but with extreme teachableness, while the great majority of Americans either fancy the Japanese to be heathen, in their blindness, bowing down to wood and stone, or classify them roughly with Chinamen, whom they resemble in character and temperament about as much as a Frenchman does a Turk.

It is interesting to observe that at this moment, when national irritation would seem to preclude international cooperation, the Japanese are, in two distinct enterprises, indicating their unalterable friendship. The first is the provision of twenty thousand dollars, one-half contributed by Japanese and their friends in the United States and the other half subscribed in Japan itself, to send a series of Japanese professors to lecture at Harvard University and elsewhere in the United States. Exchange-professors have for some years come and gone between this country, Germany, and France. This year one of the most learned and most charming of the staff in the Imperial University in Tokio, a professor of the history of religions and a Buddhist, will lecture in the United States on the history of religion and morals among the Japanese. No one who may have the privilege of hearing Professor Anesaki will be likely to think lightly of a nation whose culture has reached such breadth and depth, and his visit may in many indirect but effective ways contribute to international comity.

A second and more comprehensive scheme for a better understanding between East and West is the formation in Japan, with the concurrence of many scholars in European countries as well as in the United States, of an "Association Concordia," organized to unite scholars, teachers, and men of affairs in the service of common ideals of culture and faith. A representative of this Association has already visited the Western countries, and has obtained the written approval of a large body of distinguished colleagues, and the monthly meetings of the Japanese society in Tokio al-

ready draw together an important group of leading men. This Association is an organized expression of reaction from the materialized and commercial view of progress to a faith in moral and spiritual ideals as the basis of permanent welfare. The issue between commercialism and idealism, which thoughtful people in all countries recognize as critical, is felt with special acuteness in Japan. A great tide of industrial development threatens to submerge the ancient landmarks of religion and ethics, and as the Japanese look across to other nations they see much the same problem there. They approach, therefore, a revival of idealism as an international task, to be promoted by the co-operation of many minds in many lands, by the publication of a Review devoted to comparative studies in philosophy, sociology, education, literature, and religion; by the provision of courses of lectures and exchanges of professors and of students; and finally, by the establishment of an International Institute, as a clearing-house of information and intercourse. Politicians and "practical" men may be sceptical concerning such an association of idealists in an age controlled by tariffs and trades; but those in many countries who believe that the progress of civilization is finally determined, not by commerce or navies, but by the intercommunication of moral ideals and intellectual sympathies, will find their faith confirmed by the establishment of the Association Concordia, and will be likely to feel an increasing respect for the nation in which this world-movement began.

In ways of which these enterprises of scholars are illustrations, ways which are indirect but educative, ways which are gradual but comprehensive, it may come to pass that a better understanding between East and West may follow a better acquaintance, and that a local policy of nagging may be superseded by an international policy of honorable and equitable peace.

Francis G. Peabody.

THE PUBLIC'S FINANCIAL INTEREST IN PUBLIC UTILITIES

BY HAMMOND VINTON HAYES.

THE present time is one of readjustment in the relations between public-utility enterprises and the users of utilities. In the past many public-service companies have issued securities, representing profits which it was expected would arise either from the operation of their franchises or from a development of the business. These securities, when added to those which were representative of actual expenditures for needed property, produced an abnormally large capitalization. If the public is called upon to pay a return upon such a capitalization, a serious burden is placed upon it for all time to come. Furthermore, this inflation of capital has been sufficiently common in the past to have created a very wide-spread impression that such practices have been universal and that rates paid for all public utilities are unjustly high.

As a result of these conditions the users of public utilities are now demanding that they be called upon to pay rates no higher than will defray the actual cost of the service and afford to the stockholders a fair return upon the sums actually invested by them. Thus there has developed a theory of rate regulation based on *cost*, which requires that the fair present value, upon which the return to stockholders shall be based, shall be the money actually invested in good faith by the undertaking in property in use and useful to the public. Moreover, the rates should be no higher than will afford a fair return upon such fair value after paying the actual reasonable cost of the service to the undertaking.

In consequence of this awakening of public feeling, the officers of public utilities are learning that such enterprises differ fundamentally from business enterprises of a more private nature. Investors in private undertakings, such

as manufacturing or industrial enterprises, are subject to no obligations other than the usual rules controlling the general conduct of business. The money which they have invested in the machinery and plant required for the particular product in which they deal is their own, and the prices charged and the capital employed, as well as the profit obtained, depend upon the skill, enterprise, and good judgment of those in charge of the management. Such enterprises, if looked at possibly somewhat narrowly, may be considered as wholly selfish in nature; at all events, there is no direct obligation upon them to care for the rights of others than those whose money is directly involved. The case is entirely different with a corporation which has been given the right to provide the public with a needed service or commodity. Such a corporation has had imposed upon it obligations and duties not only to its own stockholders, but to the public as well. Such corporations have been given certain rights and privileges, which in many cases may be more or less monopolistic in character, and, in return for such rights, public-utility undertakings are in duty bound to provide the public with a modern and high-grade service, with the least cost to the users consistent with the character of the service and with proper comfort and safety to those in their employ.

The obligation of the management of public-service undertakings to both its stockholders and to the public is beginning to be understood by both of these groups, and efforts are being made by such corporations and by the public, through public service commissions, to formulate methods whereby this virtual partnership in the production and enjoyment of a public-utility service may be established on a basis which is fair and just to both. In most cases the directors of public utilities are ready to accept their full responsibility and to welcome a partnership of this kind, provided the other partners in the enterprise—the public, the users of the service or utility—will recognize that the success of the enterprise depends upon their co-operation and that the users are, in consequence, as directly interested in the production of a high-grade and profitable service as are those whose money has been invested in the capital of the undertaking. Nor are the users of the utility interested only in the character and excellence of the service provided. As will be shown later, the users have a large and

direct financial interest in the property of most public utilities in this country, and any action prejudicial to the financial interests of the undertaking is injurious not only to the service which they are obtaining, but to their own financial interests as well.

Thus the interests of both parties demand that the question of what are fair rates shall be answered with impartial judgment. The past financial history of many undertakings must be wiped out and a new start made upon a basis which will be fair to the undertaking as well as to the public. An undertaking must not be penalized for excessive earnings in the past, but a new basis must be established which, as far as the cost of the property is concerned, will represent the present value of the property in use and useful to the public. The directors of public-service undertakings must recognize for the future that the users are virtually partners in the enterprise and that the public interests will be acknowledged and cared for in the same way as are those of the investors or stockholders in the undertaking.

In most cases such a new beginning can be made only by an investigation to determine whether or not the capitalization of the corporation is fair and proper and whether the rates that are charged for the service rendered may not be so high as to afford more than a fair return upon the value of the property which is "in use and useful" at the present time in providing the public with the desired service, or, *vice versa,* whether the rates are high enough to pay all proper annual charges as well as a fair return upon the present value of the stockholders' investment. The fair present value of the stockholders' investment is fundamental in that it establishes the basis upon which the return to the stockholders should be determined and defines the limits of the stockholders' financial interest in the property of the undertaking. It is for the purpose of assisting in a determination of this fair present value that inventories and valuations of utility properties have become more and more frequent of late years. But because the property of a utility may have a cost-new, at the present time, as great as or greater than the capitalization of the company, it does not necessarily imply that such a figure is the value of the property upon which the users should be called upon to pay a return. What the fair value should be upon

which rates can be based can be determined only by many considerations, but particularly by a fair and disinterested decision as to how far the cost-new of the property represents the actual investment made by the stockholders of the enterprise in property now in use and useful. The subject of the fair present value of the property of a public utility upon which a return should be based is a complex problem for the lawyer, the accountant, and engineer, and must be settled by the "well-informed judgment" of a court or commission capable of properly weighing all of the factors which enter into each particular case.

The fair present value thus determined represents the financial interest of the stockholders in the enterprise. The financial interest of the users is centered in the rates paid by them for the service which they enjoy. Directly, the users have no financial interest in the undertaking, although upon the financial success of the undertaking depends the excellence of the service obtained and the comfort and welfare of a portion of the public employed in the production of the service; but, indirectly, the users derive a share in the return obtained upon a portion of the capital cost of the property used in the service.

The rates paid by users are not a return or profit to the stockholders. Rates are largely payments for necessary expenditures made by the management in the production of the service. The return paid to the stockholders is but one item in the cost and usually a relatively small one. The undertaking must be reimbursed for the money expended by it for the users—(a) in operating expenses, in which are included the fair and proper wages of the employees, as well as the cost of maintaining the physical property at a required standard of excellence; (b) taxes; (c) reserves for renewals of worn-out or obsolete plant, usually spoken of as depreciation reserves; (d) interest on bonded indebtedness; (e) a fair return to the stockholders for the money provided by them for the purchase of the required plant. All of the above items are necessarily incident to the operation of any property and, if not paid for by the users, would require new money and a consequent increase in capitalization.

Operating expenses include the salaries and wages of those employed in the production of the service or utility required and used by the subscribers. Most of our larger

public utilities are of such a character that the services of men of exceptional executive ability are required in order to keep in proper touch with present and future needs of the public and to create and maintain an organization which will produce the highest possible grade of service, a service safe and satisfactory to its users. But possibly even more than this, the wages of those more intimately connected with the production of the service should be such as will provide for their own comfort and well-being and for that of their families. A proper and sufficient return to all those employed in the production of the service should be a portion of the operating expenses and, consequently, a legitimate charge to be paid by those using the service. With a public utility if rates are abnormally reduced, proper wages cannot be paid or, if paid, the service cannot be maintained, owing to the necessity of deflecting money from other and equally imperative requirements for maintaining a satisfactory standard of efficiency.

Again, taxes must be paid by the users of the utility through the rates. The money required for this purpose does not come from the stockholders, but from the users of the utility. If the tax assessment upon the property of a public utility is made abnormally high, the burden is imposed upon the users of that utility, not upon the stockholders.

The third item entering into the cost of producing a service or commodity is that of " reserves for depreciation." Much of the property of a public utility has a limited tenure of life. The time will come when the service obtained from such property will not be as reliable, safe, or economical as that which might be obtained from new or more modern apparatus. The investment in the abandoned property has been lost and new money must be obtained in some way to pay for the new or replacing plant. The question is how this money shall be raised. No investor will place his money in property that is wasting without amortizing his investment during the time that it is productive. The value of the stockholders' investment in the perishable property of a utility company is wasting and, consequently, must be amortized during its life. The users must contribute, therefore, such yearly sums that, at the end of the life of the perishable property, the stockholders' original investment remains unchanged. If the users did not do this, the new

money would have to come from the stockholders, thereby increasing the capitalization and obliging users to pay, in the future, increasing rates largely upon property which had passed out of existence. These reserves for depreciation are not paid to the stockholders, but to the undertaking for the sole purpose of insuring a continuation of the service with unchanged rates.

The last item to be covered by the gross income of a company, derived through the rates paid for the service by the public, is the return to the stockholders. This return must be figured upon the fair present value of the property represented by the money invested wisely, and in good faith, in property in use and useful in producing the service. The rate of return upon such just value must be high enough to compensate fully those who have invested their money in the utility and to induce others to invest when the time arrives for new issues of securities. It must be remembered that, if the present theory of regulated public utilities is carried out, the investors can expect little or no speculative increase in the value of their investment such as is properly and usually expected from the operation of private companies. The public-utility companies should obtain a fair and reasonable return upon the investment of their stockholders, provided it has been established by a proper and competent tribunal that there is that value then existing in the property serving the public.

If rate-regulating authorities have satisfied themselves that the undertaking is honestly and economically managed, any abnormal increase in any one of these items of expense must be met by higher rates, as otherwise the undertaking is brought face to face with possible financial ruin, which is quite as detrimental to the interests of the public at large as to the stockholders.

A regulated public utility is a virtual partnership between the stockholders in the undertaking and the *users* of the utility. If this partnership can be proved to exist and can be maintained through the operation of a competent utility commission, then such a combination of users with the company is fairer than if the public utility were purchased, owned and operated by the public as a whole. Thus the users of the electric light become partners in the electric-lighting utility and no burden is imposed upon those who are not users of that particular class of service. The same

is true of railroads, of gas or telephone companies, in fact, of all public utilities except those which, for sanitary or other similar reasons, are or should be used by the entire public. Public ownership, apart from any question of finance or management, would force upon non-users of a utility a partnership in an enterprise in which they had no interest nor derived any direct gain or advantage.

The financial partnership of the users of a public utility in a public-service company is brought about through the investment which is made by the undertaking of the reserves for depreciation which have been contributed by the users. If a property is growing or contains units of plant of different lengths of life, there will always be a very considerable percentage of the plant cost held in the depreciation-reserve account. This fund does not belong to the stockholders of the undertaking, as would a similar fund held by a private undertaking, but rather it is a fund held *in escrow* by the management of the company for the sole purpose of making good the original investment in perishable property and guaranteeing to the users a continuity of service at rates unchanged when renewals of worn-out, obsolete or inefficient plant have to be made. These reserves are virtually an investment by the users in the undertaking. The stockholders of the undertaking obtain no increased return from such contributions except in so far as the value of their own investment in useful plant is maintained.

But the interest of the users in a public utility goes much further. Practically all public utilities in this country are expanding and require new capital to be used to furnish service to an increasing number of users. If the rates paid are ample to meet all of the requirements described above, then such a public utility should be able to obtain new money cheaply whenever required. This being the case, it will be perfectly safe to the two parties interested—the users of the utility and the stockholders of the undertaking—to invest the depreciation reserves in needed extensions to the plant. Thus, the users of the utility have virtually invested their money in the property of the undertaking, as new plant has been built with money held *in escrow* for their benefit, which new plant affords an increased service to increased users. The stockholders in the undertaking can obtain no increased return, for, although the amount invested in useful property has increased, their own invest-

ment has not increased and they—the stockholders—can obtain only a fair return upon the investment made by them in good faith in property useful to the public. It is true that the users, whose money has been invested by the undertaking in extensions to its plant, obtain no direct return upon their investment, but the cost of service to them is reduced owing to the fact that extensions to the plant have been made with money upon which no return must be paid.

It is this common interest in the financial welfare of a public utility that must be appreciated both by the users of the utility and by the stockholders and management of the undertaking. The undertaking must recognize the fact that the users of the utility are contributing their money for the purpose of maintaining the value of their investment in useful property and insuring the continuation of a safe and reliable service for the present and for the future. Money, thus contributed by the users, is placed under the control of the management of the undertaking for that one purpose and, consequently, does not belong to the undertaking as a portion of the capital upon which a return to the stockholders can be made and cannot be treated as a surplus to be divided among those holding the securities of the enterprise. The users and the public at large must recognize that a very considerable portion of the property of an expanding public utility may have been purchased with money which, although not actually theirs, is money which has been contributed by that portion of the public that has need of that service or utility. This money was contributed as a portion of the rates charged for the service used, for the sole purpose of maintaining the financial prosperity of the enterprise and assisting in the perpetuation of a service of a maximum excellence of safety, comfort, and convenience. But few even of those who have studied this subject appreciate how large a percentage of the investment in the plant of a rapidly growing utility may have been purchased with the funds thus contributed by the users at large. It is possible that at times more than one-half of the cost of a plant may have been contributed by the users in the form of a portion of the rates which have been paid in a series of years in the past.

And upon this large portion of the plant investment no return is paid to stockholders. Thus, if rate-regulating authorities have ruled that the return that should be made

to the stockholders of a utility is eight per cent., such a return can be paid only on that portion of the cost-new which is now represented by their actual investment, which, as has just been explained, may be less than one-half, but more possibly two-thirds to three-quarters of the total investment. What the actual percentage may be will depend very largely upon the nature of the property and upon the rapidity with which it has been expanding.

Moreover, only a portion of the money contributed by the undertaking was obtained from the stockholders, as a certain percentage of the capital used in creating the property was derived from the sale of bonds upon which interest alone has to be paid. Thus it may arise in a very usual and normal case that, of a total investment in property, one-third only represents the stockholders' investment upon which the full allowable rate of return will be paid, one third may be called the users' investment upon which no return to the undertaking is paid, and one-third an investment upon which ordinary or customary rates of interest are allowed. In such a case stockholders obtain a return upon only one-third of the cost-new of the property. The users by their investment have reduced the stockholders' investment and, thus, have obtained the service which they require without the payment of the eight per cent. return which would otherwise have been required had the stockholders used their own money for the needed plant extensions.

It must be appreciated that all that has been said above relative to the share of the users in the investment of a public utility has been based upon the assumption that the uses and users of the utility are increasing so that new money in considerable quantities is required to meet the increasing demands for the service. If, as an example of an extreme case, a utility had been constructed originally of a size to meet all requirements for many years to come, then there would be no opportunity offered whereby the funds contributed by the public through the depreciation reserves could be invested in plant. The same result would be attained, however, by reimbursing the stockholders for a portion of their original capital outlay. In other words, the users would gradually amortize a portion of the stockholders' investment, possibly to such a point as would give the same relative proportions of the cost of the property

as between the investment of the stockholders and the users as was suggested in the preceding section. Such a plan would result in the reduction of the capital upon which a return would have to be paid and the users of the utility would become financial partners in the undertaking in substantially the same manner as in the cases of more rapidly expanding utilities.

It is seen from what has been said above that the users of a utility are in reality partners in the enterprise, their money is invested in it possibly to an amount equal to that of the stockholders; the users obtain no direct return, to be sure, but indirectly they do obtain a return through the lower rates paid for the service used brought about by their investment. Again, it would seem as if the best interests of the users was subserved by making the investment of the stockholders as small as was consistent with the requirements of successful financing of new securities. Thus a public utility may be looked upon as a form of mutual company. But it is a mutual enterprise only to a limited extent. New money will have to be raised by the undertaking from time to time to pay for the replacements which may become necessary by reason of the old age, obsolescence or inadequacy of portions of the plant. This new money virtually replaces the funds, given by the users for that purpose, which have been diverted from their original purpose but have been used in a manner beneficial to the users, as has been shown above, in the purchase of needed plant extensions. This new money will be less each year on the average than the amount received from the users for depreciation reserves, owing to the rapid increase which has taken place in the size of the plant. This new money must be raised from those who have money to invest, and cannot be obtained from the users. It is this necessity of constantly raising new money that, with most large public utilities in this country, makes it imperative that a sufficient return should be received to induce capital to enter into a class of investment which has practically no speculative value. The responsibility for new financing is upon the stockholders; the responsibility of maintaining the value of the securities of the undertaking is upon the users and can be discharged only by the acceptance of rates sufficiently high to pay not only the annual charges, but a fair return upon the stockholders' investment.

Users of public utilities naturally desire to obtain the service of which they have need, at as low rates as possible, and resent attempts made by the management of such undertakings to raise the rates for service. Unquestionably, one of the duties of the management of all public-utility undertakings is to maintain as far as may be possible rates unchanged; but if wages, taxes, or the need of new, modern and more expensive equipment are increasing, the cost of producing the service increases, and, if rates remain unchanged, there will be an inadequate amount left with which to pay the stockholders a fair and sufficient return upon their investment. Under such conditions new capital cannot be obtained cheaply and the result will be that the undertaking must hold the funds, paid to them by the users as depreciation reserves, for that particular purpose, and thereby deprive the users of their participation as partners in the operation of a successful enterprise.

It is this community of interest between the users of utilities and the stockholder that makes the supervision of public utilities by public-service commissions of a fair and impartial character so desirable. Such commissions act for the interests of the users, but, as the users are virtually partners in the enterprise, anything which detracts from the financial success of the undertaking is injurious to the financial interests of the users and, *vice versa*, the prosperity of the utility means better, safer, and more reliable service to the users as well as lower cost of service.

HAMMOND VINTON HAYES.

E. A. P.

(On the fly-leaf of Whitty's "Poe")

BY GEORGE E. WOODBERRY

In the proudest of the nations
  Was a wandering poet born;
Skyward its accumulations
  Towered, from mine and forest torn;
Never state was so victorious
  In world-plundering wars of gold;
Never land so earthly glorious
  Of the conquering lands of old.

From the star-bound pole of heaven
  That spins in lyric mirth,
Where the Pleiads are, the Seven,
  Came that vagrant soul to earth;
Echoes of some lost existence,
  Prenatal melody,
As of angels in the distance,
  Haunted his mortality.

But because the poet ever
  Needs befriending, most of men,
And his soul reposes never
  In the gross and citizen,
From the moment that he quickened
  In the heavy air
The heavenly spirit pined and sickened
  Because no love was there.

Spectral thoughts—grim foes—assailed him
  Only poets' minds evoke;
Nought his beauty there availed him
  Dying, stroke on stroke;

Long his genius pleaded, pealing
Melancholy chimes,—
As from Paradise came stealing
The supra-mundane rhymes.

Then his living turned to anguish
Of the demon-driven storm,
And men saw his glory languish
Into one pale form,
Ghostly, ghastly,—and his heart was torn with
Life's wan dream, Despair;
And the beauty he was born with
Faded in the sepulchre.

The proudest of the nations
Watched that starvèd power decay;
Heard the maniac lamentations
Where that soul of beauty lay.
Now, men whisper, genius glorious
Flees that barbarous coast forlorn,
Lined with turrets, gold-victorious,—
And no poets there are born.

George E. Woodberry.

ÉMILE VERHAEREN

BY O. F. THEIS

Two of the most significant figures in recent French literature, Maeterlinck and Verhaeren, are not French at all, but Belgian. Of these, Maeterlinck, through translation and abundant critical (and much uncritical) commentary, has become more familiar even than many prominent English writers, while Verhaeren, the more potent and creatively the greater artist, is hardly more than a name to most readers. Yet he has introduced a new modality into poetry not in France alone, but in other countries. In Germany, writers like Stefan Zweig and Johannes Schlaf, themselves poets of distinction, have translated his work; in Russia, Brjussow, an esteemed poet, has made versions that have made him known there; in Scandinavia, Ellen Key has devoted essays to him, and George Brandes, one of the greatest of living critics, has praised him with enthusiastic acclaim.

All who are sensitive to rhythm and the sweep of poetic passion must remember the time when they first read and were carried away by Swinburne's marvelous innovation which disclosed hitherto unsuspected potentialities in English poetry. Something similar is the feeling when Verhaeren is read for the first time, except that the break from traditional forms is even more marked, for Swinburne, after all, retained much of the outer shell of poetry, both in the subjects he chose and in his phraseology. Verhaeren in his most characteristic work has created entirely new values.

Temperamentally and artistically Verhaeren is a Norseman. His violent individualism, his subjective depths, his often tragic vision of life, and the richness of his imagination indicate this in almost every line. There is something volcanic about him that makes it a curious destiny that he

should have expressed his visions in French, a language which is made rather for delicate sensations and the refinement of rhetoric, and where poetry is so fenced in by law and tradition. That he succeeded is all the more proof of his extraordinary power, for in his sphere he stands alone and apart from his poetic generation. Perhaps the very restrictions of French verse were a benefit; for otherwise what his work has gained in translucency might have been dissipated in vagueness and eccentricity.

French poetry is as a rule reflective. The intellectual element usually predominates. This has given the beautiful clarity and exquisite form to so much of what is best in French poetry. In Verhaeren the emotional is almost always in the ascendant. It seems as if he ever wished "to immortalize the most vivid moments" of life and to transfuse their quintessence into his poetry. The "lyrical cry" almost always rises high in his work, but it never breaks into the high-pitched note of hysteria, for he is a careful artist.

Verhaeren is the poet of modernity, who, however, does not love the new simply because it is new. Nor is he modern in the sense of refinement of analysis, or the overwrought nerves and neurasthenia which find expression in the pages of Huysmans, in whom the blood of the Lowlands also flowed. But Verhaeren is modern in that he has seized the rhythm of his time which is different from that of any other period. Machinery, democracy, rapid movement from one part of the world to another, huge agglomerations of humanity in cities, industrialism—these are only a few of the new things which differentiate the present from the past. These he has made his own both in their outward aspects and in their æsthetic and ethical significance.

He was born at Saint Amand, a suburb of Antwerp, on May 21, 1855. His father, a well-to-do merchant, had retired from active business and lived in a small house immediately behind the hedges of which the marvelous landscape of Flanders unfolded itself. In *Tendresses Premières,* a book he wrote many years later, Verhaeren has paid tender tribute to the happiness of his childhood days.

At the age of thirteen or fourteen he was sent to the Jesuit School, St. Barbe, at Ghent. In the school-room there he met Georges Rodenbach, who was destined also to become a distinguished poet, and a deep intimacy was

formed. It is interesting that a few years later another unique literary friendship began at St. Barbe, that of Maeterlinck and Charles Van Lenberghe. Verhaeren and Maeterlinck are still in the midst of their creative labors, while both Rodenbach and Van Lenberghe are dead.

It had been the family plan to have Verhaeren enter his uncle's factory at the completion of his school days. While poetry had not yet come into his life, he was nevertheless disinclined toward commercial pursuits, and to gain time he took up the study of law at the University of Louvain, an institution permeated with conservatism and deeply religious in atmosphere. It was from here that the Father Damien came to whom Stevenson has paid so wonderful a tribute. During his university days he threw himself with characteristic zest into the riotous Flemish life. They were days too when new literary ideals were in full ferment in France. The revolt of the Parnassians had taken place, and the counter-revolt against them; naturalism was beginning to enter upon its excessive but tonic course. Echoes of these movements passed over into Belgium. With others Verhaeren founded one of the inevitable journals, which was soon suppressed by the university authorities.

Before his admission to the bar in 1881, he had found his true vocation; and after it, he spent more time over the books in the Royal Library, than over briefs. Soon he gave himself up entirely to literature, to which he has remained faithful ever since. Later he traveled extensively in Germany, Italy, Spain, and England; he preferred London's black massiveness of soot and ugliness to smiling Florence. With an intensity so passionate that it brought on a physical and mental crisis, he tried to absorb and experience all the thoughts and facts of modern life, and for several years he was almost an invalid. During the summer he now lives at Caillou, a little hamlet in Wallonia, and during the winter at St. Cloud, near Paris, where he is on intimate terms with the great men of contemporary France—men like Rodin, Maeterlinck, Lemonnier, Meunier, and André Gide.

His first volume, *Les Flamandes,* was brought out under the auspices of Camille Lemonnier, the dean of Belgian letters, who died on June 14, 1913. It contains much that is immature, and was of such turbulent violence that his family and the conservatives

among the critics were scandalized. Flanders had been insulted, they claimed, and to cry down the young author they labeled him "barbarian"; but even those hostile to him had to concede that a new force had entered Belgian literature. There is nothing soft or conventionally poetical in these poems. While the old metrical forms are retained, they foreshadow the freer measures which were later to be his distinctive innovation. The Alexandrines bulge under the explosiveness of his metaphors. The excessive, superabundant health and vitality of Flemish life, like that which appears in the canvases of Rubens, runs through these poems. His realism is as uncompromising as that of Rembrandt. His peasants are from the soil, "black, unhewn, bestial," not deodorized for ladies' boudoirs. One of his critics has called these poems, "red streaming tatters of flesh torn from the body of life." Wonderful as they are in their passion and their glowing colors, they are pictorial and descriptive rather than poetical.

This is almost true of his second book, *Les Moines,* in which many of the poems have an almost Parnassian coldness; but here he shows the other side of Flanders, the land of shadows and *clair-obscure,* and an intimate spiritual life in the silence of which the mysticism of Maeterlinck has root. In subdued colors, he has drawn sharply individualized portraits of the different types of monks and their conflicts among themselves. Through the monks runs the unifying bond of the order, which leads them all toward a single end. It is characteristic of Verhaeren that he admires them not so much because of any traditional religious faith that is left in him, as because of their ceaseless energy in and devotion to what seems a lost cause. Without complaint they suffer and die for their ideal. At this time beauty still represented the past to Verhaeren, and the monks were to him the living symbols of Flemish history and greatness. He sympathizes with their endeavors, and understands them spiritually, but his view is always æsthetic. Before the book was written he had spent a short period in a monastery.

It seems that Verhaeren has himself felt the poetic insufficiency in these early works, for in his maturity, when he had found his measure, he recreated these two aspects of Flanders: the one in his tragedy, *Le Cloître,* and the other in the great pentology, *Toute la Flandre.*

During the years when his health was broken and a mental crisis followed, the famous trilogy, often known as the "trilogy of sorrow," was produced. It comprises *Les Soirs, Les Débâcles,* and *Les Flambeaux Noirs.* Many of the poems in these volumes were written in London, where the outer aspect of brutality and somber ugliness corresponded strangely with the poet's mood. Seldom have more exasperated lines been written. Their vehemence is almost paroxysmal, and they indicate a state of mind dwelling in a borderland where another step would have meant descent into the abyss of madness. As if fascinated by the prospect, he lays bare with a cruel scalpel the wounds of the self, for in these volumes the poet is primarily subjective. To the very end he traces out the threads of the aching nerves. Negation and the senselessness of life seem inextricably interwoven. Acute as is the pain, the poet never whines. In a general way *Les Bords de la Route* also belongs to the same period.

In the landscape of these books, to quote a passage from Stefan Zweig's brilliant study of Verhaeren:

"All the colors of life have become extinguished, no star gleams in this steel-gray metallic sky, nothing but a cruel cold moon sometimes glides over it with an ironic smile. They are books of sallow nights in which the clouds shut out the sky with huge wings, the world contracts, and the hours like cold heavy chains surround everything. An icy coldness fills these works. *'Il gèle'*—it freezes—so a poem begins, and this shuddering note rings like the howling of dogs, again and again, over the endless plain. The sun is dead, dead are the flowers and trees and even the morasses are frozen in these white midnights."

Death seemed the only way out of the blind alley where he found himself, but slowly health returned and with it his indomitable will. He flung himself out in the midst of life and reality to conquer it, and he has never left it since. The two succeeding volumes, *Les Apparus dans mes Chemins* and *Les Campagnes Hallucinées,* are quieter in tone after this grief and pride, and a feeling as of resurrection runs through them.

From now on Verhaeren becomes the poet of affirmation and the creator of new values. He has found freedom and at the same time the unique and distinctive element of his verse—the *vers libre,* or free meter. In his case the meter did not originate in any self-conscious theoretical considerations, but rather was a necessity which the new themes that he discovered made imperative.

Verhaeren's *vers libre* is neither eccentric nor haphazard. Henry James has somewhere said that triumphs in verse are only "won through the exercise of art." The *vers libre* in the hands of a master like Verhaeren is intricate and complex; it requires the highest art to make it succeed; it has widened the scope of poetic expression.

Rhyme is retained, but the rhyming scheme is irregular; sometimes assonances are substituted. Rhythm, as must be the case in all poetry, is its fundamental principle. Its varying lines permit a harmony between sound and sense which cannot be obtained in the quadrangular stanzaic form, and it recalls the intimate association between the words and music of the great song-writers. It might almost be called symphonic in structure. A somewhat similar struggle for greater metrical freedom is found in Henley's *London Voluntaries* and James Thomson's dithyrambic poems.

It is a commonplace that Whistler was the first to endow the unlovely banks of the Thames with beauty, and Degas ballet girls and physically repulsive women at the bath. To do this a new technique was required against which the Academicians, of course, raised their voices in protest. Verhaeren in poetry also created a new form of expression, and the *vers libre* was the implement which made it technically possible.

As already stated, Verhaeren turned toward reality. In *Les Campagnes Hallucinées* and *Les Villages Illusoires* his changed attitude toward life is reflected. The Flemish landscape reappears, often, it is true, a mournful and forsaken landscape, for its people have been drawn to the cities by the modern industrial movement. In these volumes are found the wonderful poems on "The Rain," "The Snow," and "The November Wind," poems of marvelous onamatopoetic content in which is concentrated the essence of all that these great natural phenomena may evoke in atmosphere and mood. Here also are the poems on the simple people of the simple trades—the miller, the ferryman, the bell-ringer, the smith,—and they become synthesized into epical and heroic proportions like the humble peasants in Millet's paintings.

"This splendid smith, forging the future on his anvil while he chants his dream, has the same gesture as Siegfried in the cave of the Nibelung beating the sword of victory, and from far away he foretells the new sense of humanity

which is to enter the lines of the poet." So says Leon Bazalgette, the translator into French of Walt Whitman.

Parenthetically it may here be stated that Verhaeren has certain affinities with Whitman, but where the latter is often uncouth and merely eccentric, as even admirers must admit, Verhaeren is always the finished artist. Something of the same great vision dominates both; but Whitman's is often provincial, showing that he is the product of a new civilization. Verhaeren is the offspring of an old race, and the background of centuries of European culture gleams through his poetry, leaving the golden traces of art and craftsmanship.

In *Les Villes Tentaculaires* (1895) this promise is fulfilled in part. Here the modern city appears for the first time in poetry in all its multiformity. The city of to-day is something different from anything that has been before. The many-headed crowd is there, made up largely of those that have been uprooted from their native soil. A new strange blood—money, gold—seems to flow in the veins of the multitude, driving it with new energy to ends that cannot be anticipated. "What an ocean these hearts, what a tangled knot of wills, squeezed in its mystery!" he exclaims. All the new things are here in a microcosm—factories that swarm with human beings and vomit black smoke, electricity, steam, machines, steel, iron, wood, concrete, tramways, railways, above all noise and restlessness. Even night brings no peace—lights flash up a hundred thousand fold, music resounds, theaters open their doors, prostitutes ply their trade. Among the subjects which are treated in separate poems in this volume are "The Bourse," where the desire for gold is mad amid the cries of the buyers and sellers; "The Factory," where half-naked human beings toil under the glow of lightning-like flames, and others sit like automatons going through the same gestures with ceaseless beat; "The Bazars," with their crowds, dust, and stifling heat; "The Emigrants," inveigled by crafty agents on their way to the city, sad, forlorn, lost creatures; "The Music Hall," where jaded appetites are whipped by lustful flesh; "The Revolt," an overwhelming study of masses in riot; "The Seeker," a dithyramb in praise of science, for Verhaeren does not see in it the antithesis of poetry, since it is to him only one expression of the great world-poetry.

They are passionate and excessive visions that the poet

evokes in these pages, and his rhythm here first enters upon its fullest sweep. It is flame-like, it expands and contracts, it undulates. In it are the noises of the street, the grumbling of the crowd in revolt, the shots of the soldiers, the rumbling of trains, and the steely hammering of factories. Sublime poetry is achieved with subjects which, had Ruskin had his way, would have been eradicated from the face of the earth.

Verhaeren would not seek, along with Tolstoy, the asceticism of primitive Christianity. Rather he turns toward the future. Much have the cities destroyed of what was noble and good of the past, but likewise they will create much to replace what has been lost. Whether for better or worse, he does not pretend to say. In one of the poems he refers to the ages with their immobile popes, martyrs, and heroes kneeling before the Christ, and they seem to him to tremble under the noise of a distant train which rolls through the city.

After the publication of this volume, all Belgium joined to render public homage to the poet, and in February, 1896, he was the guest of honor at a banquet held in Brussels, where he was acclaimed as the regenerator of Belgian poetry.

A deeper serenity becomes more and more apparent in the books that follow, even though they are filled with the same fervor; and in them his art broadens. In *Toute la Flandre* he again goes to his beloved Flanders and gathers its dunes, cities, coasts, landscape, heroes, and legends, as details for a huge organic whole.

Another influence also enters his work. He leaves the visual present, and an ethical and philosophical element becomes more and more predominant. Behind the apparent chaos and agony of the new world in the process of birth, there must be a mysterious power making for unity. To understand it and to interpret it is his purpose, and his yearning is "to live ardent and clear."

Zweig has well summarized the development of Verhaeren's later work when he says:

"In *Les Visages de la Vie* Verhaeren has sung in individual poems the glory of the eternal forces, mildness, joy, strength, activity, enthusiasm; in *Les Forces Tumultueuses* he has portrayed the mysterious dynamics of harmony and its translucence through the forms of reality; in *La Multiple Splendeur* the theme consists of the ethics of enthusiasm and the relations of man to the external world and of men to each other;

in *Les Rhythmes Souverains* he shows the most conspicuous examples of the ideals."

Adam and Eve, Hercules, Perseus, Saint John, the Barbarians, the Crusades, Martin Luther, Michael Angelo, Gold, the master, the approaches, the city, the people, prayer, the ship—thus runs the sequence of the last volume.

The old gods are dead, long live Jehovah, the one and only God! But He too is either asleep or dying, and the old force has gone out of Him; therefore hail to humanity! Something like this trembles as an undercurrent in this work. Humanity to him is not the vague Positivist abstraction, but a powerful force ever in ebb and flow which must be roused and to which the poet must give himself with abundant enthusiasm and fervor.

The visions become more abstract and universal, and a tendency toward a more mystical view becomes apparent. A certain vagueness and inclination to become oracular is not always avoided, but even here he never becomes merely rhetorical as Victor Hugo and Schiller so often do. He no longer attempts to express himself alone, but the struggle and endeavor of his age and the world about him. His rhythm now has in it something of the sweep of ocean waves. He has always loved the sea and carried its rhythms over into his poetry; but in his earlier work the sea is a restless malign force which reaches out to devour the land; now it becomes something sacred, "one and pure like an idea," and a symbol of ceaseless force in eternal unrest.

Two poems to "The Wind," written about ten years apart, show still more clearly the change that has come over the poet. In the earlier one the wind is a hostile power which beats and tears to tatters the villages and hamlets. It is grim and angry. It destroys the birds' nests in the trees, it tosses the leaves, it pierces through the cracks of the stables; the old thatched roofs moan under it, the crosses in the cemetery fall beneath it. It screams with cold and is the symbol of erratic wandering, fear, and flight. In the later poem the wind is a wanderer whom the poet loves with the air and the distance. It comes from Sicily where it has gathered the smiles of the gods; from England, Ireland, Jersey, and Brittany with mists in the hair and garbed in rain; over the entire world it passes. From everywhere it brings something clear, pure, and infinitely whole. It ever renews the strong feeling for life.

Without entering more deeply into the philosophy of his later work, the story of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from Paradise, as he has rewritten it in *Les Rhythmes Souverains,* seems to symbolize his attitude toward life.

They dwell in Paradise in idyllic simplicity, but deep unrest in time comes over both. Eve desires love, Adam knowledge. The traditional idea of sin has no place. In the new world where they must toil and eat bread in the sweat of their brow the primeval order of God no longer exists, but around them there is a new rhythm that wavers uncertain and menacing at first. The man, desiring knowledge, soon feels the magnetic attraction of the world, and strength and greatness grow in him to fulfil his destiny; the woman, whose body has grown more beautiful by love, waits for the motherhood that is to come. New responsibilities have come to both and also new pride, new courage, and new hope. Once in the evening Eve reapproached Paradise. Its gates were wide open, but without desire she turned her head away and never returned to the spot.

The theme of romantic love, which has been the well-spring of inspiration to so many poets, particularly in their earlier work, is curiously absent in Verhaeren. He is too masculine and strong to have been caught in the prevailing hyperæsthesia toward sex, which has produced so many exotic flowers in modern poetry. Love to him is only one of the great elemental forces and too self-evident to become a problem.

But love finds a place among his books in the two slender volumes, *Les Heures Claires* and *Les Heures d'Après-midi,* to which a third, *Les Heures du Soir,* has recently been added. They are dedicated to his wife and are among the most tender and intimate poems that have ever been written. From his other work it might have been expected that they would be wild and of uncurbed passionateness; instead, they are his softest and gentlest work. In them the tenderness of a strong man, which is more infinite than any other, finds utterance. They are simple as Verlaine's poems in *La Bonne Chanson* are simple, and as full of devotion and worship, and greater, perhaps, for they sing of a love that has grown stronger and deeper in its marvel of understanding and renewal as the years have gone by. They tell of the things of daily life. In one it is the calm good evening

hour when the lamp is lit and the simple things are told of the fruit that has been gathered in the garden and the flower that has opened; in another, the evening sky has unfolded and the moon watches over the silence, everything is pure and clear and powerful, there can be no room for doubt when holy trust rests like a sleeping child in souls. To the great poet there is as much beauty in the simplicity of things as in more resounding themes, and nowhere has this been shown as well as here. So wonderful has been his skill that the lines never break to strike a discord in the low soft music of the verse.

Mere description is unable even to suggest the fragrance and sincerity that permeates these lines. The "*gens trop sages*" may mock and smile in their sophistication. A modern of the moderns whose themes often have been the hard hostile forces of steel and industry has here sung the gratitude, tenderness, and peace of a love that grows richer each day, in a series of poems that gleams with the soft light of pearls.

Verhaeren has also written four plays: *Les Aubes* (translated into English by Arthur Symons), *Le Cloître, Philippe II, and Hélène de Sparte.* While they have had an occasional production on the stage, they remain principally "closet" dramas.

O. F. Theis.

LIVING ENGLISH POETS

BY R. A. SCOTT-JAMES.

A FEW years ago it was the fashion in England to lament the dearth of promising authors, especially poets. But since then English people have assured themselves that they are still, after all, a poetical people. The reproach against the age was taken as a challenge by dozens of young adventurers, who resolved to prove in their own persons that the twentieth century was not without poets. Tiny volumes of verse fluttered forth from the Press. Poetry Societies were started, and Poetry Reviews, and men and women met in a darkened hall to hear Mr. Sturge Moore declaim sonorous verses. Publishers began to advertise new genius, and reviewers began to attend to poetry as if it were really a serious business. The opening pages of *The English Review* were devoted to poems which seemed to be appreciated in proportion to their ever-increasing length. Mr. John Masefield had a success such as had been attained by no poet since Stephen Phillips in his prime. It is true that Mr. W. H. Davies might have starved if he had not received a Government pension; that Mr. Yeats—I believe I am right—never entertained the idea of supporting himself by poetry; that Mr. Doughty has not so much as been heard of by one Englishman in a thousand. Nevertheless, poetry has now become a mentionable subject in decent society; and it is no longer synonymous with Tennyson or even Kipling. It has become a modern thing, lending itself to new experiments, a possible vehicle for new ideas, a means even of becoming notorious on a grand scale.

But before considering some of these younger authors who represent newer phases in poetry I should like to dwell a little upon the work of an elder—one who is not by any means so exquisite a poet as Mr. Robert Bridges, who cannot compare in creative vigor with the greater poets who

were contemporary with him, nor with his junior, Mr. W. B. Yeats—but interesting for purposes of comparison because his poetry, even his quite recent poetry, has in it the ring of a past age, of a poetic ideal to which we are not likely to return in this century. I allude to Mr. Edmund Gosse, whom we all think of as a distinguished student and critic of literature, but it is very seldom that we hear any allusion to his poetical work. "Any one who has the patience to turn over these pages," he says in the Preface to his *Collected Poems,* "will not need to be told that the voice is not of 1911—it is of 1872, or of a still earlier date—since my technique was determined more than forty years ago, and what it was it has remained." When first I read these words they sounded strangely to me. It was only the other day that he began to edit a distinguished literary page for a daily paper. Still more recently I heard him speaking on a public platform. His activity does not seem to be a thing of yesterday, and it was he who wrote the most intimate and, perhaps, the most interesting biographical study of recent years; as editor and critic he is still amongst active living writers. In reading his later poems we can see how keen is his desire to retain sensibility to the full, not to become stereotyped by the past, or blind to the newer beauties. He is conscious of the passage of the Time-Spirit and the changed ways of men, and the passionate desire of all vital minds to be fully percipient to the last.

"So, if I pray for length of days,
It is not in the barren pride
That looks behind itself, and says
'The Past alone is deified!'

"Nay, humbly, shrinkingly, in dread
Of fires too splendid to be borne—
In expectation lest my head
Be from its Orphic shoulders torn—

"I wait, till, down the eastern sky
Muses, like Maenads in a throng,
Sweep my decayed traditions by,
In startling tunes of unknown song.

In the three hundred and fifty pages of the *Collected Poems* there is nothing which were better omitted. Even the mere literary experiments, the rondeaus, the sestinas—the literary jokes in which every poet indulges—are neatly

turned. Mr. Gosse has attempted, and succeeded with, a great variety of meters. His diction is almost unfailingly good; indeed, it is the very regularity and faultlessness of his verse that sometimes jars. It is the work of a man many-sided in his nature. He can find himself in the atmosphere of a Coleridge, a Wordsworth, a Keats, a Rossetti, a Béranger, and often his form insensibly glides into that of the precursor whose spirit he for the moment assimilates. He is by no means a mere imitator. His feeling is his own; but his genius seems to be rather assimilative than strictly creative. Scores of his poems have the beauty and the value of the literature written by the great poets, when they were not in their greatest moods.

And perhaps it is precisely the many-sidedness of Mr. Gosse's tastes and interests which has left him so few decisive poetic successes. He has ranged through literature with a catholic taste. He has helped to create reputations—the reputations, for instance, of Ibsen and Stevenson. There have been many calls upon his literary instinct, and it is not surprising that the most uniformly successful of his poems are those in praise of the great men of letters whom, with his faculty for friendship, he made his friends. In the poems on these men—Ibsen, Ruskin, Stevenson, Henry Sidgwick, Rossetti, and unnamed friends who have departed—there is dignity, fineness, and the pathos of a regret for that which he shared with them, though he lacked the power, or more probably the opportunity, fully to express it.

> "But not in vain beneath this lofty shade
> I danced awhile, frail plaything of the seas;
> Unfit to brave the ampler main with these;
> Yet, by the instinct which their souls obeyed,
> Less steadfast, o'er the trackless wave I strayed,
> And follow still their vanishing trestle-trees.

The beauties of literature, of many kinds and in many languages, the feeling and perception of friendship, nature, and the whole life-process through which men pass to a green memory or to oblivion—these are to be found here, the full-bodied expression of a personality—for poetry is that, or nothing. It is no defect in it that it is of 1872—that there is a certain formality, a kind of austerity, even in its flippancies. It is meditative poetry. It is poetry which is essentially concerned with the emotions, the fancies, or the reflections, the very personal and secluded reflections, of

a mind still concerned about the private ways of the spirit. The emotions, the operations of the mind, and the objective things of life—they are the concern of Mr. Gosse, as they were the concern of Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Morris, and many poets before them. For the most part the men of that age adhered to the traditions of poetry, whether they were romantic or classical. At any rate, on the formal side most of them—Browning is an exception—remained faithful to the accepted types. On the inner side it was an age which was much concerned about its soul, about nature, and about persons—yes, about persons. Whatever we may think about the Victorian age, from its literature at least we should conclude that it was an age when men valued friendships. And so its best poetry was essentially emotional, personal and subjective.

Now, I do not suggest that in the poetry of our younger men there is emerging a single new type with a few distinctive characteristics which can be contrasted with Victorian poetry. On the contrary, if there is anything which we should particularly remark it is the absence of such typical traits, it is the extraordinary diversity of type; men are experimenting with verse, attempting to revive old forms and invent new, to restore the spirit of antiquity or to ride abreast of the practical spirit of the time. Men like Mr. W. B. Yeats and "A. E." sought to unite the ancient, and, as they believed, essential Irish spirit with the spirit which is manifested throughout the stream of English lyrical poetry. In Mr. Yeats there was more romanticism than he would care to admit, though the Elizabethan ideal which he cherished and his own power of concentration did much to subdue and chasten the insubordinate, vaguely aspiring spirit which in lesser Celtic poets turns to froth, with no undercurrent of human truth to give significance to its flaky beauty. Fiona Macleod is the classic instance of this frothy Celtic spirit which is unstayed by human truth or relevance to life; and there is much of this in contemporary Irish poetry. Mr. Yeats is not wholly free from it, but he was conscious of the evil tendency, and subdued it, and the body of fine poetry which stands to his name, taken as a whole, is unequaled for clarity, feeling, beauty and felicity of expression by any large body of poetry standing to the name of any other living poet.

But the Time-Spirit is active, or fickle perhaps, and Mr.

Yeats has already almost ceased to be a quite modern poet. He, like Mr. Gosse, formed his technique in the nineteenth century, and the twentieth century is casting about with feverish energy for a new technique and new things to express. Mr. William Watson belongs quite as much to the past as does Mr. Gosse, though it might be said of him that he could belong to any age that knew its Milton and its Wordsworth. In him assuredly there was no attempt at inventiveness; he has always repudiated the idea that the poet should seek to innovate. He stands for austerity and discipline in thought, style, and diction, for a fine exactness, which in his case was compatible with the old passion for the idea of " freedom " no less than with that private, self-communing spirit the Victorians loved to express. Such a poet as Mr. Maurice Hewlett, antiquarian as he often is in the subjects he treats, is much more modern in spirit. In style and technique he is one of those who have gone back, as men for four centuries have constantly gone back, to the manner of the ancient Greeks. Just as that clever experimenter in verse, Mr. Ezra Pound, has created something of an effect by repeating the very meters, melodies, and mannerisms of the Provençal troubadours, so Mr. Hewlett, modeling his style upon the far finer Greek originals, produced an effect which was better than Mr. Pound's in proportion as the Greek tragedians are superior to the troubadours. In his execution he has really recaptured much of the manner of the great Greek tragedians. In " The Death of Hippolytus " there is something of the aloofness, the blitheness, the thrust of phrases, the grimness, the sedateness which we associate with Greek drama. If he has little of the passion or fluency of Swinburne, he has some of his phrase-making skill, and he is free from that rhythmical lilt which in Swinburne was often excessive. We shall never be carried away as by the music of " Atalanta in Calydon," but we are often arrested by grim echoes from the actual Greek, apt translations, as they might be, from an existing original.

But though Mr. Hewlett has been clever enough to adapt the technique of Greek poets to his own purpose in poetical drama, nevertheless in his treatment of subject, in thought and feeling, we may see, rather by his defects than by his excellences, how entirely modern he is. In " Minos, King of Crete," the first play in his trilogy " The Agonists,"

we may find ourselves at the outset not a little irritated by his habit of stage-managing with a view to a public that likes sensational and scenic effects. Shakespeare used thunder and lightning at the beginning of "The Tempest," but only a very modern poet could use these devices as an introduction to tragedy. But it is more to the point that his treatment of Pasiphæ is not only one that would have been impossible to the Greeks, but would have been impossible to any literary age which had not been so led away by modern theories of realism as to believe that any sort of monstrosity, being conceived as actual, might be made also an object of sympathetic emotion. Pasiphæ is a creature of monstrous, unnatural lust, so vile, and so inhuman in its vileness, that it is impossible to conceive that human sympathy should be enlisted in her affair, as if it were a normal and humanly pitiable lapse from virtue. No Greek tragedian ever did attempt, or ever would have attempted, to arouse pity for a creature whose grotesque story expressed the Greek abomination for Phœnician barbarism. Nothing but the Philistine, or, in this case, Phœnician realism of the twentieth century, can account for Mr. Hewlett's attempt to elicit fine feeling from an abnormal and nauseous incident.

It has always seemed to me that the transition from the English Victorian age to the experimental age which followed it was marked by the South-African War. For a dozen years before that war there had been restless movements in the very heart of the nation; the men who were to be most conspicuous at the close of the century were leavening the nation or being leavened themselves. Joseph Chamberlain appeared as the embodiment of the transitional spirit in the political arena. In journalism the movement took shape in the person of Alfred Harmsworth. In literature the man of the moment was Rudyard Kipling. Those three fateful embodiments of the Time-Spirit seemed to dominate England and shake her clean out of her *fin-de-siècle* complacency. England could never be the same again, after those three men had been at the helm, for however short a period. The course was deflected; the reckoning lost. Austere, dignified Whigs would appear again in politics, but never again would their austerity and dignity represent our political system. Sonorous, sober, highly judicious journalists might still succeed in producing, at

great loss, a journal expressing themselves and their views, but no considerable section of the nation would ever again hang upon their words. And even in poetry, which lies so much nearer to the roots of human nature, and might therefore be expected to vary less with the fashions of a time, we cannot but perceive that the private, personal utterances of an Arnold, a Tennyson, a Browning, a Rossetti, would have less chance of being heard in the din of to-day, however sweet the expression, however intimately moving to the spirit. There is a poet belonging to the younger generation who has written lyrics of exquisite grace and charm, who can deal half playfully, half seriously, with the lightest of subjects, and make it delicate and entrancing; who can touch the deeper note of the romantic poets and make of it something grim, perplexing, haunting; or can produce in a few stanzas an intimate feeling for persons portrayed in some suggestive aspect. Mr. Walter la Mare is well known to a small circle of literary persons, but neither his poems nor his prose-writings have been widely read as they should have been.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling would perhaps shudder at the thought, but it is evident—and it is to his credit—that he was essentially a democrat. He made his appeal to the average man. His ballads were written about ordinary men and ordinary things; the feelings they portrayed were the feelings of every-day life, feelings which every one without distinction might feel in a vigorous and perhaps boisterous way. Wordsworth never really brought poetry back to the common, every-day life of simple folk. Long ago Coleridge pointed out that this was a popular superstition about Wordsworth shared by the poet himself. But to a far greater extent Mr. Kipling did make his appeal to the common stock of every-day and average emotion—the emotion of the average man. He was not interested, as the great Victorian poets had been, in the lonely way of the spirit; in the more personal emotions; or in nicety of expression. For him it was the corporate spirit that counted —the instinct, not for friendship, but for fellowship. He had sentiment in abundance, but he approached sentiment with that sort of nervous braggadocio with which the schoolboy conceals his softer feelings. A clever American critic, Mr. Bliss Perry, alludes to that " commonness of mind and tone " which Mr. Bryce declared to be inevitable among

masses of men associated, as they are in America, under modern democratic government. "This commonness of mind and tone," says Mr. Perry, "is often one of the penalties of fellowship. It may mean a leveling down instead of a leveling up." The loud stridency of Mr. Kipling's voice is perhaps "one of the penalties" which has to be paid for the democratic sentiment of fellowship.

That there should be some "leveling down" is sure to follow when the poet finds himself absorbed in the common emotions of common life, and speaking to the common man. But there need not necessarily be that coarseness of sentiment, that crudity of thought, that bigotry of limited sympathy, miscalled patriotism, which has debased the level of so much of Mr. Kipling's writing. I should say that Mr. G. K. Chesterton owes more than he supposes to the influence, direct or indirect, of Mr. Kipling; that though his opinions, his sympathies, his conclusions are all diametrically opposed to those of the elder writer, still there is something in common between the two which is essentially a democratic quality, the final standard being that of reference to commonness, normal feeling, the common man. Mr. Chesterton wrote a very stirring poem in the "Ballad of King Alfred," a ballad which appealed to patriotism, fellowship, and those broad, profound emotions which underlie the common sense of a people. Mr. Chesterton's ballad was nearer to the spirit of the "Barrack-room Ballads" than he, I am sure, would be willing to admit.

Mr. Kipling did this great thing, if not for literature, at least for men and men of letters. He expressed emotions in language which was as far as possible from the language of æstheticism. This meant, perhaps, that he could not express very subtle or unusual emotions, that his perceptions were broad rather than fine; but he at least taught the world that there were certain profound manly feelings which might be expressed without the preliminary *unmanning* of æstheticism; and his distinction lies in the fact that he uttered them with vehemence and intensity. In Victorian times the average citizen thought of poetry as a somewhat weak-minded, effeminate pursuit — as very often it was. The poet who might be persuaded of the sublimity of his calling had necessarily to steel himself against the abuse of the matter-of-fact persons who have no traffic in poetry; and in so doing he lost the advantage of that bracing though

insufficient criticism by which the sane, practical man influences many of the arts;—that is to say, the readers and upholders of poetry everywhere agreed to put the poet beyond the reach of a criticism from which prose can never be wholly exempt. The matter-of-fact view being put out of court in the judgment of poetry, the poet was encouraged to believe that he was not concerned with the same universe as that of common fact. I have heard literary critics speak of romantic or highly imaginative novels, saying: "It is all delicate fancy and imagination; it is not concerned with realities; it is sheer poetry"—as if poetry were not concerned with realities! I have heard people criticize the prose works of a given writer:—"This is all too musical, and sentimental, and self-centered; this sort of thing cannot be done in prose; it should be done in poetry"—as if nonsense becomes less nonsensical by means of meter or rhyme! This easy-going view of the function of the poetic art has borne an ample harvest of nonsense. I could, were it worth while, name many living bards who consider that any sort of fancy or feeling is good enough for poetry so long as it be prettily or gracefully handled, who would thus degrade poetry to the position of the easiest, as it has for long been the least prized, of the fine arts.

This havoc has been wrought, in part, by what I may call the doctrine of the sensitive soul. Keats is the classic example of the poet who lived and died through sensitiveness. It was a weakness inherent in the romantic movement which, though it had so much that was enchantingly strange and beautiful to give to the world, bequeathed to it also a consciousness of its nerves and a pride in its very defects. When Coleridge had taught his successors to glorify the poetic perception and vision, to give to the secret feelings a new warrant and value, they came to think it boorish to conceal their fine feelings, and they acquired the habit of expressing feelings which the common man scarcely experiences without a sense of shame. The poet came to be essentially the man who felt acutely, and anything that was a "feeling" came to have a sort of value of its own as denoting poetic sensitiveness. Hence the excessive softness, the indefiniteness, the languishing and the effeminacy which since the beginning of the nineteenth century have been tolerated in poetry because poetry was supposed to be the proper vehicle for such weakness. It is

significant that the most admired poem of Keats begins with a sentiment which we should agree to detest in a prose-writing:

> "My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains
> My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk—"

I contend that as this sentiment would be intolerable in prose, so also it is not to be suffered in poetry.

Now the Kipling epoch did introduce a certain hardness, or masculinity, into the cultured life of the country which gave an opportunity for escape from the querulousness and the vagueness which had become poetic habits among English poets and lovers of poetry. I say the "Kipling epoch," for Mr. Kipling himself never had the self-discipline, perhaps had not the sense of form, to achieve much durable poetry, and his very masculinity turned at last into an unmasculine shriek. He marked no more than the transition period. Mr. Chesterton is a part of it. He, too, is lacking in sense of form and diction, and could never have been a considerable poet, though there is in his writings abundant evidence of poetic feeling. What I am concerned to observe is that his ballad poetry, too, is marked by that essentially masculine note which seemed to have died out of English poetry—unless Browning and Morris be taken as exceptions. Mr. Hilaire Belloc comes at the latter end of the transition period. When a man has only written a few poems it is injudicious to say of him that he is a great poet. But at any rate Mr. Belloc has written a few poems which belong to the great order of lyrical verse, and in "The South Country" he surpasses anything that Kipling or Henley achieved, anything perhaps that any English lyrical poet has written this century. If that is not a great poem, then I forswear great poetry, and will be content with the less. There is all Mr. Kipling's sense of fellowship, a thousand times refined, and in alliance with Heaven knows how many of the vital emotions of life, the sense for concrete, simple things, the sense for things remembered, of tragedy expected but not feared, the feeling for men as men, for places as places, for things as things, for the emotions as the serious toys of life, for the ludicrous as the surface aspect of the pathetic—for the whole male side of existence which poetry since Chatterton has been inclined to ignore.

It is quite evident in the very early poetry of Mr. John Masefield that the loudly reverberating ballads of Rudyard Kipling had had their effect upon him; that something of their sheer vehemence and lustiness had mingled with his own feeling for the tropical seas into which he had adventured, with the vivid sense of men and things in strange places which had wrought upon his imagination as years before they had wrought upon Mr. Conrad. Needless to say, Mr. Masefield in most respects stands at the opposite pole of temperament from Mr. Kipling. He is a lyrical poet whose poetry springs not so much from intense interest in the lusty vigor of common life as from an intense feeling for sheer beauty, for that exquisite refinement which may be extracted from life, and it may be mingled with equally intense pain when the beauty is removed. He is, perhaps, nearer akin to the type to which Keats belonged. But certainly the arrival of the spirit represented by Kipling, added to the discipline of his own early adventures, braced him and energized him; and almost his first literary effort took the form of ballad poems uniting a fineness and sweetness which were entirely his own with a kind of lusty vigor which was superimposed. It is easy enough to see the influence of Kipling in the ballad beginning:

"Spanish waters, Spanish waters, you are singing in my ears,
Like a slow sweet piece of music from the grey forgotten years;
Telling tales, and beating tunes, and bringing weary thoughts to me
Of the sandy beach at Muertos, where I would that I could be."

Those early ballads had the emotional vigor without the characteristic defects of Kipling, and in many cases a charm which was entirely his own. But he very early shook off what there was of that Kipling influence. It was superficial and transitory. Mr. Kipling, as I have said, represented a transition period, and another, an experimental period, has followed. It is probable that Joseph Conrad became a far more potent influence on the imagination of Mr. Masefield than any one other author; though he was assuredly not content to follow any single example, and began steadily to experiment and to strike out his own line. It was unfortunate that the craze for experiment and innovation should, for a time — probably a brief time — have had so strange and uncouth an effect upon so fine and sensitive a genius. Mr. Masefield was—and is—a lyrical poet, fitted

to express the personal emotions which lyrical poetry can support. But he became obsessed with the conviction that poetry ought to be made to do something else than suggest feelings and ideas in a beautiful way; that it ought to serve a social purpose; that it ought to become a direct contributory force to the social morality of the time; that it ought to concern itself with practical modern questions in a practical way; that it ought to present actual life, realistically. The same feeling affected a lesser poet, Mr. Wilfrid Wilson Gibson, who, being a story-teller in verse, and a moralist, has been acclaimed as a powerful poet in both England and America. Mr. Gibson has not yet shown that he is a considerable poet. But Mr. Masefield undoubtedly does possess the poetic talent, perhaps even genius, which Mr. Gibson has not yet sufficiently revealed. Yet the most recent poems of the former have been praised for just the same reasons that Mr. Gibson's have been praised. The New York *Outlook* said of Mr. Gibson: "He is bringing a message which might well rouse his day and generation to an understanding of and a sympathy with life's disinherited—the overworked masses." Mr. Masefield's "The Everlasting Mercy" and his series of realistic poems of the same order have been lavishly eulogized in exactly the same way—and for a similar reason. Each of these poems contains a rousing story; each subserves the purpose of an excellent moral. They are realistic enough, but only in rare passages are they beautiful. "Nothing," said Shelley, "can be equally well expressed in prose that is not tedious and supererogatory in verse." I have felt that Mr. Masefield's long narrative poems might equally well have been expressed in prose.

I believe this to be more than a passing phase in Mr. Masefield. A poet who could write the charming lyrical poem which by a curious accident was published at the end of "The Everlasting Mercy" in the *English Review* will not long be content to write sensational tracts; we may even be glad that these tracts have been written if they bring the public to attend to the more significant work of so finely gifted an author.

But I am very far from suggesting that the effort made by Mr. Gibson and Mr. Masefield to bring poetry into touch with modern life is without significance. It represented reaction against the querulousness, the vagueness, the mere

prettiness which have so often resulted in nauseous verse. It had its source in the same impulse which led Mr. J. M. Synge to create his finest imaginative effects by means of a severely realistic method. And still earlier Mr. Doughty, who holds a solitary position in modern poetry, had expressed himself in the only way that was natural to him, through an archaic language, the language in which he thought, which lent itself to the hard, vivid and superbly brutal images belonging to his primitive, barbarian, and as it were primeval theme. Mr. Doughty belongs neither to our own nor to any other age, but he has not been without influence upon men of our time. To appreciate "The Dawn in Britain" or "Adam Cast Forth" is to long for the hardness and masculinity which have been rare in English poetry for a hundred years; to feel that what poetry needs is more grit and more brain; and to plead for these is to plead for more poetry, for a stronger imagination.

There is one among the younger poets who has given promise of satisfying these needs, though it remains to be seen whether he may not perhaps be over-weighted on the side of intellect. But in "Mary and the Bramble" and "The Sale of St. Thomas" he has shown us how the poetic imagination ripens into food for adults when virility and intellect have gone to the making of it. There is no mere prettiness in Mr. Abercrombie's writing. The wearisome refrain of sex, disappointed or desirous, neither has part in the argument nor supplies him with images or asides. Innumerable things and events upon the earth appeal to him because of that full-bodied experience which they carry to the wakeful and the zestful, experience which is manifold, which fills all the chinks of memory, which may recall pain, which may be charged with pathos, but is never morbid; beautifully he masses vigorous impressions of sense under a large imaginative idea. Here there is no pale, languishing phantom of beauty, but that which men delight in without the verbal distractions of the æsthete.

In "Mary and the Bramble" he has taken an intellectual idea and treated it allegorically, and essentially poetically. The Virgin Mary in his story symbolizes the "upward-meaning mind," fastened in "substance," yet pure and "seemly to the Lord"; and the bramble which clutches her and seeks to smirch her purity is the folly, the muddiness, the stupid cruelty of the world which mocks at all

vision, at all idealism—it is the mortal trying to drag down the immortal part of man. Mary is the love of beauty, or of God; the bramble is the stupidity and grossness of the practical world.

But Mary, "in her rapt girlhood," with her "eyes like the rain-shadowed sea," is not the less sweet because she stands for an idea.

> "Through meadows flowering with happiness
> Went Mary, feeling not the air that laid
> Honors of gentle dew upon her head;
> Nor that the sun now loved with golden stare
> The marvelous behavior of her hair,
> Bending with finer swerve from off her brow
> Than water which relents before a prow;
> Till in the shrinking darkness many a gleam
> Of secret bronze-red lustres answered him."

And when the Spirit of Life vaunts itself in her,

> "Not vain his boast; for seemly to the Lord,
> Blue-robed and yellow-kerchieft, Mary went,
> There never was to God such worship sent
> By any angel in the Heavenly ways,
> As this that Life had utter'd for God's praise,
> This girlhood—as the service that Life said
> In the beauty and the manners of this maid.
> Never the harps of Heaven played such song
> As her grave walking through the grasses long."

I cannot dwell upon the subject of "The Sale of St. Thomas." The dialogue between Thomas and the Captain gives opportunity for description and metaphor almost Elizabethan in their ferocity, though the reflections of Thomas have a spiritual quality which is entirely modern. We hear

> "Of monkeys, those lewd mammets of mankind."

And of flies staring

> "Out of their little faces of gibbous eyes."

And there are lines such as

> "Men there have been who could so grimly look
> That soldiers' hearts went out like candle flames
> Before their eyes, and the blood perisht in them."

Which might be placed side by side with Marlowe's

> "The frowning looks of fiery *Tamburlaine*
> That with his terrour and imperious eies,
> Commands the hearts of his associates."

And we may contrast these vehement records of things with the more philosophic passages.

> "Thou must not therefore stoop thy spirit's sight
> To pore only within the candle-gleam
> Of conscious wit and reasonable brain;
> But search into the sacred darkness lying
> Outside thy knowledge of thyself, the vast
> Measureless fate, full of the power of stars,
> The outer noiseless heavens of thy soul."

We may well think that the immediate future of poetry depends upon men of the stamp of Mr. Abercrombie, men for whom poetry is neither a plaything, nor a sweet-sounding expression of desire or anguish or vague dreams; but a serious attempt to grapple with life through combined experience, thought, and vision. Long ago Meredith urged that if fiction was to go on living, it must give us "brain-stuff" and "foodstuff." But no poet has since arisen to make some similar claim for poetry; to urge that within its proper sphere and in its own appropriate way it should attack the larger life of man with intelligence, with common sense and with virile passion.

Mr. W. H. Davies stands apart from them all. I should not like to try and account in any way for Mr. Davies any more than he could account for a singing-bird by describing the trees among which it lived. His poetry is unlike any other poetry that is written to-day. It is fresh and sweet like a voice from a younger and lustier world. It is charged with no clarion message of prophecy; it is burdened with no exactly formulated philosophy of life. There is no rhetoric in it, no rhodomontade. It is the melody of a man's voice singing for the pleasure of singing, now vehemently, from the sheer delight in things physical and outward, now sadly, as some evanescent object induces melancholy, now in a naïvely reflective way, as past or future brings memories or expectations. He never reaches quite the exquisite melodies of Herrick, but when he writes of love he is as simple as Herrick, and he is more direct, more heart-whole,

less of the perfect singer, perhaps, but more of the lover. If he writes with wide-eyed wonder at the simpler marvels of life, it is in the manner of Blake in "Songs of Innocence," where outwardness of manner and lyrical simplicity leave an impression of something unearthly in its strangeness. Occasionally in the slight extravagance of his imagery we can see that the influence of the seventeenth-century "metaphysical" poets has not left him unscathed, as when he likens love to the influence of spring opening up navigation.

But it is a sure instinct which has taken him to the simpler lyrical poets and led him to mold his style on theirs. His interests lie in the purely personal affairs of the heart; the simpler emotions may be best expressed in those lyrical forms in which the older English literature is pre-eminent, which eschew the fervid rhythms of the soulful nineteenth century. But he is not merely imitative. Sometimes in the same poem we see him, now conforming to the manner of the traditional love-poet, now revivifying it or bursting through it with images and ideas that are wholly personal to himself.

"She had two eyes as blue as Heaven,
Ten times as warm they shone;
And yet her heart was hard and cold
As any shell or stone.

"Her mouth was like a soft red rose
When Phœbus drinks its dew;
But oh, that cruel thorn inside
Pierced many a fond heart true.

"She had a step that walked unheard,
It made the stones like grass;
Yet that light step has crushed a heart,
As light as that step was.

"Those glowing eyes, those smiling lips,
I have lived now to prove
Were not for me, were not for me,
But came of her self-love.

"Yet, like a cow for acorns that
Have made it suffer pain,
So though her charms are poisonous,
I moan for them again."

In any other poet the cow and the acorns would be an

intolerable extravagance; but not so from Mr. Davies, who knows and loves all beasts of the field; who knows what it is to tramp over stones and to tramp the grass, so that his "stones like grass" rings freshly, while the dew-drinking Phœbus is stale.

But if he seems to belong to an older tradition, and to have little in common with the self-conscious modern poet, that is only because his life has kept him away from the fashions and fashionable ideas which are the intellectual superficies of our time, which distinguish the culture of one age from the culture of another. He loves with the strength of intimate friendship the unchanging things in the natural world, the sea, things that grow, and animals and birds. And he is acquainted with the other unchanging things—love, the desire for food, hatred of death, friendship. He is also too keen in his sympathies and interests not to be modern in the sense, for instance, that the romantic appeal has had its effect on him, or that the ugly facts of modern life have stirred and pained him. There is a great variety of emotions registered in his poems. There is the grim ballad called "Treasures." There is a bold union of magical romanticism and sensuous passion in the poem beginning:

"I met her in the leafy woods,
Early a summer's night;
I saw her white teeth in the dark,
There was no better light."

There is a remarkable confidence and elation in the little poem, "The Elements," wherein he identifies himself with nature—it could only be quoted entire. And he records his impression of a tram-car which sweeps along Westminster in the twilight carrying its load of sleeping men from work. He can also write in a vein wholly unlike that of his simple and more characteristic lyrical verses. Thus he describes his childish impressions of a mariner "no good in port or out," as his granddad said:

"And all his flesh was pricked with Indian ink,
His body marked as rare and delicate
As dead men struck by lightning under trees,
And pictured with fine twigs and curled ferns;
Chains on his neck and anchors on his arms;
Rings on his fingers, bracelets on his wrist;
And on his breast the *Jane of Appledore*

Was schooner-rigged, and in full sail at sea.
He could not whisper with his strong hoarse voice,
No more than could a horse creep quietly;
He laughed to scorn the men that muffled close
For fear of wind, till all their neck was hid,
Like Indian corn wrapped up in long green leaves;
He knew no flowers but seaweeds brown and green,
He knew no birds but those that followed ships.
Full well he knew the water-world; he heard
A grander music there than we on land."

All of it is the intensely personal and direct poetry of a man of many moods, many sympathies, but happily removed from the cramping effects of current fashions of thoughts, and talk about thought. He has lived in the open air and among simple people, but always companioned by the poets. And so we have in him a singer fresh and unspoiled, writing from impulse, probably with little conscious technique, about things which he knows and the immediate experiences of life.

R. A. Scott-James.

THE BETTER PART IN CONVERSATION

BY O. W. FIRKINS.

In this casual little essay I am quite free from the bad conscience which in our over-lessoned time is the sure mark of a didactic intention. I have no wish to urge my readers to reform either themselves or their countrymen in the matter of mutual speech. I am only too happy that in this much-regulated world something, however humble, should be left to mismanage itself in peace, and, of all things in the world, conversation has surely the best right to prefer its instinctive or indigenous sins to its imported or inoculated virtues. In these days when the jurisdiction of conscience embraces every sphere — except, shall we say, the sphere of morals?—conversation, among men of ordinary decency and courtesy, should be allowed all the privileges proper to the gipsy and the wastrel that it is. Why, then, speak of its "better part"? Why seek to rivet the chain to the rhythm of flowing periods in praise of the delights of liberty? The question is apposite, but may not a sketch of the ideal to which some familiar and cherished exercise inevitably approximates be of real interest even where circumstances forbid us to seek to realize it—even where, as in the present instance, the effort at realization would be itself an infraction of the ideal?

In America to-day conversation is kept back both by racial and temporal or (to use a good word which Emerson has been unwisely allowed to monopolize) secular impediments. Neither the Englishman nor his transatlantic variant or abridgment, the American, is inherently a speaker. With the suppler Latin races speech has the ease and artlessness of breathing, of which, indeed, as physiologists and the analytic Sir John Falstaff assure us, it is nothing more than a modification. But the Teuton remembers that speech is a muscular exertion as well as an efflux, and he classes it with

boxing and wrestling among athletic or gymnastic feats. If the topic be serious, the difference between his speech and that of the Frenchman is the difference between an ultimatum and a *pourparler*. The object of talk for him is to expedite the reversion to silence. Talk for talk's sake, conversation in the artistic sense, is in his eyes (or ears) a condescension, an episode, a parenthesis. He apologizes to his ancestors and compatriots for doing such a thing at all by doing it badly; to do it well would be a frivolity.

The record of the great talkers of England—take, for instance, that autocratic dynasty whom Holmes designated by the titles of Samuel the First, Samuel the Second, and Thomas—hardly fills us with envy of their auditors. The intimates of Johnson, the first of the Samuels, paid high for their privileges — high enough to make one quite content with a safe asylum in the twentieth century and the candor of the immitigable Boswell. The great lexicographer (the overbearing designation is happily typical), except in moments when the depths of his perversely generous heart were touched, might be ranked among the most gregarious and yet the least sociable of men. Even in the drawing-room or the club, the Tory in him was stanch for prerogative.

One doubts, again, if the privileged are always the fortunate when one reads the story of the disquisitions of the second Samuel (Coleridge) at Highgate as reflected, for instance, in the opening pages of the *Life of John Sterling*, lifting its obsequious auditory to the seventh heaven, or, possibly, consigning it to a Buddhistic Nirvana in which unconsciousness became both the cause and the evidence of bliss. And as to Carlyle himself, that later Carlyle, at least, to whom a younger and worthier predecessor had been ruthlessly immolated, can we view with unmingled regret the passing of those conversations in which all the puissances of his time underwent the ceremony of decapitation in a fashion too vividly suggestive of that Reign of Terror which his historic imagination had so strikingly portrayed?

To charge all this to the specific deficiencies of the Anglo-Saxon temper would be undiscriminating; part of it might, provisionally at least, be referred to a wider law by virtue of which the great talker is unpropitious to talk in the same way that the great individual is a menace to individuality. One recalls those consummately trained interlocutors of Socrates in the Platonic dialogues to whom every point is

ceremoniously referred with the deference of a modern Prime Minister in consulting the judgment of royalty, and whose perfect drill is exhibited in the punctual arrival of the "Very true," "That is evident," "Undoubtedly, Socrates," at the moment when corroboration is required.

It is not merely the race or abstract human nature that is unpropitious; the time also is unindulgent to the talker. All talk should be amateurish, but the amateur is everywhere shut in by the ubiquitous, the deplorable expert, just as in a thickly peopled district the camper-out is excluded by the increase of the resident proprietors. The expert in mathematics or zoology is relatively harmless, but the amenities of life suffered a cruel wrong when politics and literature and morals, the rightful or common property of man as man, became leased out to monopolizing specialists. There is always the smothering consciousness of some one at one's elbow or in the next room or the next street whose knowledge makes one's own opinions puerile. It is the edge of the unknown, the borderland of knowledge, that is perennially stimulating and suggestive, and, in the days when nobody knew too much about anything, every one could enjoy the excitement of living on the frontier. Nowadays all of us—experts apart—reside in the interior, and the encompassing territory has forfeited in our eyes, through its mastery and subjugation of others, the lure of the unpeopled wilderness. Our meadow, our woodland, is some one else's yard or park, and the check to exploration is decisive.

The ablest men are the most sensitive to the ban; the stupid are protected by imperviousness. One is meagerly consoled by that alternation of superiorities which the shift of topics tends to produce. Conversation should not be a throne from which the master gazes down into the reverent upturned eyes of the disciple on the stool at his feet, nor a see-saw in which each participant purchases the right to look down on his vis-à-vis from a dizzy elevation at one moment by the humiliation of looking up to him from a correspondingly abased position in the next. It should be a broad, roomy bench without variations of level, with latitude enough for the comfortable disposal and untrammeled movement of one's arms and legs.

The expert himself is only indirectly responsible for these troublesome and irritating restrictions; the blame, if blame there be, rests equally on the meekness of his auditors. I

belong to a tiny club in which informal discourses in various lines by competent investigators are followed by what it pleases us to call a discussion. As I have listened, after the conclusion of the address, to the obsequious "isn't-its," the deferential "don't-you-thinks," I have sometimes wondered if the declarative sentence were not to follow the potential mood into the limbo set apart for the outworn forms and discarded usages of English grammar. Any opinion, however idiotic, that stood upon its own feet would have immeasurably lightened the strain and eased the cramp of the undeviating submissiveness. The specialists had not brought about or invited this state of affairs; indeed, their freedom from egotism would have provoked aggression from any audience less stubborn in its docility. The fat man in the street-car seat does not wish to restrict his neighbor to a narrow third or fourth of the space theoretically halved between the two; the fact is merely the involuntary result of accumulations likewise involuntary. The expert must plead guilty to the accumulations, but he is often himself regretfully sensitive to the social incumbrance they involve. The fact that among our friends we say "you know," meaning "you don't know," bespeaks the sound general view that among well-bred persons superiorities are indiscretions.

When modes of procedure were discussed at the institution of this club, one of the members hardily proposed that informal talk both during and after the meal should occupy the two or three available hours. The cry was forthcoming: "We don't want to be bored!" One was happy to learn that an hour's efflux from the same mouth was so sure a specific against tedium; and one was interested to note the mood of mutual terror in which men seek each other's companionship. In conversation we are at each other's mercy, and our fear makes us rigorous. We are full of timid precautions and shuddering inhibitions. In England and America, the policing of conversation—if the term may be indulged—is not the less effectual for taking the form of a secret service. In addition to the inevitable and desirable proscription of the bore, the bully, and the blackguard, the unwritten law in these countries protects our hours of ease against three interlopers which in other lands might be hastily mistaken for benefactors. I have in mind the feeling, fancy, and style.

The Duke of Argyle in a brief reminiscence of Tennyson

sets it down as a high and rare proof of friendship that the poet once said to him in reference to Lady Tennyson: "It's a sweet, spiritual face, is it not?" In a land where so mild a self-unbosoment as this is a proof of the closest intimacy, the race may be social in its tight-girt, close-buttoned way, but the feelings are certainly eremitic. The Englishman loves by stealth: he is not only naturally shame-faced, but he fears by any exhibition of feeling apart from controversial heat or moral indignation to forfeit the dearest of the conversational rights—the right of satire. The Frenchman holds to his satire as closely as his insular neighbor but, if his literature be candid, he is less afraid of the effect of a humid atmosphere on the brilliancy or crispness of his pyrotechnics; he passes easily from mockery to feeling, and *vice versa,* and his sentiment does not thaw his cynicism, nor his cynicism freeze his sentiment. Whether the compatriots and co-linguists of Dickens really like the prohibitions which they so inflexibly maintain is a question for the analyst of racial tempers; one suspects sometimes an inner revolt, and asks himself if the awkwardness does not promote the reserve almost as much as the reserve sustains the awkwardness, if the Englishman's reticence in speech may not be compared to the novice's misgivings in a foreign language.

When fancy is in question, the prohibition is equally strict except possibly in the field of humor. In other words, you are allowed to display fancy, provided that you admit or proclaim—that it is nonsense.

The intrusion of style into conversation is the subject of an even harsher censorship. Even license has its points of exigence, and we pay for that informality which permits so many crudities and laxities in speech by an exaggerated and morbid sensibility to whatever savors of the stilted or formal. The reception of a "phrase" in conversation in English-speaking circles reminds one of the embarrassment which attends the unforeseen saying of grace in assemblies unaccustomed or disaccustomed to the rite. Still more disheartening is the respect with which the antithesis with its coxcombical double bow-knot is received among people for whom literature is an august and onerous responsibility. Even the epigram, which was once thought to be the acme of conversational felicity, has its unmistakable drawbacks: its hard, compact, glassy, orbicular finish may brighten a

conversation, but can scarcely give it impetus: it is segregated by its very perfection.

In this point, again, the French have the advantage. They have a language that takes on literature much more deftly and unconcernedly than English, a language that somehow always wants to be literary—that is, not quite at home in homely and vulgar uses, and escapes into literature, so to speak, with a sigh of relief. A tincture of style in the conversation does not impair its fluency or ease. In English we have noble and mighty styles, at their best quite commensurable with the French; but the language submits to style with a visible effort, under discipline or duress as it were, and the effort, even when slight, is distinct enough to be repugnant to that morbid sensibility to the formal or the finished which marks out studiedly unstudied conversation. The difference between French and English talk in literary moods is the difference between a school-girl and a schoolboy attired in their unwonted best for a gala day; the former takes naturally and happily to the splendors of the occasion; the latter is uncomfortable in the measure of his elegance.

All these restrictions denote a race which in its conversation is jealously and timidly self-protecting, which in this field prefers security to adventure, which guards its exemptions at the cost of shutting off its opportunities, a race in which the fear of being bored or displeased is far in excess of its thirst for entertainment. To such persons the pith of companionship is not intercourse, but propinquity; silence is scarcely a hardship, and the commonplace is a valued safeguard. It is a curious little paradox that our precautions against bores and fools should reduce our conversation to a featureless uniformity which drives us to the theater to divert ourselves with the Shakespearian or Goldsmithian counterparts of these very bugaboos. In all this I have no propagandist or reformatory purpose: I suspect the articulation or enmeshment of these reserves with the fiber of our race to be of a kind that postpones the hope of extrication to a future of mocking remoteness. After all, the bargain is not wholly ill-judged: we pay dear for immunities which are indisputably worth something.

There are two exceptions which Anglo-American vigilance allows to its conscientious adherence to the ascetic ideal in human intercourse: these are debate and humor. The lust

of combat sometimes breaks down the fortress of reserve, but the benefit to pure conversation is often questionable. I cannot but think that the debate in which gallant and hardy spirits rejoice is much better in the form of alarums and discursions (to borrow Mr. Chesterton's quaint, perhaps punning, recast of a Shakespearian stage-direction) than in the harsher form of a pitched battle. Many brief encounters at many distinct points, but few long engagements in the same position would be the maxim, if not the practice, of the discriminating. Long arguments leave the territories of both combatants overridden and laid waste without the compensation of an assured victory to either. The profits of extended discussion are conditioned on a prevision and thoroughness which our improvident and scatter-brained conversation is constitutionally incapable of supplying. It is difficult to find the true middle ground between a light fingering and rummaging, which is too casual and inconsecutive to produce results and an overhauling and overturning of the whole establishment, with the lamentable possibility of failing in the end to discover the thing wanted. Debate has its real value, and its fascination is incontestable; but, when earnest and protracted, it contradicts the true aim of sound conversation. The purpose of mutual speech is to find in other minds an access to fresh points of view, an escape from the provincialism of self; debate, if long and warm, has the effect of shutting a man up in the narrowness and airlessness of his original conviction.

On the side of humor, our good fortune is less checkered and less debatable. It is natural enough that races which deny themselves the luxury of outbreak should break their rule in favor of that peculiar form of overflow by which all other excesses and indiscretions are chastised. Humor is dear to us as the guarantee of sobriety; it represses every exuberance except its own. The English and American peoples are happily constituted in the quickness and ease of their self-recovery from the momentary intoxication induced by the advent of a joke. The perfect acrobat consummates his feat by the instant and easy resumption of the attitude of disengaged repose; there is an equal felicity in the sureness and quickness with which our stock recovers the normal level and balance after the unsettling somersault of humor. Exceptions, of course, may be found by the seeker. I have seen audiences listening to a diversified

address on which each new joke acted like another glass of champagne in the generation of a light-headed, almost tipsy mood, which destroyed the capacity for the taking-in of the serious ideas. This occurs more rarely in social groups, and almost never in what we call the dualogue. Indeed, the incursion of humor, overwhelming as its first superficial effects would appear, often fails to arrest not merely the flow of conversation, but even the continuity of topics. A joke in a party of serious men may be likened to a conflagration breaking out in the busy center of a great city; the temporary ravage may be great, but the influx of recuperative energies speedily offsets and overbalances the loss. In the association of humor and earnestness in the same proposition—so happily exhibited by the French—we are less successful than in the facility of transition from one form to the other. By way of indemnity for our self-restraint in other fields, we demand of humor a completeness of release, of self-abandonment, which the addition of point and luster gave to a grave insight is commonly insufficient to afford.

Debate is occasional, and humor sporadic: and what is the true inwardness, the final value, of conversation? A famous phrase doubtfully applied to poetry might be helpful or suggestive at this point: the criticism of life, or more precisely, the compared and contrasted criticism of life. This other man—there is an almost tragic finality in that *other*—what has he made of the world? Seated at my elbow, yet with the gulf of individuality between us, formed of the same block as myself, yet so curiously and definitively foreign—what shape has the universe taken in this singularly like but paradoxically and disquietingly different reflector? The answer to this question, not lumped in the abstract, of course, but dispersed into countless particulars, is the marrow and essence of conversation.

The ground of this interest is personality, but personality only, as a source of difference in the estimate formed of the common, the universal, material. Details of gains and losses, of migrations and business, are objectionable not because they are personal, but because they are impersonal; they have no foothold in individuality. I dissect a patty at the lunch-table at the moment when you butter a roll; but we all butter rolls or dissect patties in the course of the meal, and the moment of incidence is insignificant. Your children have the whooping-cough, and my brother is embarking for

Hong Kong; but the whooping-cough reaches every family some day, and at the same time every one's brother embarks for Hong Kong or its equivalent. Both facts are reckoned among the common liabilities, and the settlement of dates is immaterial. The interest that mutual friends take in these points is not properly conversational. On the other hand, every trifle that defines an attitude may be significant. It is a sign of culture to have reached clearness on the fact that, for purposes of conversation, the self is the least worthy of texts, but the most invaluable of commentators. All first-hand opinions are interesting as phenomena, however worthless they may be as verdicts. The amount or ability of the logical support is not always the decisive consideration; all temperaments are as such implicit valuations of the universe, and, in temperaments concentric, so to speak, with the frame of things, the valuation may abound in interest.

The abstract fact, the burly, hulking, unmannerly fact, is an unhappily large ingredient in transatlantic conversation. As things now stand its presence is an objectionable necessity. What with the vastness of general knowledge and the variety of individual acquisition, a difference of equipment on most topics is presumable in almost every pair or group of persons, and the ground must be leveled after a fashion before the real game can begin. The distribution of knowledge by such media is notoriously uneven and unsure and the variety of information which might be thought to insure piquancy is limited by the same restriction which affects the contents of baskets at a church picnic: they come from different larders, certainly, but from larders eventually dependent on the same primary sources of supply. In the conversation of two average men on politics one can almost hear the gentle susurrus or rustle of the inosculating sheets of the two journals they habitually read. If it be the rumble of justling folios that is audible, the effect is so much the worse.

All this turns conversation from a form of art to a branch of commerce. A fact in the mouths of intelligent talkers is much like a laborer on our lawns or in our parlors: he is none the less in the way for being temporarily indispensable. The vitalizing stir of personality is shut out; the fact remains a chattel bound to its possessor by an inorganic tie. People recite their little lesson with the vanity of well-drilled school-boys, or, still worse, with the authority of expert

pedagogues. To turn humanity into a guide-book or handbook, a more rambling and less authentic Baedeker, is to ignore its higher, its really human, uses.

I would not, of course, pass an edict, even a tacit one, debarring information or domesticities or even egotisms from the field of conversation. I would merely recognize their status as aliens. The conservation of topics, the problems of the social commissariat, sometimes makes their aid a relief even when it is also a mortification. They remind us a little of the cheap lunch-counter or the shabby novel which we are quite content in our hours of physical or literary destitution to use as a resource, and equally content in our self-vindicating or self-compensating moments to turn into an object of ridicule or invective. In the great caravanserai of conversation, moreover, one expects, and half craves, a bold inclusiveness and venturesome diversity; its spirit is expressed in a mischievous dickering and temporizing with its own standards; a restiveness under its own law, a happy insolence toward its chosen ideals, are phases of its adhesion to those ideals and that law.

Finally, let us never slight the element of discovery in conversation. The best talk is in its nature a reconnoissance, a gay venture into untried and unsafe territory on the doubtful side of the mapped confines of truth. Too much of our talk is historical, a resort to yesterday, a consumption of deposits; the good truth is the truth that is born or reborn at the moment of utterance or of repetition. The interest of life is diminished by the fact that, left to ourselves, we approach our own thoughts, as we do our own houses, by stereotyped routes; the companionship of another may oblige us to freshen our perceptions by altering our course. Nothing helps talk more than a touch of skepticism, a distrust of finalities. The shrewd man knows that the soundest of his convictions probably shuts him out from the clear view of some other truth by which his misguided neighbor illegitimately profits. He loves to peer around the adverse and repellent wall of his own settled beliefs; he delights in the abrupt turn, the quick side-glance, which surprises the unwary and fugitive truth. Respectable proprietor as he unquestionably is, he is also something of the vagabond disposed to prowl with criminal designs in the vicinity of his own barns and hayricks. For men of this type the fortuities and the audacities of conversation have an equal suggestive-

ness. There are truths that lurk in the shadow of the unknown, that haunt the confines of error; they perish, like the unknown and the erroneous to which they cling, in the daylight of investigation. The difference, both moral and physical, between conversation and books is that you need a clear light to read by, but you may talk as long as you please in the twilight. One could wish at times that there were more play in conversation—not more levity (of that the supply is ample)—rather less levity and more play—more forays into the unknown, more hide-and-seek with truth, more temptings of possibility. We should share the detective's right of belying the truth in the endeavor to evoke or ascertain it.

But I linger too long on a theme whose very nature offers a certain countenance to loitering and discursiveness. To converse with a man is to concede to him a great privilege; it is to put our minds into his charge and conduct for many brief but swiftly recurring periods. But to read his essay, to yield up to another mind the exclusive direction of our thoughts, that is of our lives, for an hour more or less, the magnitude of that concession should make the recipient at once generous and circumspect. In conformity to which thought, at once flattering and admonitory, I make haste to conclude my essay.

O. W. Firkins.

THE MAD ENGLISHMAN

BY NORMAN DOUGLAS

I HAVE been learning about the Ass Wouralia; likewise about the Rumpless Fowl and its absurd objection to laying fertile eggs; about the Vulture's Nose and Apple Trees and Cannibalism and Dry Rot; about Tight Shoes, Tight Stays, and Tight Cravats. In other words, I have been reading Waterton's Essays—magnificent stuff! Or rather, re-reading them. For a close inspection of the dusty volumes has revealed an inscription to the effect that they were purchased by myself in the summer of 1882; and the pages, furthermore, are enriched—encrusted, one might say—with holograph annotations of that year, setting forth very candidly my opinions of the author and his work. It has given me mixed feelings to peruse this running commentary, testifying, as it does, to a dreadfully deficient sense of humanity, to ardent love of natural history coupled with a certain elvish facetiousness which may well have passed, in those unregenerate days, for humor. How—how odd they are—these glimpses into one's own vanished self!

Of course we all know Waterton's *Wanderings*—that astounding book wherein, by the help of copious tags from Horace and Cervantes, the courteous reader is beguiled from his comfortable fireside into the wilds of Guiana, there to undergo nerve-shattering encounters with Labarri snakes and other improbable monsters, to devour dimpled monkey-babies and ride on crocodiles. Let me at once say that I firmly believe this cayman business. If David Livingstone or the anonymous author of the Book of Job told me they had performed such a feat, I should acquiesce—out of sheer politeness. In Waterton's case I acquiesce from conviction. Nobody, you will say, has ever ridden on a cayman. Exactly! Nobody but Waterton would ever have dreamt of doing any of the things that he did. Nobody, for ex-

ample, would dream of riding on a crocodile. That settles it. Waterton rode on a crocodile.

One would think that a naturalist penetrates into these tropical jungles in order to study their wonderful life or to collect birds and insects. But such is not his style: not a bit of it. He goes there to find the wourali poison, being convinced—for some cryptic reasons which I despair of elucidating—that it might prove a cure for hydrophobia. And why should a non-professional trouble his head about the treatment of hydrophobia? Ah, that is Waterton's secret and his charm! Why, indeed—why any of the funny things he did?

It is a pity that we possess no photographs of this prince of eccentrics. He objected to being taken in any position save from the rear—a rather inadequate method of portraiture; the bust of him, fashioned in old age, strikes me as chill and unsympathetic, but the frontispiece to the third volume of the Essays may give some idea of his whimsical and kindly nature. Not that he could not fight. He fought his zoological contemporaries and enjoyed many a lusty bout with Audubon and "Master Swainson" and Macgillivray; he fought the Treasury, he fought his neighbors. He fought, above all things, that Protestantism which had despoiled his grandfathers of their worldly goods in the days of "Saint Harry the Eighth, our Royal Goat." While praying for unbelievers—

> "I pray for those who now have got
> A creed infected with the rot,
> And wickedly have set at naught
> That which our ancestors had taught. . . .
>
> "Again, for those I often pray,
> Who tread in Luther's crooked way;
> Or Calvin trust, or seek salvation
> In Mrs. Southcote's proclamation"—

he invented, simultaneously, a truly Watertonian device for giving vent to his bellicose feelings by projecting all Lutheran misdeeds, past, present, and to come, into the *corpus vile* of an insignificant quadruped—to wit, "Hanoverian" rat. This miserable rodent, because it was presumably introduced by "Dutch William," became for him the embodiment of non-Catholic propensities and was persecuted with the ardor of a Torquemada.

For the rest, he was a man of peace; an autochthonous gentleman of the North country—the finest flower of generations of crusted fox-hunting Tories. A man of merits, too; a pioneer of taxidermy, and an indefatigable observer in the field. But, chiefest of all, a perambulating repository of fads and perversities.

Those Essays of his—a kind of intellectual back-water—seem to have been written on another planet. And yet, somehow or other, they are intensely human; so unsystematic—so very, very English in their glorious irrelevancies. He ambles through a hundred pages of a "History of the Monkey Family"—stranger history was never written; discourses amiably of this and that; argues whether monkeys throw missiles or not; relates his friendship with a caged lady-chimpanzee and how, on departing, he implanted a soft kiss on her maidenly cheek; and concludes with the startling proposition that monkeys are arboreal animals. He can be as pompously platitudinous as you like—

"Inhabitants of Scarbro'!—I love to pass my leisure hours amongst you. May you ever smile and ever prosper. But, observe! although old Ocean rolls his favors on you, your Mother Earth has not been quite so bountiful: for you cannot boast a river. . . .

"Who can look without rapture on the beautiful proportions of the horse? His mane hanging down a well-formed neck, seems a counterbalance to his long flowing tail as he moves along; and we are all of us aware of what amazing advantage this last-mentioned appendage is to this noble beast, when a host of flies are ready to devour him. . . .

But though all these Essays are saturated with the author's idiosyncrasies, the most poignant revelation of his incongruous nature is that autobiography which runs alongside. There is a smack of the Grand Tours lingering in this record of a leisurely progress through the regions of continental Europe; a smack, too, of a decidedly queer outlook upon things in general:

"At Rimini, now celebrated for its miraculous picture of the Blessed Virgin, we could see the larger and smaller species of bats, on wing, as the night set in. Here again, large turkeys and common fowls were most numerous. . . . Fleas were vigorously skipping about, but we neither saw nor felt a bug."

One can imagine the impression created by such a man at a civilized foreign town like Aachen. He never drank wine or beer; he never slept in a bed; he never wore a hat or

boots; he spoke and dressed oddly; he got up every morning at three thirty and spent his time dissecting crayfish or anything else that came handy. What must the hotel servants and visitors have thought of him? I know perfectly well what they thought. *Der verrückte Engländer!* He is, he must be, the prototype of that "mad Englishman" whose tradition still survives here and there.

Only think what he did in Rome. To begin with, the road happening to be in bad repair, he arrived at the Eternal City with his feet in such a condition that he was laid up for two months on a sofa (he was always doing foolish things with his bare feet, and always suffering for it). Hardly is he well again than he climbs up the angel that surmounts the castle of Sant' Angelo and takes up his stand, on one foot, on its head—a position that would have made any self-respecting chamois seasick. All Rome rings with the exploit: even the Pope becomes interested in the mad son of Albion. Now Waterton, a devout Catholic, would dearly have liked an audience of His Holiness and the thing might have been managed if—if the Squire could have been induced to don some English (Protestant) uniform for the occasion. But no: the Hanoverian rat!

To console himself, he watches the pig-killing operations at the slaughter-house, compiles a careful catalogue of the birds that are exposed for sale in the market, haggles with small boys about rock-thrushes' eggs, and spends fabulous sums in the purchase of sham masterpieces of art. At last all is ready for departure: eighty birds have been preserved, as well as a porcupine, a badger, some shell-fish, and a dozen land tortoises.

He departs; but not alone. With him go, in a roomy cage, a dozen living owls. And thereby hangs a tale. For these owls, squeezed through the Genoa custom-house by hook or by crook, suffer a serious mishap on reaching Aachen. The fact is, their plumage had become soiled from the long journey, even as Waterton himself was somewhat inconvenienced by its effects. Warm water is plainly desirable, and it stands to reason that what is good for the Squire is also good for the owls. Waterton orders a hot bath for himself, and another one for the owls. They get it. "Five of them," he records, "died of cold the same night."

I would give my ears to see the procession winding up the drive of Walton Hall after one of these continental raids

and pilgrimages. Even on ordinary occasions the domain must have been a sight for the gods. For if the Squire as a human being was full of irresponsible fancies, here the whole region oozed eccentricity. Freaks stared you in the face. The park contained an agglomeration of weird contrivances for catching this and killing that; the mansion, beginning at the very door-knocker, was a nightmare of monstrosities and playfully-ghoulish surprises. Your head swam; you were bewildered, dazed by freaks.

And the arch-freak was the owner himself.

On his fourth trip to South America (1824) he traversed a portion of the United States—drawn thither, largely, by the descriptions he had read in Wilson's *Ornithology*. He was hugely pleased with the "gentle and civil people," and more particularly by the ladies, to whose attractions he reverts again and again. "Nothing can surpass the appearance of the American ladies, when they take their morning walk, from twelve to three, in Broadway. The stranger will at once see that they have rejected the extravagant superfluities which appear in the London and Parisian fashions"—here follows a characteristic disquisition on women's hats—"They seem to have an abhorrence (and a very just one) of wearing caps. . . . How would Canova's Venus look in a mob cap?" He talks of the "immense number of highly polished females who go in the stages to visit the different places of amusement," adding that "words can hardly do justice to their unaffected ease and elegance."

At New York, "all charges included, you do not pay more than two dollars a day. Little enough, when you consider the capital accommodations and the abundance of food." Buffalo, too, possesses a "fine and commodious inn." Here, in stepping out of the stage-coach, the Squire had the misfortune to sprain his foot, an accident which he recorded, in one of those polite verse-effusions to which he was subject, in some lines beginning—

> "He sprained his foot and hurt his toe,
> On the rough road near Buffalo.
> It quite distresses him to stagger a-
> Long the sharp rocks of famed Niagara. . . ."

Now, to spray an inflamed joint with cold water is plainly the correct treatment. But everything in America being on

a grand scale, the traveler's ideas become enlarged as he journeys through the country, and he soon discovers that the watering-can or village pump, which might have ministered to an injured limb in England, is hopelessly out of place; bigger forces must be requisitioned; nothing, in fact, will serve the occasion save to hobble painfully down and suspend the swollen ankle under the cataract of Niagara. This is Waterton all over. After that, he goes to Canada, and "in all the way from Buffalo to Quebec, I only met with one bug; and I cannot even swear that it belonged to the United States." It was a half-grown, ill-conditioned beast, and instead of being treated after the manner of its kind, it was "quietly chucked among some baggage that was close by, and recommended to get ashore by the first opportunity." Who but Waterton would have recorded such an incident? While thinking himself a perfectly natural person, he was temperamentally incapable of behaving like anybody else.

Gilbert White, no doubt, was his intellectual ancestor. But White had an industry and full-blooded zeal which the other lacked; he was discriminating, purposeful, constructive; altogether, a luminous creature and of relatively modern texture. Waterton is more readable than naturalists like Jesse on account of his all-pervading personal note; but taken all round, he remains chiefly conspicuous for his negative qualities, for his splendid limitations. He had no spacious view of life—no view at all, save through a certain narrow telescope that restricted the field of vision, intensifying one tract at the expense of another. What the world presented to his eyes was an assemblage of disconnected facts which it was his business not to explain but to record. Tobacco-smoking is a beastly habit; to wear an amulet against sudden death is an excellent idea; man does not kill his fellows, because there is a law written in his heart forbidding him to do so—and the wigeon eats grass. Such is "Dame Nature's" command. She knows what is good for everything and everybody; and if she sometimes makes a mistake or exceeds her mandate—why, there is always God overhead, to put things to rights again.

So he lived, this mellow country gentleman; at once a warning and an exemplar, like the rest of us. He had a bird-like habit of pecking at all sorts of mental pabulum, and

allowing it to pass out of his system half-digested. His worldly experiences never resolved themselves into a truthful whole, for Stonyhurst, if it fortified his moral sense, had warped and atrophied his mind, rendering him permanently unsynthetic—fragmentary in every point save one: in his crankiness. In that he was superb. If a man took thought for a lifetime, he could never figure forth a more harmonious and lovable freak. As grotesque as that old fowl of Mauritius, he is nowadays, alas, almost as rare. For phœnixes are all very well, but we do need an occasional dodo, to diversify the landscape.

Darwin may quote from the original and accurate observations of the Yorkshire squire, but what does Waterton care for the portentous movement of his later life—what does he know of any of those landmarks like Homer or Dante or Goethe? He had been fed on orthodox pap, on Virgil, Dryden, and other safe writers; and it is a suggestive commentary on our social state that this mighty personage, the twenty-seventh Lord of Walton, should be disqualified by his creed from attaining that elementary knowledge which was at the disposal of the poorest peasant boy on his estate. To chronicle the matrimonial irregularities of the barnacle gander; to feed your unsuspecting visitors on a dish of carrion crows and chuckle inwardly at their mistaking them for pigeons; to jump at the age of seventy-nine over a formidable wire fence—these were his aims and diversions.

It was one of his jocular habits to give names to the more prominent animals and trees in his park. Among the birds there was a malformed wild duck, deprived of the web between its toes, which Waterton had received as a gift " in an ecstasy of delight "—seeing that everything in the nature of a " sport " struck a chord of elective affinity and warmed the cockles of his heart. This bird was forthwith christened " Doctor Hobson."

Its human original, a genial and loyal physician of Leeds, was himself something of an ornithologist who became acquainted with Waterton during the latter part of his life, and took charge of his health—as best he could. In after years he wrote an account of the " Home, Habits, and Handicraft " of his friend which is truly refreshing—a kind of spiritual shower-bath—in these strenuous days of sex-problems. Doctor Hobson venerated the Squire and all his

little failings; he assimilated his curiously tangled and wayward style of writing; he has entered into the very bones of his hero. And not all of us, be it noted, are heroes to our medical advisers. This biography is a fine monument of friendship; even as the friendship itself says much for the characters of both of them, since Waterton's peculiarities might well have repelled other men of science. I suspect that the unswerving uprightness of the Squire won the doctor's affection; that little incident at Leeds, too, when Waterton with incredible nerve and steadiness of hand removed twenty-eight rattlesnakes from one box into another, may well have impressed a medicine-man, conscious of the ever-present risk of death.

Be that as it may, the Squire has found a Boswell after his own heart; the enthusiastic reporter of all his anfractuosities, of all his gentlemanly pranks and absurdities. The Table of Contents alone of this remarkable book is a joy forever. It contains items like this: *An Ox-Eye Titmouse builds her Nest in the Trunk of a Tree prepared for Owls; but declines occupying it in future years because a Squirrel had used it.* Or this: *Discriminating Courage of the Squire with an Ourang-Outang from Borneo, in the Zoological Gardens;* followed by: *The Ape Searching the Squire's head reminds him of a Cambridge anecdote.* Or take these stimulating entries: *An Allusion to a stench from a dead herring near the Grotto, induces the Squire to relate an incident regarding dead letters. . . . Mr. Waterton faces a snow-storm without his Hat, and throws his Slippers over his head when approaching his 80th year. . . . Mr. Waterton distressed because his Bahia toad was called an "Ugly Brute!"*

The volume is full of stupendous things of this kind; it reproduces also some of the Squire's letters which illustrate the child-like structure of his mind:

"I don't care who holds the helm of our crazy vessel, so long as "Mummery John" does not get hold of it. You did not arrive according to promise. We hope to be more fortunate on Palm Sunday after you have requested your spiritual adviser to keep a blessed palm for you, when he delivers the sprigs to the assembled multitude from his Altar. Stop, I ought to say table. Many thanks for your communication. I hope that you will pursue the investigation. It is somewhat singular that I have never yet found the large bone in the wings of water-fowl full of marrow. . . ."

There is another entry to this effect: *The Squire remon-*

strated with by the Author against too frequently "tapping the Claret." This excessive "tapping the Claret" bleeding himself—was one of the few traits of which the physician-biographer disapproved. Whatever happened to Waterton—whether he ate too much, or tumbled off a mule, or had an accident with his gun, or caught a chill: out with the lancet! Even in his eightieth year he did not hesitate to bleed himself to the tune of twenty to twenty-four ounces at a time; he must have lost a barrelful of the precious liquid in the course of his long life. In the jungle he tried to induce the vampire-bat to bleed him; many a night, he says, "have I slept with my foot out of the hammock to tempt this winged surgeon"—in vain! He was dry as a stick, and the sagacious vespertilian sought its dinner elsewhere.

And of course his ultra-Catholic tendencies were not quite to the taste of Hobson, who, however, deals gently with such infirmities, merely suggesting that he "had an inordinate amount of credulity in his composition." Indeed he had. He was no modernist or reconciler of the impossible, but a Catholic *comme il faut.* Reared in the unrelenting machinery of Stonyhurst, he was cut into its cleanest pattern, and preserved throughout life its edges intact, its surface untarnished.

He traveled expressly to the Tyrol to see an ecstatic female in a convent, and convinced himself of her divine state by feeling the stigma on one of her hands. Nothing in his whole life, he says, struck him so forcibly as the liquefaction, at Naples, of the mixture which he devoutly held to be the blood of Saint Januarius. He speaks with reverent awe of Benedict Labre—that half-witted vagabond, who never washed or took off his clothes, and was covered from head to foot with vermin which he refused to exterminate. And although a belief in the miraculous transportation of the House of the Blessed Virgin is optional to his co-religionists, yet he writes that there are authentic proofs of the aerial voyage of this mansion, and that, for his part, he believes in the miracle.

Doctor Hobson's chief concern was to mitigate the severity of those periodical abstinences from food which the Squire's stern Catholicism imposed upon him. As for the House of Loreto and the like—he had too much tolerance to disquiet himself about such discrepancies. After all, birds are birds and men are men; all of them liable to variations, and

all these variations ordained for dark providential reasons. A sparrow hops and a wagtail runs: shall all human beings think and behave alike? And if inclined, at times, to regret his friend's "ardent attachment to the priests," he amply compensated himself by praising his sincere love of nature, his rectitude and guileless purity of heart and—last but not least—those flexible lower extremities which enabled him, as a heavy patriarch, to scratch the back part of his head with the big toe of his right foot or to clamber aloft, with the agility of an adolescent gorilla, into the breezy summit of an oak.

And here we leave this *par nobile fratrum:* Æsculapius on earth, fondly admiring but prudent; his ever-youthful octogenarian comrade in the verdurous foliage overhead, reading Ovid's Metamorphoses and glancing occasionally through a spy-glass to see if perchance the Rumpless Fowl, that preposterous and unmatronly bird, has at last thought fit to hatch her own offspring in accordance with Dame Nature's self-evident decree.

NORMAN DOUGLAS.

SOCIAL HYGIENE: THE REAL CONSERVATION PROBLEM

BY LEWIS M. TERMAN

THE prevention of waste promises to become the dominant issue of our entire political and industrial situation. Thus far the problem has presented three leading aspects: first the conservation of natural resources; second, release from the danger of international war; and, third, the prevention of premature death and physical inefficiency. Let us consider the last of these problems in its relation to the public school.

By way of preface, the reader should be reminded that the general population of both Europe and America is only now emerging from the dark ages of personal and social hygiene. Let us not be deceived on this point by the recent brilliant accomplishments in a few lines of surgery and preventive medicine. The keen and daring researches of a few score bacteriologists are more than offset by the thousands of people who still use liverwort for jaundice because of the fancied resemblance of its leaf to the human liver; by the tens of thousands who treat sprained ankles by the Christian Science method; and by the millions who spend hard-earned money for patent blood-tonics or bottled consumption-cures. The popular notions of personal hygiene are little better than a seething welter of ignorance and superstition, not all of which is confined to the confessedly uneducated. To the average person, certainly, the phenomena of life, growth, decay, and death are still strange mysteries. In popular superstition various disease entities have replaced the numerous spirit entities of old as irrational forces with which man is doomed to wage blind and uncertain combat.

The cost of this ignorance in money, sickness, death, and grief is stupendous. Basing his estimate upon statistics of

mortality for ninety different diseases and accepting the expert opinion of numerous medical specialists as to the ratio of preventability for these diseases, Professor Irving Fisher has reckoned that the general adoption of a few well-established hygienic principles would add fifteen years to the average span of human life. For the most part these fifteen lost years would be years of economic productivity. It is evident that every premature death entails an economic loss upon society, varying according to the age of the person dying. It is computed that the new-born child has an average money value of at least ninety dollars, which increases to nine hundred and sixty dollars at five years, to four thousand dollars by twenty years, and drops again to two thousand nine hundred dollars by fifty years. The minimum average loss to society from each postponable death has been elaborately figured at seventeen hundred dollars. Of the one million five hundred thousand deaths in the United States each year the combined opinion of the best medical authorities regards at least forty-two per cent. to be postponable, or six hundred and thirty thousand. The annual loss to the country from this cause is therefore seventeen hundred times six hundred and thirty thousand, or one billion seventy million dollars. But this is not half the story of waste. For each unnecessary death there are several cases of unnecessary illness, the total cost of which, counting medical attention and wages lost, amounts to about one billion dollars more. The Great White Plague alone involves an annual loss of five hundred million to one billion dollars, typhoid three hundred and fifty million dollars, malaria one hundred million dollars besides its indirect injury in undermining health, and the hook-worm at least one hundred million dollars more. The loss of economic efficiency from alcoholism, vicious habits, undue fatigue, minor ailments, and lack of expert direction of the human machine can only be vaguely guessed at, but is probably greater than from all the other causes enumerated. America's leading prophet of personal hygiene believes that it is within the power of the average individual to double his economic efficiency by better methods of living and working. Apart from this we suffer an aggregate calculable loss from preventable illness and death of at least two billion dollars per year, or nearly four times the sum spent for public education.

Nor does this statement do justice to the account. Waste of life or health, far more than waste of the earth's natural resources, involves grief and moral suffering of a kind not commensurable with gold. Infant mortality illustrates the point. In the most enlightened countries, from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. of all babies born are permitted to die in the first year of life. In Russia, Austria, and southern Italy the mortality of infants runs from twenty-five per cent. to thirty per cent., while in certain limited districts of even England and Massachusetts the per cent. of mortality goes as high as forty to fifty. Bacteriology teaches that from two-thirds to nine-tenths of the infant deaths are due to ignorance or neglect of a few simple hygienic precautions which could and should be universally applied. In the face of this fact, statistics demonstrate that infant mortality is the one plague not appreciably affected by the recent advances of preventive medicine. Although the money value of the infant to society is relatively small and the economic significance of infant mortality is therefore much less than that of tuberculosis, morally the two problems are of nearly equal importance.

Whatever advances bacteriology may make, this needless slaughter will continue little abated unless the new generation is educated to a different hygienic viewpoint. There is no other agency that can perform the function of the public school in this respect. The time is at hand for the school to make a nation-wide campaign for the hygienic enlightenment of the young.

Let us consider for a moment the relation of the school to tuberculosis. Of the twenty million school children in the United States, some two million will succumb to this disease, for the most part in the prime of life, after society has met the cost of their maintenance and education. Investigations of the prevalence of active infection among children of school age indicate that probably not fewer than two hundred thousand tubercular children attend the public schools of the United States every day. Careful medical examinations in England, Germany, and America indicate that tuberculosis is *discoverable* in from one-half per cent. to one and a half per cent. of the entire school population. Certain disclosures as to the course of the disease lead us to suppose that numerous other children have it in undiscoverable form, one of the most authoritative estimates

placing it between eleven and fifteen per cent. It is the belief of tuberculosis specialists that the infection frequently occurs in childhood, remaining latent in most cases until adolescence or after. Autopsies of children who have died of other diseases at the age of twelve to fifteen years show that from twenty to forty-five per cent. reveal unmistakable lesions of previous tubercular infection, either of lungs, glands, or bones. Even when the infection begins much later, the basis for it is probably laid in childhood. The war against tuberculosis will be of little avail if it neglects the period of childhood. On the other hand, half the battle will be won if we can prevent the onset of the disease in children and if we will at the same time teach the new generation how to live.

At present the school is at fault in both of these respects. It helps spread the plague while doing much less than it might to teach hygienic habits of living. The school-room at its best is an unhealthful place to abide, and at its worst it is unspeakable. Among other ways, this shows itself in the disproportionate mortality from tuberculosis among teachers. In Denmark, Germany, France, Canada, and eight of the large cities of the United States, the mortality of female teachers from this cause is two to three times that of lawyers and clergymen. In fact, teaching is only exceeded in this respect by the notoriously unhealthful occupations of stone-cutter and printer, and gives a percentage of mortality fifty per cent. greater than is found among saloon-keepers. In one district in France it was lately charged that one-fifth of the teachers were consumptive. A rather superficial investigation was made by the school officials to refute the slander, and the report of this survey admitted the presence of the disease in about one out of thirty teachers.

It does not need to be affirmed that the presence in the school-room of the consumptive teacher is a social crime. But the responsibility of teachers is infinitely greater than as possible factors in spreading infection. To stop here is to miss the crux of the problem. The important thing is that the bad air and unhealthful occupations of the school lay a basis in the child of crooked spines, cramped chests, impoverished blood, weakened hearts, and sedentary habits, the logical issue of which is tuberculosis.

It has been said that the two greatest discoveries of

modern times are the value of children and the value of fresh air. At any rate, one of the most portentous discoveries of modern experimental pedagogy is the Open-Air School, which at present seems destined to revolutionize not only school architecture, but pedagogical methods as well. Begun at Charlottenburg, Germany, only six years ago, they have spread throughout that country and to several cities of England and America. The Boston School Committee has decided to build one open-air room in each school building hereafter to be constructed, and the Boston school physicians have decided by individual examination of the pupils that five per cent. of their hundred thousand school children stand in urgent need of the regimen of the open-air school. Children who attend such schools are invariably found to gain on an average six to ten pounds in the first three months and to show astonishing gain in the percentage of hemoglobin and the number of red corpuscles in the blood. Notwithstanding the fact that they are given only about half the usual number of hours of book-work per day, the advantages of fresh air, warm lunches, and more sensible pedagogical methods enable these children, while recovering from disease, to make the same school progress as their fellow pupils who have sound bodies and full-time instruction. This, if anything, ought to jolt the pedagogue out of his dogmatic slumber. It recalls the surprising progress of "half-timers" in New York City not so many years ago, who were found at the close of the year to be better prepared for the succeeding grade than those who had attended the full day! If the open-air school is feasible in the severe climate of New England, it should be the prevailing type of school architecture in the States of the South and the Southwest. In California, Florida, or similar climates, there is no excuse for the erection of any school building with four solid walls.

In countless other ways also the public school offers the richest possible field for the application of preventive medicine. For illustration, we know that a perfect condition of physical nutrition is of basal importance for a healthy development, but investigations reveal the fact that in the cities of England and America from five to fifteen per cent. of the children in the schools are suffering from malnutrition. By "malnutrition" is not meant "starvation" in the ordinary sense of that term. It must be remembered

that the child thrives not on what it eats, but on what it can digest. Thousands of children of the economically well-to-do are ill-nourished, because of improperly chosen food, impaired digestive processes, or dental disabilities. So remote a matter as eye-strain is known to cause disturbances of digestion and assimilation. From whatever cause it originates, the existence of a state of malnutrition in a considerable body of our school-children should be a matter of deep national concern. Such children are the fruitful soil where disease, social misery, and crime take root and grow. The hook-worm disease offers the classic example of the physical and mental effects of a prolonged interference with the nutritive processes. It gives us spindling and stupid children who grow up into men and women shiftless, stunted, degenerate; ready prey for the various infectious diseases. Malnutrition from any other cause produces results not different from these in kind, though usually less in degree. We have nearly a million ill-nourished children in the public schools. We cannot expect of these children normal progress. If the school does not adapt itself to minister to their special needs it is likely to serve only to speed them on their way to premature death or a life of physical, mental, or moral invalidism.

Closely connected with malnutrition is the question of defective teeth. Wide-spread investigation shows that eighty to ninety-five per cent. of all school-children have one or more decaying teeth, the average being three or four per child. As a rule the sixth-year molars begin to decay within two years after their appearance. About fifty million decaying teeth go to school in the United States daily. Probably one million of these have reached the aching point. It would be difficult to overestimate the amount of ill-humor, bad conduct, and unhappiness caused thereby in pupils and teachers. The very atmosphere of the school-room is redolent of decaying teeth. It is loaded with millions of bacteria of some forty-five or fifty different varieties exhaled, sneezed, and coughed from the mouths of the children. At the same time the passing misery of toothache and the occasional offense to our æsthetic sensibilities are of no importance compared to the danger to life and health from the defective nutrition which is almost sure to follow. Dr. Osler believes that the problem of oral hygiene is as important for national vitality as the problem of alcoholism.

There are two ways to attack the problem of dental disability of children, both obvious and practicable. In the first place we must replace our academic and ineffectual teaching of physiology with practical lessons in hygiene, or, where possible, with drills in hygienic habits. As remarked by William H. Allen, it is more important for the child to know the anatomy of the tooth-brush than the anatomy of the tooth. If every school had its tooth-brush drill and its baths we might some day hope to rival the Japanese in personal cleanliness and vigor. By some method we must make children understand that a clean tooth cannot decay and that a sound tooth, in the words of Cervantes, is worth more than a diamond. We must bring it about that parents of the succeeding generation will appreciate the fact that it is better for a child to reach his majority penniless with two full rows of sound teeth than with thirty thousand dollars but on the highroad to early toothlessness.

The second necessity is the establishment of free dental clinics in connection with the schools for the compulsory repair of all defective teeth. In matters relating to the teeth, preventive treatment is all-important. Fifty cents for dentistry in childhood will save many dollars later, to say nothing of the insurance it offers against inefficiency, disease, and premature death. In Germany the dental clinic in the school is no longer an experiment. Wherever tried, the good that is accomplished is so palpable and the co-operation of the public is so easily secured that there is no evident reason why these clinics should not become universal.

There is perhaps no need to discuss the defects of eyes, ears, and throats. The ill effects of eye-strain, adenoids, and hypertrophied tonsils have been so widely exploited in recent years that most intelligent teachers are familiar with the conditions they present. The difficult problem, however, of securing for every defective child the medical or surgical treatment that his case demands remains unsolved. The subject may be left with the query whether it is logical to stop with compulsory school attendance and compulsory vaccination. If the child has an inalienable right to an education, does he not also have an equal right to such hygienic, medical, or even surgical attention as will render him most capable of receiving the maximum benefits of the educational treatment?

To sum up, three lines of progress are urgent. In the

first place, the school environment itself needs to be radically reformed. Both school architecture and school occupations will have to cut loose from traditional practices if the school is not to remain a menace to health. Our duty in this is not merely the negative one of refraining from direct injury to the child's body. The educational régime can be made to contribute positively to the child's healthy development.

In the second place, the teaching of personal hygiene will have to be revolutionized. More time should be given to the subject; it should be freed from some of the unscientific vagaries into which it has fallen, and above all it must be made more concrete and practical.

In the third place, health and development supervision in the schools needs to be recognized as equal in importance with the supervision of instruction. Our country spends millions for the latter, but as yet hardly anything for the former. Every city and every county should have its health and development supervisor and the necessary assistants whose rank and salary might well be co-ordinate with those of superintendent and principals. Physical and intellectual education must not remain divorced, and for this reason the work of health supervision cannot profitably be turned over to non-educational boards of health.

When I consider the possibilities of the school as a factor in improving national vitality I sometimes feel ashamed that as a university teacher of education I should ever bother myself or my students about some of the problems we are wont to treat so extensively in our university and normal-school courses: such, for example, as the relative merits of the thousand and one current methods of teaching children the simple art of reading—children who will learn to read anyway by any or no method; or in geographical instruction whether it is more in harmony with the development of the child's mind to begin with back-yard exploration or on the other hand with stories of Darkest Africa.

The average teacher is pitiably lacking in liberal-mindedness and perspective. The hyper-methodical routine of the ordinary school is a deadening procedure for teachers, whatever the effect on the pupils. For illustration, a teacher not long ago sought my advice on the following momentous question: In the first statement of the solution of an arithmetical problem in percentage, which is correct—to say

"100 per cent.=the cost-price," or "the cost-price = 100 per cent."? Why wonder that teachers as a class are not seriously regarded as a factor in the affairs of the world? What else would do so much to free the teacher from her ridiculous pedantries as a realization of the responsibility of the school for the physical, and therefore the moral, efficiency of the nation? Would not rightly directed effort on the part of the half-million school-teachers of the United States exert a tremendous force toward the physical upbuilding of our population?

That unwieldy leviathan which we call "society" is indeed hard to mold or control, but we are learning that the most effective approach to this end is through the public school. We may not be able to legislate intelligence or desirable habits into men and women, but we can mold after our ideals the plastic mentality of the child. Accordingly, the most characteristic feature of present-day education is its progressive socialization, the increasing extent to which society is utilizing the school as an instrument for the accomplishment of its ends. We are coming to believe that it is legitimate to levy upon the educational system for any contribution it is capable of making to the welfare of society. Finding the ignorant voter swayed by dishonest demagogues, we institute compulsory education to improve the suffrage of to-morrow. When the school is seen to spread smallpox or diphtheria we vaccinate, quarantine, and establish medical inspection of school-children. Does this interfere with parental rights? We acknowledge no parental rights, or any other, which block the way of social progress. This social conception of education is quite familiar. Let us only extend its application to all fields of personal and social hygiene and the school will help to deliver us from a burden which is more oppressive than the burden of militarism, for physical inefficiency, sickness, and premature deaths are costing us as much as all our crime and as much as a good-sized perpetual war besides.

LEWIS M. TERMAN.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE AUTHORITATIVE CRITICISM OF POETRY IN AMERICA

To the twin questions, whether there is a public for poetry in America, and whether there are any poets of great distinction to supply the needs of that public, should be added a third—which must seem to any one who wants an intelligent answer to the first two as, just at present, of even more importance. It is, have we any critics in America who are thoroughly informed and thoroughly capable of judging the output of present-day verse? Or, in other words, how far is the American poet of to-day hindered or helped toward the goal of greatness by the professional judges who are supposed to uphold him in any true achievement or guide him away from the futile pastures of poetic unreality? The question is a vital one if the art of poetry is still to be regarded as a genuine requisite of national inspiration and culture. But it is one that can, perhaps, best be approached indirectly—or through comparisons.

In England, which is geographically a small country, the native poet aspiring to achieve an eminence which will wing his name throughout the British Empire, has only to win London opinion. This is in part due to that country's smallness, which makes it possible for the great daily newspapers to reach all portions of the British Islands within a few hours; in part to the fact that serious men still devote themselves seriously, and competently, to the criticism of poetry—even when not occupants of the dignified, but too often desiccating, chairs of college professorships; and largely to the still well-justified belief of Englishmen that England is, as it has ever been, the native heath of the great makers of song.

In Paris and Berlin also, though they are geographically larger countries, this state of affairs is approximately duplicated. These cities are centers of criticism of sufficient strength and weight to really reward distinction in the eyes of Frenchmen and Germans at large, as well as in the eyes of the outside world. But of America one must assert, without even a hope of contradiction, that there is no city which possesses this power; and that it is time to ask ourselves why this is so and what, so far as poetry is concerned, are the consequences.

Immediately we are reminded, of course, that our country, unlike those mentioned above, is of vast size and variedly independent interests, and that it has a number of great cities, each with its almost equally influential and independent newspapers and periodicals, that judge books

for themselves. This situation has its advantages, doubtless. But the disadvantageous consequences to the poet, who has not, like the writer of fiction, say, strong advertisement behind him, are continually manifest. The local interests with their local writers are so many, and the spirit of independent and conflicting criticism is so strong in the various cities—New York, Chicago, and Boston, for instance—that the poet has to make not one reputation, but ten: and this at a time when reputation is practically the only reward of his work, and when it is, perhaps, easier to commit theft of poetic reputations than ever before in literary history.

If this be doubted, if there are those who have believed that Boston's former prestige in matters poetical was descending to New York, they must by now be greatly disillusioned. For what Boston has lost New York has certainly not gained. Indeed, so much is unconsciously admitted by several book reviews of the latter city which hardly make an attempt at reviewing American, or other, poetry; nor is there a newspaper, with at present one doubtful exception, that is not in a bad way so far as well-informed and intelligent opinion of poetry is concerned. One might, in fact, after abstracting from New York reviews opinions parroted from abroad, easily maintain that poorer criticism of poetry has come from that seething metropolis during the last year, than from any other city of size in America.

So far as the American poet is concerned, this lack of a critical center for his wares would be of less moment if he had any authoritative opinion whatever to appeal to; if there were in his literary Sodom and Gomorrah a half-dozen competent and trained men of consequence who were by profession, and love, critics of poetry. But setting aside such men as Brownell, Woodberry, William Lyon Phelps, and others, who can or will swim in nothing more recent than Victorian critical waters; or such as Huneker and one or two of foreign extraction who keep almost entirely to exotic European currents, there is only the rare but still powerful pen of Mr. Howells to remind us from time to time that the criticism of poetry and the appreciation of American poetry by any one of high distinction is not a lost art.

It is not meant by this that America has no competent poetic critics. Scattered over the country on various newspapers—or, occasionally periodicals—there are doubtless a score of men and women with as true and keen a faculty of judging verse as one could find in London, Paris, or Berlin. But these writers do not aspire to any professional permanency of constructive criticism.

And it would go hard with any of them if they did so aspire, since there is scarcely a higher review in America that would publish an article dealing with American poets—unless, perhaps, that article were a reassertion of the ignorant but never outworn cry that America has no poets: a cry that is always an excuse to certain people for the guilt of having lost poetry from their soul-contents. Such critical considerations of the work of contemporary American poets as are constantly appearing of English and French poets in the higher periodicals of those countries, is practically unknown with us.

With, then, no strong critical center, no authoritative court of appeal, and with, admittedly, no public behind him, our native poet is often

much put to. And he cannot look to literary folk of other professions—to writers of fiction, editors, college professors, and literati of various kinds—for consolation. Poetry is with them an obsolete form of culture, and the poet who can only make a living for posterity—not for himself and his own generation—is the "poor relation" indeed.

Nor is this all. The American poet who keeps to his profession for years must prevail not only against the ordinary amount of incompetent criticism to which all writers alike must submit, but as well against a large number of prejudiced persons to whom the reviewing of poetry often falls in newspaper and magazine offices, and who may damn him with a license against which, because of his lack of a considerable audience, he is entirely powerless. No clearing-house is demanded by public opinion in these matters, so the defrauding of genius is mere child's play.

These prejudiced persons are for the most part smaller poets, who, for lack of means or ability, have been compelled to take to criticism for a career, and who use the petty power so obtained to keep properly humble those poets whom they personally dislike or to whose work some jealousy, natural or unnatural, makes them hostile.

As there are many of these poet-critics dragging at the life of poetry in America, it is a matter worth remedying. Meanwhile, whoever is interested should thoroughly discount the animadversions of every poet who has not ripely turned critic, until at least a higher tribunal of authoritative criticism has been established over our letters. Nor should those who care for the welfare of American poetry be misled by the excessive praise which these poet-critics often give to English poets or to their particular friends, as a contrast to their often guilty depreciation of work by other Americans. For there is always a sufficiently strong inclination among American reviewers to out-English the English themselves in doing justice to poets of genius, to regard any voice with a London accent, be it little or large, as of more real importance than any that is American. And if the reason for this is that our critics are still hypnotized by their English ancestry and tradition—noble as these are and continue to be poetically—it nevertheless results in making the truism that a prophet is not without honor in his own land doubly effective against the ill-starred American poet.

Great critics, then, or even serious professional judges of poetry are sadly needed among us, and until one or two manifest themselves let us have an end of this cry, coming too frequently from those who are not truly informed or unprejudiced, that we have no great poets.

RUSSELL HART.

"VESTED RIGHTS"—IN REBUTTAL

In the July issue of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW the article by Mr. Cyril Dos Passos, "Vested Rights: A Refutation of Vice-President Marshall's Views," presents an interesting debate.

It would seem, however, that a close study of the early history of law would lead to the conclusion that the Vice-President and Mr. Dos Passos are each only half right.

The Vice-President, as reported, states that both the right to inherit and the right to bequeath and devise are not inherent or "natural" rights, but are privileges conferred upon the individual by the State, and could therefore be taken away. Mr. Dos Passos says that both the right to inherit and the right to devise *are* natural and inherent and cannot be taken away. Each vigorously denies the whole of what the other affirms.

I would say that the right to inherit has always been considered an inherent or natural right, while the right to devise has not been so considered, but on the contrary was not recognized by any of the early peoples from whose customs our institutions have so largely sprung. The right to inherit is the right of the living, and within my knowledge this has never been seriously denied by any society of men, whether tribe, gens, hundred or State. On the other hand, the right to devise and bequeath which is a right of the dead and respected as such, is a privilege distinctly conferred by society upon the individual.

Consider two early peoples, the Anglo-Saxons and the Romans. And here it is fitting to say that no part of our legal structure has been influenced by the Roman or civil law so much as has our law of inheritance and succession. This is due to the fact, largely, that the clerks, monks, and abbots of the mediæval Church, all of whom were versed in Latin learning, were the only ones capable of writing wills. They were present at the death-bed, wrote the will, became the repositories of the instrument, and through the ecclesiastical courts attended to the administration and distribution of the deceased's estate. At a very early period the Church constantly taught that men should atone for wrongs done during lifetime by gifts for the relief of the poor and for other pious purposes, thus incidentally acquiring great wealth for herself. And the ecclesiastical courts, as a matter of course, applied the principles of Latin jurisprudence.

The Roman right of inheritance was predicated upon the "universal succession." The patriarch of the family was invested with the *universitas juris* or bundle of rights and duties which he held as guardian and trustee for the family. The identity of the individual was swallowed up in that of the family. The family was the unit of society. It partook of the nature of a corporation sole. It never died. If the chieftain or patriarch passed away, "long lived the king." When a Roman citizen adopted or *adrogated* a son, not already under *patria potestas,* he succeeded universally to the property and liabilities of the child, much as does an assignee in bankruptcy. Inheritance, therefore, was simply the universal succession of the *haeres* at the death of the patriarch. The deceased did not live on in the representative capacity of the heir, but the family did.

Such was their inheritance. In regard to wills and testaments, however, the evidence seems conclusive that they were only allowed to take effect upon the failure of those entitled to the inheritance by right of blood relationship. First came the *sui,* or direct descendants; next, the *agnates;* third, the *gentiles* or collective members of the dead man's gens. The testament could only stand when there were no gentiles to be found or when they waived their rights. The first Roman will was always executed in the *Comitia Calata,* thus showing the testamentary right not to

be inherent in the individual. If in the *comitia* complaint was made by any aggrieved by its dispositions, the testament was vetoed at once.

So when the laws of Solon gave the Athenians testamentary power, they were forbidden to disinherit their direct male descendants. Similar provisions are to be found governing the will of Bengal, and the rabbinical testament which supplied a defect of the Mosaic law that nowhere recognized a testamentary right.

And centuries after the Twelve Tables of law, we find the remedy called *querala inofficiosi testamenti* or the "plaint of an unduteous will," which was evoked when children or natural heirs were disinherited. The older Romans never looked upon a will as an instrument for disinheriting a family, but as something to be used only when there was no family, or to make a fairer and more equitable distribution than their later rules of intestate succession gave.

It is noteworthy, too, that their early will was always a conveyance *inter vivos*—between the living—like the Saxon *post obit* gift, and was neither secret nor revocable.

This brief glance at the Roman civil law which so largely influenced our own testamentary law shows that the right to inherit was always considered inherent and natural in the descendants of the dead, but the right to will was not so regarded.

The early institutions of the Anglo-Saxons bear out this same conclusion. For example, Tacitus says of the Germans that they knew nothing of the testament, although they did have rules of intestate succession. The *allod* or fee in those far-gone times was not even susceptible of transfer *inter vivos*, and when later the power of alienating land became recognized, it was very commonly necessary to obtain the consent of the real or presumptive heir before the transfer was made, thus showing the right of inheritance to have been considered natural and inherent. Possibly this consent of the heir gave birth to the "confirm"—*confirmavit*—in the operative words of the conveyance.

The common belief that there was a will before the Norman Conquest is not accepted by Sir Frederick Pollock and other students of English law. What is now said to have been their will was the *post obit* gift, a disposition of property *in præsenti*, to take effect after death, but neither revocable, ambulatory, nor hereditative. This was condemned not so much on account of feudalism and primogeniture, as commonly supposed, but because it was wrung from a man in his death agony, and further because no publicity attached to the act. It was a gift without transfer of possession. It seems that unless authorized by local custom there was no power to devise land in the twelfth century. Later when wills became more common we find in them the denunciatory clause which cursed the heirs if they disputed the gift. Testamentary dispositions of property which were opposed to the interests of the heir were very vigorously condemned by the judges of Henry II., thus duplicating the attitude of the Romans toward disinherison.

Indeed, it is quite possible that the right to devise is so often considered a natural one because in the great majority of cases it is exercised in a natural way. Else why the so-common belief that a will is invalid if it cuts off a natural heir "without a shilling." When children or spouse are disinherited to-day by a devise to strangers to the blood

of the testator, it is generally supposed that there are exceptional circumstances justifying the act. If not, the instrument is promptly attacked and the attempt made to "break" it under one pretense or the other.

And who will doubt that if in any large locality to-day, or if in any large society of men, a church or secret order, the custom should grow up to disinherit children or wife and bestow the property on strangers, that the legislature or the courts would not at once step in and deny such right to the individual?

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL.

AGAIN "THE ETHICS OF MIRACLES"

WEST ORANGE, NEW JERSEY, *July 9, 1913.*

DEAR EDITOR,—Kindly permit me to reply to the article, "The Ethics of Miracles," in the June number of the REVIEW. The writer objects to miracles, on the ground of their partiality to some and injustice to others. But the same objection can be urged against the most frequent and universal laws of nature. Reference was made by the writer of the article to the "miraculous draught of fishes." Two fishermen are favored, the others are not; this is unjust. But does not nature endow some men with the ability to catch fish, while others are not so endowed? Is such a condition wrong, or unjust? It is not a question of ethics. It is not a question of justice, or injustice.

The blind man is referred to, and his healing is a partiality which is condemned. But nature is constantly working out the same kind of acts. Some children are born blind; some are not. It is not a question of ethics.

The widow of Nain lost her son and his being brought back to life was a partiality. Again, Nature works her same kind of partialities. There are homes remaining unbroken for years; other homes are always in mourning.

The objection to miracles from the ethical standpoint, from the standpoint of "ought such things to be?" can be urged against conditions of human life which have always manifested inequalities. One child is born inheriting a strong body and capable mind; another inherits the very opposite. It is not an unethical situation. It is non-ethical. It does not belong to the sphere of ethics.

Whether the miracles of Jesus be historically true, is one of question. The solution of that question is not furthered by considering it from the ethical point of view.

If there be a personal God, then the present inequalities of life exist by His permission and arrangement. If the personal God once chose to work by miracle, that also was His arrangement. Ethics pertains to one no more than to the other. They both are non-ethical conditions.

I am, dear sir,

J. M. CORUM, JR.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

IMMIGRATION: A WORLD MOVEMENT AND ITS AMERICAN SIGNIFICANCE. By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

THIS scholarly book is perhaps a little too inclusive in its point of view for the utmost value and effect. An introduction which academically points out the differences between immigration on the one hand and conquest, invasion, and colonization on the other, seems time-wasting in a book designed for practical people in a busy age. Again, with proper deference to the respected historic method, the reader will perhaps feel that the account Mr. Fairchild gives us of American immigration in the past is lengthy and detailed out of proportion to its usefulness in shedding light upon present problems. That the immigration problem of to-day is vastly different from that of fifty or a hundred years ago is readily understood; and much more than this may be understood from reading Mr. Fairchild's narrative, if a learned mastery of the subject is desired. The main point, however, is that the problem has changed. In the author's own words: "The old stock arguments, pro and con, which seem to have stood the test of time, need to be thoroughly reviewed. The modern immigrant needs to be viewed in the setting of to-day. Especially must it be borne in mind that the fact—if such it be—that immigration in the past has worked no injury to the nation, and has resulted in good to the immigrants, by no means indicates that a continuance of past policy and practices in the matter will entail no serious evil consequences, nor bring about disaster in the future."

As early as 1841, this country had passed beyond the primitive stage of unlimited opportunity, and the complaint was voiced that immigration decreased wages. By 1850, more than half the paupers wholly or partially supported in the United States were of foreign birth. At the close of the period 1820-1860 a distinct feeling of opposition toward unrestricted immigration had grown up—a feeling intensified by the practice of foreign countries of emptying their poor-houses and even their jails upon our shores. By 1882 the competition of the foreigner in the American labor market began to be keenly felt.

Through such considerations we arrive at the modern period. Mr. Fairchild delves deeply and intelligently into the available statistics. His conclusions based on the obvious facts and figures are checked by reference to undetermined or hitherto unnoticed factors. For example, he points out that the ordinary comparison of the proportion of pauperism among the native and the foreign-born parts of our population is misleading, for the reason that relatively few of the foreign-born have resided in this country for ten or more years. One of the most important differences between the New Immigration and the Old he makes out to be the fact that the New is not to any great extent an immigration of

families, and the preponderance of males, he shows, is the cause of numerous evils. On the other hand, he considers that there is no satisfactory evidence to prove that as a result of immigration crime has increased out of proportion to the increase in the adult population. If there has been a slight increase in the number of crimes of violence, and of those which may be roughly classed as "disorderly conduct," there has been no such growth in the relative number of "gainful offenses."

The general conclusions of most value have to do, of course, with social and economic conditions. Careful study reveals the fact that the birth-rate in this country first began to decline appreciably about 1830, just the period when the effects of immigration began to be strongly felt, and that it diminished progressively with the swelling volume of the immigration current. As laborers, the author points out, the immigrants are a body of picked men, since the physically and mentally deficient are weeded out by inspection; but there is no doubt that they have depressed the standard of living, and in the light of the decline of the native birth-rate the economic benefit of their presence is highly questionable. That a young and vigorous country should be dependent for its development upon a constant influx of foreigners the author considers "unthinkable"; nor is there any apparent need for the immediate exploitation of *all* our resources. But whether economically advantageous or not, immigration has profoundly affected the distribution of wealth, widening the gap between rich and poor. Moreover, the high percentage of pauperism among the foreign-born adds to the burden of public and private relief, and from such relief the employer of labor ultimately gets the most benefit.

It is of the American significance of immigration that Mr. Fairchild writes most effectively, although his effort to secure a wider outlook is not wholly fruitless. The value of his conclusions, of course, depends not upon novelty, but rather upon the exactness of the statistical methods by which they are reached. The book is restrictionist in trend, but suggests no specific programme.

Mexico, the Land of Unrest. By Henry Baerlein. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1913.

Mr. Baerlein's book about Mexico is a good book, which, one feels, might easily have been a better book—and a shorter. Mr. Baerlein was special correspondent for the London *Times;* he is an experienced writer and traveler, and the author of several books about foreign countries. Reading what he has to say about Mexico, one acquires a considerable respect for his impartiality as well as for his skill in getting at the facts. One respects, too, the spirit in which he declines, almost contemptuously, it seems, the task of making a systematic whole out of material essentially chaotic. First-hand observations—however miscellaneous—have their value: and what thoroughness of investigation would suffice to lay bare the whole labyrinthine and subterranean history of Mexico under Diaz, and after? Mr. Baerlein is modest as to his facts, but pretentious, or at least perverse, in his mode of presenting them. His apparent dislike of plain, uncomplicated, statement, and his love of sarcasm, are real obstacles to the reader.

His indictment of Porfirio Diaz is severe. The former president, avers Mr. Baerlein, systematically concealed the truth and suppressed the men who knew him too well. As long as possible his partisans, native and foreign, endeavored to keep the world in ignorance of real conditions in Mexico. However, opposition to the old régime gathered and strengthened, and the revolution which finally swept all before it would have come sooner if Mexicans had not been so "long-suffering and contradictory." The sufficing causes that led to the outbreak were principally these: flagrant abuses of the legal system; Don Porfirio's habit of ignoring the semi-independence of the states, while he inflicted upon them despots cruder and crueller than himself; and finally the unsatisfactory economic condition of the whole Republic. A chapter upon Yucatan gives concrete instances of a state of affairs worse than may be readily imagined. For the most part the author is cautious of sweeping statements, and lets particulars stand for themselves. He succeeds in making us feel, however, that sweeping conclusions might be all too easily rendered convincing if one were disposed to rely upon all sorts of information. No one, he says in effect, can prove certain things about Mexico with mathematical certainty—but here is this case and that, sifted out of much material of the same sort.

The book is unduly long; it reads as if it had been written, in the first instance, anyhow and anywhere, and afterward padded rather than blue-penciled. The Kiplingesque chapter upon "Diaz at the Door of Hell" is a rather sad affair, and there are other flights of rhetoric that could well be spared. Nevertheless, faulty but forceful in style, the narrative makes its impression. Mr. Baerlein keeps pounding away at the myth built up round Porfirio Diaz until little is left of it. "At the start," he fairly and once for all admits, "the methods of Diaz were justified; the country was in chaos, and the treasury was bare, the Constitution could not be regarded, and in fact one does not censure, one praises him, for his un-English statesmanship. A system tantamount to martial law was still applied to a community which had progressed; and in the last ten or a dozen years the autocrat was the center of a most corrupt and most oppressive oligarchy." The result of reading this book will be a more intelligent sympathy with Mexico and an increased disinclination to accept the "necessary evil" plea of her would-be dictators. After all, there are less than five hundred pages in the portentously thick volume, and in these pages there is enough of real interest to warrant an earnest effort to read them through.

The Flowery Republic. By Frederick McCormick. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1913.

Mr. McCormick is a war correspondent, and this is a war correspondent's book—the book of a man who has been in close touch with the events he describes. The author has had plenty of opportunity for observation, time for reflection, evidenced by shrewd comment, but neither time nor material for the sort of philosophical and thoroughly informed discussion of Chinese events and character that we would like, but perhaps are none too likely to get from any source.

The story is generally well told—despite a tendency to lapse into the

style of a mere diary (event, hearsay, or other item of news being recorded by short paragraphs for pages at a time), and despite a tendency, of contrary effect, toward quoting at unnecessary length documents to which the writer had access. The miscellaneous character of the whole, the insufficiency of the commentary altogether to interpret the facts, and the inclusion of matters of no great apparent significance—all this is excusable considering the chaotic and somewhat mysterious nature of the events with which Mr. McCormick has to deal. His book is not shapely, but it is interesting. The day-to-day and week-to-week record of events is varied and enlivened by bits of personal experience or casual dialogue, and the general stream of the narrative is on the whole broad enough and deep enough to give one a sense of the big movement.

Formal characterization of the chief figures in the revolution is not attempted as a matter of duty, and many of the strange Chinese names remain to us merely names indeed. Yet the personalities of Yuan Shih-Kai and Sun Yat Sen come out in the end strongly. It is a little surprising that we should get such impressions of men whose performances, so far as the narrative makes them plain, seem to consist so largely in self-restraint and in biding their time. Perhaps the effect is due in part to the contrast they make with the purely Oriental activities of those governors and generals who merely spar for time and then run away, and of the Manchu officials whose frantic efforts to resign are disallowed by the Court. There is color, and there are striking touches of character in the book—enough to repay reading apart from the quest for information. Yuan Shih-Kai's official "rheumatism of the leg" and the use he made of it are things to be remembered with joy, nor will one soon forget the incidental and apparently quite irrelevant picture of old General Chiang Kuei-ti "with his cheery face and bent shoulders," who in a time of serious disorder "creeps jauntily into his tight little carriage, and with a very small guard and a headsman following on behind, goes out into the city." The General's stock remark, "You have me," seems an ironic comment on the whole situation.

Altogether *The Flowery Republic* gives an apparently quite complete and certainly very detailed account of the Chinese revolution from the revolt in Szechuan in August, 1911, to the Nanking assembly's transfer of the seat of government to Peking in April, 1912. Of especial interest is the account of the financial embarrassments of the provisional government, of which Sun Yat Sen was the head, which, until an understanding had been reached with Yuan Shih-Kai, could obtain no recognition except from Japan, from which it was afraid to accept it. Our own government, it seems, was committed to the Japanese Cabinet, while the Chinese view was that even that Cabinet was not privy to the plans of the Elder Statesmen. Significant, too, is the chapter upon the present state of China, which follows a moderate and reasonable defense of the Manchu dynasty. "The unrest of China's population," writes Mr. McCormick, "is the greatest proof of China's growth and prosperity. At the zenith of her power she confronts those who have replaced the Manchus. It is obvious that the national antagonism must now be concentrated upon the outsider, whether that outsider is personified in one nation or in all the great powers together. The Revolution has but begun. China is careering onward to her fate, subject per-

haps alone to that Providence which 'clears the grounding berg and steers the grinding floe.' What will China do when she looks in the glass—when she discovers that the thing ailing her is that she is, not Manchu, but Chinese; when she has nowhere to look but to herself, with no longer a scapegoat upon which to visit her own sins?"

Giving the impression of a book somewhat hastily thrown together, *The Flowery Republic,* nevertheless, makes us feel the actuality of events in China, and gives us as a total result a more closely human view than most of us have had of the Chinese people.

JOURNAL OF JASPER DANKHAERTS. Edited by BARTLETT BURLEIGH JAMES, B.D., PH.D., AND J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

This volume in the series *Original Narratives of Early American History* is of value to students of history, and has a degree of curious interest for the general reader. Dankhaerts and Sluyters—emissaries of the rather obscure religious sect of Labadists, at that time domiciled in Holland, visited this country during the years 1679-1680, with a view to finding lands suitable for their community. They remained for a considerable time in New York, making excursions into the surrounding regions, visiting Boston, and coming into contact with people of all sorts. Later they journeyed to the South River (the Delaware) and obtained from Augustine Herrman a promise of lands forming part of his vast estate. For those who love authentic details of the past, here is a feast indeed. It is not pretended that Dankhaerts had the qualities of a Pepys or a Woolman, but he observed and recorded with industry and conscientious care. His judgments of persons are, to be sure, somewhat biased by his religious opinions, and his estimate, for instance, of the holiness of the Boston church-goers is probably not to be accepted without a grain of salt. To his mind, Quakers were merely hypocritical nuisances, and the one man in a thousand whom he found in the new country seems to have been John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians." His topographical descriptions are of especial interest, and now and then his droning narrative gives us pictures almost vivid, such as the brief glimpse of Harvard College.

The book has been edited with thorough scholarship. Nearly every person mentioned by Dankhaerts is identified in the notes and almost as many particulars are given about each as would serve for a paragraph in *Who's Who.* In many cases inaccuracies of the diarist are corrected, and no obscurities have been left unclarified.

VOICES OF TO-MORROW: CRITICAL STUDIES OF THE NEW SPIRIT IN LITERATURE. By EDWIN BJÖRKMAN. New York and London: Mitchell Kennerley, 1913.

Among books that bear the marks of a practised hand and betoken sound knowledge, far too many are mere collections of occasional papers, slightly connected in purpose and varying in value. Of such books Edwin Björkman's *Voices of To-morrow* is a rather favorable example. The

chapters devoted to such writers as Strindberg, Björnson, Selma Lagerlöf, and Francis Grierson, who are comparatively little known in this country, serve admirably as introductions and as awakeners of intelligent interest. On the other hand, the article upon Joseph Conrad reminds us of what we commonly read in reviews of that writer's books and otherwise does little but epitomize what Conrad himself has told us in *A Personal Record*. Writes Mr. Björkman: "And though, with a touch of melancholy seldom found in him, he [Conrad] has told us that all the long and trying years at sea brought him nothing but 'a dozen or so of commendatory letters,' we who read his books know that those years brought him something more: a sense of life's fullness and seriousness that has proved the steadying principle of his art." Those of us who have read *A Personal Record* know at any rate that that book is a prolonged expression of the writer's sense of the value of his quarter-deck training.

Mr. Björkman regards the progress of human thought as a sort of zigzag swing of the pendulum between the skeptical state of mind on the one hand and the mystical state upon the other. At present the swing is toward mysticism—the "new" mysticism, however, for no phase of thought is ever exactly repeated. "Mysticism has always demanded a plunge of some kind, but the distinguishing mark of our new mysticism is that the plunge stands neither for an end in itself nor for a negation of the ordinary modes and objects of consciousness. The mystic of to-day does not dream of extinguishing the searchlight of self-consciousness. He wishes only to reverse it in order that by its light he may explore the world within and thus attain to new sympathy and new understanding for the world without. He is not renouncing knowledge based upon the testimony of the senses and the judgment of the brain: he is instead trying to supplement it with knowledge reached by new routes." All this is sound and well said. However, certain of the writers considered, such as Edith Wharton, have little discernible relation to the main thesis; of others, such as Bergson, the treatment is rather inadequate; and the unity of the whole book seems too much in the nature of an afterthought.

The essays contained in this volume are agreeable and persuasive, though they have value rather as appreciation, tending to eulogy, than as thorough and consistent criticism. It is advantageous no doubt to view Grierson as the prophet of the new mysticism, Maeterlinck as its poet, and Bergson as its philosopher, but an analysis of modern and future currents of thought demands greater depth of treatment, and Mr. Björkman's book which merely scratches the surface of philosophical criticism is a bit disappointing.

JUSTICE AND THE MODERN LAW. By EVERETT V. ABBOTT. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

At a time when many of us are becoming uneasily conscious of possible defects in our legal system as well as in our other institutions, this book by a lawyer about the law is to be welcomed. Its aim is to show the possibility of bringing about a practical identity of ethical ideals and legal practice. Substantially it is a searching criticism

of legal principles as understood by "the lawyer of the common law," and of the manner in which the law is interpreted by the courts.

The fundamental difficulty, according to Mr. Abbott, lies in the fact that "we buttress wrongs with fallacies which we are entirely capable of exposing. Upon one pretext or another we refuse to apply principles of morality which we have long ago accepted as sound to cases in which their application will interfere with our customary practices." The three essential principles of law and ethics alike are defined as "the egoistic right of freedom, the altruistic duty to help, and the voluntary, reciprocating rights and duties of contract. Instances of the failure of the law to conform to these principles are discussed at some length. In morals, the author points out, there is no sharp line of distinction between slander and the circulation of defamatory truths, yet the law punishes the one and not the other. The right of privacy—which is violated when, for instance, a person's photograph is published against his will—is not uniformly upheld by the courts. These are cases in which the fundamental right of freedom goes unrecognized. Of greater moment are the injustices which arise from confusion regarding the principles of consensual obligation. The constitutional inability of the law to see that there may be a valid contract without consideration moving from the promisee, has greatly complicated all cases of the type in which A promises B to do something for C—a type illustrated by the case of a telegraph company which promises to deliver a message. Morally such cases are clear, but the amount of legal haggling about them has been extraordinary. Again, the principle of *caveat emptor,* which is not a moral principle at all, has been, the author declares, "little less than terrible in its effects." Actions treated by the courts under the head of "negligence," he further maintains, are for the most part either actions of assault and battery or actions for breach of contract. "If their nature had been clearly understood we should probably have escaped the notorious 'fellow-servant' rule, the absurd theories as to 'assumption of risk' and the anomalous doctrine that the plaintiff must allege and prove the absence of what we call 'contributory negligence.'"

A point upon which Mr. Abbott insists as of prime importance is the distinction between rights based upon altruism and those which are grounded in consensual obligation. Confusion of thought in this matter has bred much mischief. There is no doubt that altruistic obligations should be enforceable and have been enforced by law. But their determination is in the nature of things more difficult than the determination of rights based upon expressed or implied promises. When we attempt to fix prices or wages, we should at least remember, he argues, that we are endeavoring to enforce essentially altruistic duties.

Under the heading, "The Law as Practised," Mr. Abbott endeavors to show how the underlying principles of the law have been misunderstood by lawyers. His analysis of price regulation is indicative of his general line of argument. Corporation lawyers, he maintains, have failed to grasp the fact that the fundamental objection to legislative regulation of prices lies in the fact that such regulation is the adjudication of a right in which one of the parties is denied a hearing.

Treating of "The Law as Administered," the author analyzes various decisions of the courts in which, he believes, inconsistent reasons were

alleged, and justice was warped by unconscious judicial bias, by respect for precedent, or by legal fictions. The courts, while generally honest, have in his opinion given good grounds for popular discontent and suspicion.

Mr. Abbott's book is as clear as Euclid. On the whole, he makes it tolerably plain that a more thorough application to the law of the principles of ethics and logic—an application that might be feared as merely academic—would simplify difficulties and secure the ends of justice. In general, his arguments commend themselves to common sense.

CERTAINTY AND JUSTICE. By FREDERIC R. COUDERT. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company.

This series of essays upon the conflict between legal precedent and the demand for change in the law to meet changes in social conditions and in public opinion suffers from a certain lack of unity, and contains rather more of the sort of historic discussion dear to the heart of the lawyer in love with the lore of his profession than is quite acceptable to the general reader. Certainly discussions of the status and rights of aliens and of the progress of international law in the treatment of political crime seem rather remote from popular interest.

The central thesis of the book is that "the courts are constantly oscillating between a desire for certainty on the one hand and a desire for flexibility and conformity to present social standards on the other. It is impossible that in a progressive society the law should be absolutely certain; it is equally impossible that the courts should render decisions conforming to prevailing notions of equity without thereby causing a considerable degree of uncertainty." Codification is not the remedy, for the problem usually to be solved is not what rule the law prescribes, but which of several rules applies to a given case.

The law does and must change through application to changing conditions. As an instance of "constitutional development, the evolution of the conception of the right of trial by jury is traced. Regarded originally as an inalienable right, trial by jury has at last been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be a mere mode of procedure. As suggestive of change in another direction, the author, comparing the French criminal procedure with our own, finds advantages in the inquisitorial system and questions the wisdom of the principle that the accused need not testify. Discussing the troubled subject of the Sherman Law, Mr. Coudert finds the "rule of reason" not impossible of fairly uniform application. The true meaning of the Act as interpreted by the courts seems to be "that all contracts and combinations which directly tend to restrain trade are unlawful, and that all attempts to monopolize, brought about by whatever methods, old or new, are equally within the statute." As to the charge of vagueness, the author reminds us that "one is forbidden under severe penalties from driving negligently along the highway, and it is for the judge to charge the jury what constitutes negligence." In a later chapter the almost incredibly medieval story of the progress of the law regarding "riparian rights" certainly illustrates the perversion of precedent, though the subject seems not of first-rate importance.

Mr. Coudert does hardly more than restate problems, but he who makes vital problems appear, as they so often are, matters for gradual adjustment and adaptation rather than for cocksure remedies, performs a real service.

THE COUNTRY CHURCH. By CHARLES OTIS GILL, AND GIFFORD PINCHOT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Apart from statistical matter, which deserves careful study upon the part of those specially concerned in the problem of the country church, this little book may be read through in half an hour, and it is well worth reading by any one who feels the least interest in the general welfare. That the church as a whole, and the country church in particular, is losing something of its former influence is no doubt generally suspected, but few, perhaps, appreciate the importance of the church in country life or the significance of its apparent decline. In his introduction to the volume under consideration, Gifford Pinchot describes the plight of a country community which had been without a church for more than twenty years. The moral and social laxity of this community was flagrant. "Disbelief in the existence of goodness appeared to be common, public disapproval of indecency was timid or lacking, and religion was in general disrepute. Not only was there no day of worship, but also no day of rest. Life was mean, hard, small, selfish, and covetous. Land belonging to the town was openly pillaged by the public officers who held it in trust; real-estate values were low; and among the respectable families there was a general desire to sell their property and move away. When a church was organized, "the change which followed was swift, striking, thorough, and enduring." Comparison of this churchless community with those which keep up a considerable, though lessening, interest in religious matters, points an obvious moral.

The Country Church is published under the authority of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the investigation whose results it embodies grew out of the work of the Commission on Country Life. The method of the investigators was thorough, and, so far as it could be tested, proved exact. The inquiry was limited to two counties—Windsor County, Vermont, and Tompkins County, New York. Within these counties information was gathered upon a large number of specific points, showing the altered conditions that have come to pass in a period of twenty years. Of the questions studied one of the most difficult, as well as important, was that of attendance; for it was found necessary to draw the line sharply between church attendance and church membership. In an effort to answer the question as to the relative increase or decrease of church attendance, recourse was had to the tax list of the county, and, by this and other means, fairly complete lists were obtained of the families living in the county at the beginning and at the end of the chosen period. Carefully selected persons from each church then went over the lists, recording the church-going habits of each member of every family, and the estimates formed in this way tallied almost exactly with the records of counted congregations, of which not a few came to light during the progress of the investigation: in Windsor County such records were found for thirty-five churches.

The results of this painstaking inquiry show badly as to nearly every point of importance. Church membership in Windsor County increased in the twenty years four per cent., and in Tompkins County two per cent.; but during the same period church attendance fell off nearly thirty-one per cent. in Windsor County and thirty-three per cent. in Tompkins County. The expenditures, expressed in dollars, of the churches in Windsor County increased twenty-three per cent., and in Tompkins County seven per cent.; but measured in purchasing power, or in ability to produce results, the expenditures of the churches in the two counties showed a decrease of two and seven per cent., respectively. Moreover, in these two counties the salaries of ministers, which have increased somewhat in nominal amount, nevertheless when reckoned by purchasing showed a decline of seven per cent. in one county and of sixteen per cent. in the other. The information collected as to the educational equipment of country ministers is likewise far from reassuring. It appears that in the two counties only twelve ministers had completed the regular college and seminary course of seven years. "Thirty-four had received either college or seminary training or both together of from three to six years. Ten had taken the course in reading and study prescribed by Methodist Episcopal Conferences; while forty-seven (or more than half) had received no training which could be regarded as adequate for a minister of the present day." These and a mass of similar facts prove beyond reasonable doubt that the country church is fast losing effectiveness.

What is the remedy for this deplorable state of affairs? The authors point out that no one solution of the problem is possible. The condition of the country church stands in vital relation to the condition of country life in general. But if the church cannot thrive where conditions are bad or backward, it is equally true that in the coming reconstruction of country life the church must play the most important part. Improvement and decentralization of schools is strongly advised. Disuse of antiquated methods on the part of the churches and the substitution of a programme of social service, is a clearly indicated necessity. A more effective ministry is urgently needed; and here truly is an opportunity for labor of a genuinely consecrated sort. Finally the evils of "overchurching" must be overcome through friendly co-operation along practical lines.

The country church is one of the most essential agencies of civilization; it is plain that its power for good has weakened alarmingly; remedies none too easily applicable, but in part proved effective, are available—such is the message of this clear, trustworthy, and significant book.

European Cities at Work. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Without delving very deeply for causes, or analyzing methods in great detail, Dr. Howe gives us rapid and interesting sketches of the municipal activities of many German and some British cities, and of the results achieved by them. This makes fascinating reading. Pleasanter than romance is the series of pictures which the book calls up before our minds—pictures of well-planned cities, of beautiful streets, magnifi-

cent railway stations, suburbs laid out with a view not only to convenience, but to comfort and coziness. More rewarding than most traveler's impressions are the thoroughly informed comments of the author upon municipal causes and effects.

The implied, and sometimes expressed, contrast of American with European cities gives zest to the book. Certainly in America "the city has grown faster than our city sense," and we have not yet learned "to think in big-community terms." As we read of the surprisingly large number of things which the German city successfully does—not only of municipal lighting and street-railway systems that actually pay a profit and of public works undertaken in a big-visioned way, but also of forms of taxation which place the principal burden upon the rich, and of compensation and insurance laws that protect the working-man—when we read of all this we inevitably begin to feel that we are sadly behind the times. To be told, in addition to all the rest, that in Germany the theater is subsidized, with advantage to general culture; that the cities provide generously for amusement in connection with public or semi-public places; that nearly all the larger towns maintain symphony orchestras with official directors—such facts as these serve to emphasize a contrast that is otherwise almost too obvious for comfort.

The contrast gives zest to the exposition, but it also excites curiosity. How is it that the Germans succeed so well? What is the cause of our own relative backwardness? How may be best profit by foreign examples? Precise answers to such questions evidently lie a little beyond the aim of the present book. Such answers as Dr. Howe gives are rather general, and not altogether encouraging.

The advantage of the German city, it appears, lies very largely in its freedom under the State to do anything it is not expressly forbidden to do. The American city, on the other hand, is under bondage to the State legislature. "Privileged interests, political bosses, and suspicious farmers have been engaged for a generation in welding chains about our cities until they have become our most helpless and inelastic political agencies." Home rule and the creation of civic pride are the remedies for the existing municipal inefficiency. So far, so good; but it also appears that the German city owes a large part of its efficiency to a bureaucratic form of government which we can hardly think of as tolerable in this country. In effect the government is in the hands of the wealthier classes. The business men who rule the city, we are told, have risen above the interests of class. Not only do they govern in behalf of the people, but they have actually shifted the burden of taxation from the poor to their own shoulders. They have taxed their own incomes. The income tax is the central feature of the system, and provides from one-fourth to one-half of the total tax receipts.

Of especial interest is the successful application by the Germans of the principle of taxing land values. Such taxation has proved effectual in discouraging any one from acquiring land except for use; it has facilitated municipal improvement; and it derives revenue from the value which the community as a whole creates.

At thought of an American city governed by a plutocracy in the interests of the whole people we cannot, perhaps, prevent the "cynic devil in our blood" from chuckling a bit. Comparison of foreign city govern-

ments with our own makes our municipal problems seem all the more formidable. It is no part of Dr. Howe's plan, however, to advocate definite changes. His book supplies facts formative of opinion, and will help to create that "city sense," the lack of which he deplores.

THE ORIGIN AND IDEALS OF THE MODERN SCHOOL. By FRANCISCO FERRER, TRANSLATED BY JOSEPH MCCABE. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

The publication of this book, of which the original is a manuscript found among Ferrer's papers after his death, was worth while—not on the ground that it contains any educational theories of great value, but precisely because Ferrer in Spain seems to have been fighting in large part for what in this country we have practically attained. Ferrer is thus to our minds justified. As self-portrayed in these pages, he appears as a sincere and upright man, as an atheist with a curious faith in the power of science and positivist philosophy to save mankind, as something of a visionary, and as a gentle extremist. His educational programme, described in a style which somehow manages to be both simple and inflated, makes one think of Rousseau or Pestalozzi rather than of any modern educator. On such points of his theory as the necessity of excluding from the arithmetic all examples having a capitalistic flavor, no comment is needed; nor can we agree that total emancipation of thought in regard to great social questions should be the ever-present aim in the teaching of children. The specimens of essays written by his pupils which Ferrer included in his account of his work, would hardly be regarded by American teachers as satisfactory evidences of progress. Nevertheless, Ferrer had the courage of his convictions, and he died for them. He really took a step in the direction of modern education and of popular education. All honor to him for what he did and for what he undeservedly suffered! His importance in modern history does not, perhaps, make a knowledge of his career incumbent upon us, but before formulating any sort of opinion about him we should read his *apologia pro vita sua.*

IN THE VANGUARD. By KATRINA TRASK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Those who believe fervently in universal peace will find a pleasant sentimental appeal in Katrina Trask's little play, *The Vanguard.* Mrs. Trask has a gift for expressing the sentiment of the wholesome—for making kindliness and sweet reasonableness as attractive in their way as the glamour of romantic love. The characters in *The Vanguard* are of the sort which attain a certain convincingness, because they appeal to our good nature and to our affections. But they are none too substantial, and we find it difficult to take them very seriously. The mildly poetic effect of those scenes in which girls and boys dance, singing, upon the village green seems hardly consistent with many prosaic details and with the intended horror of battle scenes. But the plot is simple, which is a virtue. We find it hard to believe that a young soldier who had served

with distinguished gallantry in several battles, who, when his soul revolted at the slaughter of his fellow-men, nevertheless as standard-bearer, carried his colors into the thick of the fray—that such a man should be treated in the village of his birth as a pariah, because his conscience bade him leave the army when his original term of enlistment had expired. Doubtless the villagers would shake their heads over him a bit—but as for making him a martyr, one doubts that they would do him such grace. And would his parents feel his home-coming as a bitter humiliation—would his father refuse to take his hand? No, we cannot help feeling that Mrs. Trask has made some of her characters too narrow-minded in order to increase by contrast the moral breadth of her hero.

The dialogue gives pleasure by its graceful clearness, but often we seem to hear a treble note where a manly bass was intended. Yet lack of a strenuousness and reality may be forgiven even in a drama that deals with war, if it only has genuineness and simplicity and if we feel the current of fine, clear, and above all sincere, sentiment that runs through *The Vanguard,* we shall not complain that what seems intended as a strong protest turns out to be rather a gentle remonstrance.

V. V.'s Eyes. By Henry Sydnor Harrison. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

Something more than exaggerated expectation is responsible for the fact that we experience in reading *V. V.'s Eyes* the pang of disappointment so often produced by an attempt to repeat a former success. One feels somehow, throughout this novel, that the author of *Queed* is never exactly in his true vein. It may be said without implied disparagement to the creator of *Joseph Vance,* that Mr. Harrison's style has become a little too De Morganish, and despite a good deal of drollery we miss the fine, free felicity of phrase of the earlier novel. *V. V.'s Eyes* is a good book, much sounder and much more human in its appeal than most, but it simply makes us uncomfortable with the thought that it is always just going to be absolutely enjoyable, which it never quite is.

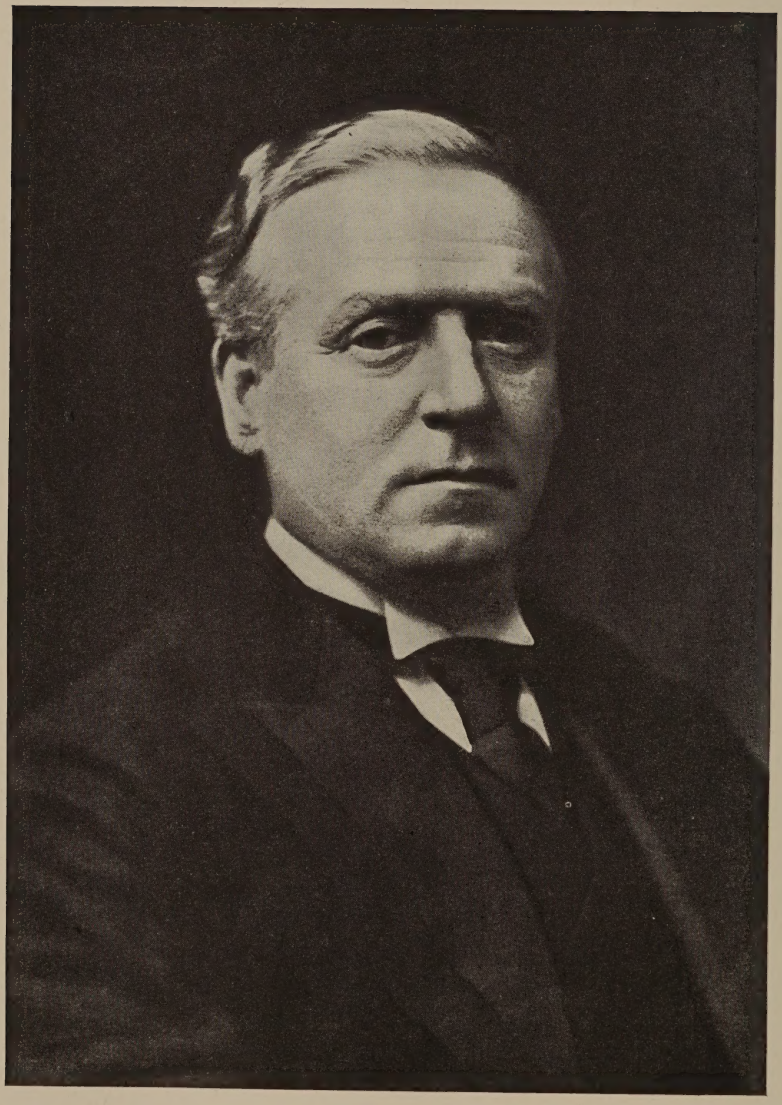
Doubtless no such person as Queed ever lived and breathed; perhaps he lacked the vital organs. But we believed in him, and we never wholly believe in "V. V." The trouble seems to lie deep in the nature of the theme. Queed was to begin with a "wise fool" and he was quite naturally transformed. His weaknesses endeared him. The girl who helped transform him was just an unusually fine specimen of human girl. But "V. V." is superhumanly good to begin with, and the girl whom he transforms is just plain, selfish, and thoughtless, while her calculating and selfish mamma is so obviously a sort of scapegoat that we almost resent the very able representation of her designing selfishness. To portray attractively the young man of Christ-like character is not easy, and the spoiled daughter of riches—who has nevertheless a soul to be wakened—has to be very attractive indeed to seem worth all the pother. So the little lame slum doctor seems unable to excite all the sympathy he deserves, and it is doubtful if Cally Heth excites any real sympathy at all.

"V. V." trusts everybody, believes that everybody is good, and despite his own embarrassments and perturbed apologies, goes on expect-

ing everybody to be good, until he makes them so uncomfortable that they turn good. So it happens that Cally Heth could not rest in peace after she had allowed poor drunken Jack Dalhousie's reputation to be destroyed through her silence, nor could she be happy about conditions in her father's cheroot-manufactory—whence came her wealth—nor, finally, could she marry Mr. Hugo Canning, the rich and highly eligible New-Yorker, forgetting V. V.'s eyes and all they told her. Variously but in vain she tries to crush the little slum doctor out of her life, but he is like the man whom Browning's tyrant cannot destroy; he stands erect, catches at God's skirts, and prays, whereupon his would-be crusher is afraid. In brief, V. V.'s half conscious influence—the influence of his faith—makes the story, creating situations pathetic and humoresque.

As to the title character, we are troubled by the thought that some element of manhood is left out of him, so that somehow in real life he "wouldn't work." The other characters are for the most part quite life-like. Cally's poor relations, the slangy, slipshod, sensible Cooneys, are extremely likable—and V. V.'s little girl friend—Mr. Harrison draws little girl friends well—is amusing and dear. Of Mr. Hugo Canning, however, who might have been conceived by the author of *The Inner Shrine,* we see perhaps a little too much. Mr. Harrison does this kind of thing well, but it is not what he does best, and we sometimes wish that he wouldn't portray types.

It seems almost a law of nature that a second novel should not be the equal of a good first novel; but after reading *V. V.'s Eyes* we feel no less friendly disposed toward Mr. Harrison and no less inclined to read his next story. He still retains his power to make us smile, and in the conclusion will perhaps draw tears.



THE RIGHT HON. HERBERT HENRY ASQUITH

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

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ASQUITH: THE MASTER STATESMAN

BY THE EDITOR

Has England found herself?

Two short years ago this would have been the idlest of questions. The whole nation was in turmoil. Class was arrayed against class in a spirit of bitterness approaching hate. Demagogism was rampant against privilege, and privilege, in turn, aroused at last from confident assurance of actual possession, was become violent. The burdens of taxation were being shifted to backs able to bear them. New definitions were being found for "vested rights." Titles to great tracts of land were openly questioned. Monarchs of bygone days had granted them, to be sure; but had the earth, the source of very existence, ever been the monarchs' to give? Granting the validity accorded by usage to prolonged occupancy and conceding the futility of creating anarchy in ownerships, did not a moral right still inhere in the people to take to themselves by indirection the advantages of which they had been deprived by the favor of man, contrary to the law of nature?

These were the questions being pushed home to millions of minds from which sustenance had been withheld so long as to render them incapable of reasoning and to leave only growing comprehension of the power of numbers. The temporizing policy of successive ministries of pampering, in-

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stead of educating, the masses was finding its inevitable consequence. The proletariat was waxing insolent; labor, making exorbitant demands, was become a bully; and the commonwealth which had grown to be the most powerful in the world by overthrowing tyranny after tyranny, stood menaced by the worst of despotisms—that of a half-educated, untrained, intolerant populace.

The peril not only to the British Empire, but to theoretically free and well-ordered institutions, even to Saxon civilization, was both real and imminent. But realization came slowly to those who considered themselves most deeply concerned and most unjustly wronged by the sudden, world-wide on-sweep of democracy. For more than a century the "governing class" had not ceased for an instant to rule. Nominal authority had passed with suspicious regularity and ready acquiescence back and forth from one political party to another. Genius embodied in a Bright or a Gladstone had extorted an occasional though reluctant and hardly more than negligible, concession. But the finality of decision still lay and was expected to remain forever in a House of Lords, which long since had forfeited the respect rightfully due a cultured, trained, and patriotic aristocracy by taking to itself a swarm of titled tradesmen, who were only too glad to show disdain of their true class by truckling to their betters.

That a governmental anachronism such as this should exist for long, especially as a body of sheer obdurate resistance, in a community justly renowned for its intelligence, self-direction, and resolution, was an incredible supposition. And yet, so strong is tradition and so powerful the privilege hallowed by age from generation to generation, few of the class born, as they believed, to govern could, and of those none would, recognize the inevitableness of expansion of authority in the development of a race instinctively hostile to stagnation.

So it happened, but two short years ago, that Britain approached more closely to civil war than the vast majority of her own people suspected or than the smallest number of our countrymen ever dreamed. The many heralded "crises" in England had become subjects of passing jocularity in America, but those of us who were on the spot and cognizant of the true condition of affairs at the crucial moment had no illusions. The unduly exploited specter of Germany making wanton assault was but a fantastic imagining when contrasted with the real peril of the railway strike of 1910. It

was then, when the opposing forces stood looking indomitably into each other's eyes, awaiting only the lighting of a match to start the conflagration, that England required and—in Herbert Henry Asquith—found a master.

The Press of England, unlike that of America, has not yet broken the shackles of partisanship. A large majority of the public journals, moreover, are Conservative, and those that are not are generally more Radical than the present Prime Minister. It still remains, therefore, for discriminating History to accord due honor to the man whom the direful occasion found ready to perform his part with a courage that ignored consequences to party or to self. Suffice it for the present purpose to recall that the swift and sure effectiveness with which he countered the beginning of a labor revolution shrewdly designed to paralyze the country and starve its inhabitants has hardly been equaled in sheer force and adequacy. He flung "politics" to the winds; he never stopped to think how his action might influence voters; he turned his eyes squarely to the immediate need and, by a stroke of matured decisiveness, by declaring promptly and firmly that, if necessary, he would employ all the resources of the Government to keep the railways in running order, he averted the most appalling distress that could befall a densely populated land. All Englishmen of all parties and classes, strikers and non-strikers, employers and employed, rich and poor, but the poor especially, incurred a heavy debt of gratitude to their Prime Minister on that occasion for the grim determination which he manifested in facing and quelling a storm that would have daunted and might easily have overwhelmed one not made of the stoutest fiber.

And a great many Englishmen still owe him something more than gratitude. They owe him an apology for their egregious and generally wilful misreading of his character at a time when consideration of the common good should have induced strengthening of his hands. For Mr. Asquith had proven his mettle on more than one occasion. In the old days of his Home-Secretaryship when, the idol of Labor, he was stretching all the powers of his office in the cause of social and industrial reform and impressing upon the nation a new sense of its responsibilities, he, nevertheless, on three crucial questions—the release of the Irish dynamiters, the right of the unemployed to meet in Trafalgar Square, and the use of the military in quelling industrial riots—had

not hesitated to stand up to Labor in the country and to his colleagues in the House of Commons when convinced that the public interest so required. His action in those exigencies should have disposed forever of the legend of Mr. Asquith's reputed flabbiness of temperament—a myth which, though circulated with design to hurt as late as two years ago, has now disappeared before an exhibition of resourcefulness and resolution hardly equaled, certainly unsurpassed, in constructive statesmanship of recent times.

Few appreciated the true significance, and practically none the surging possibilities, of the return of the Liberals to power in 1906. Like the Democrats of our own country in their recent day of triumph, they had been outside the breastworks for virtually twenty years. Like the Democrats, too, they lacked cohesiveness as a party organization, were inclined to factiousness, and seemed more likely than not to demonstrate sheer incapacity for efficient and successful government. Short shrift was allotted them by observers of acknowledged competence.

But the fates had taken charge of the melting-pot, and, to the surprise of all, Campbell-Bannerman, who was reckoned the white elephant of his party, quickly developed as the instrument of its salvation. The need of the moment was pacification rather than aggressive leadership, and, as a lubricant of the highest efficacy, the cheery, persuasive, and sympathetic Scotsman was quite the peer of our own McKinley.

"What," asked Mr. Asquith in his simple and touching tribute to his predecessor in the House of Commons, "what was the secret of the hold which in these later days Campbell-Bannerman unquestionably had on the admiration and affection of men of all parties and all creeds? If, as I think was the case, he was one of those men who require to be fully known to be justly measured, may I not say that the more we knew him, both followers and opponents, the more we became aware that on the moral as on the intellectual side he had endowments, rare in themselves, still rarer in their combination? For example, he was singularly sensitive to human suffering and wrong-doing, delicate and even tender in his sympathies, always disposed to despise victories won in any sphere by mere brute force, an almost passionate lover of peace. And yet we have not seen in our time a man of greater courage—courage not of the defiant

or aggressive type, but calm, patient, persistent, indomitable. Let me, Sir, recall another apparent contrast in his nature. In politics I think he may be fairly described as an idealist in aim, and an optimist by temperament. Great causes appealed to him. He was not ashamed, even on the verge of old age, to see visions and to dream dreams. He had no misgivings as to the future of democracy. He had a single-minded and unquenchable faith in the unceasing progress and the growing unity of mankind."

Mr. Asquith was speaking of Campbell-Bannerman, but unconsciously, as those who know him best will testify, he delineated his own most admirable, though little recognized, traits and voiced his own high aspirations. But what he said of Campbell-Bannerman was true, and credit must not be withheld from one who performed so well his mission to pave the way for one greater and stronger than himself.

We have cited 1910 by way of effective contrast with the present time because that was the year which marked a turning-point in English history by riveting a personal authority which, in consequence of subsequent events, has now become pre-eminent. The first two years of the present administration were the more troublous and turbulent naturally because it was during that period that Mr. Asquith was feeling his cautious way in an endeavor to effect actual and positively essential reforms without rending the fabric of government and—well, to achieve ideals it is necessary to shatter idols. Those were bad days for England, but if Britain were to continue Britain they had to be.

Behold the results! Think, for a moment, of what the Liberals have accomplished in these few years! They have fought through two General Elections; they have broken forever the obstructive power of the House of Lords; they have passed the most revolutionary Budgets and profoundly modified the framework of the British Constitution; they have weathered at least three international crises when war seemed to be a probability of the next twenty-four hours; they have passed vast measures of social reform like the Insurance Act, the Old Age Pensions Act, and the Act establishing a national system of Labor Exchanges; they have struggled through two terrible explosions of industrial unrest that for a time threatened the paralysis of all British trade; they have been confronted with, and have resolutely tackled, the new and urgent problems of national defense and

Imperial consolidation; and they are now disestablishing the Welsh Church and granting Home Rule to Ireland.

In all these achievements Mr. Asquith has played the foremost part; the main burden of deciding, of leading, of defending has fallen on him; and he has done his work with a masterful thoroughness that stamps his administration as the most efficient within the recollection of living man.

True, the promise of definite transformation of the famous Second Chamber into an elective and truly representative body yet awaits fulfilment, but there is no more doubt of the Prime Minister's ability, than of his purpose, to effect it. Already his conception has taken form in his mind and his programme is outlined. Accomplishment awaits only the well-gauged time for action.

To the question, then—Has England found herself?—the answer undoubtedly is yes. Two years ago the Tory opposition to broadened government was more than obdurate; it was furious. "No surrender" was the battle-cry. Hot-headed scions of great families in the House of Commons hooted at the people's ministers and howled down their Premier, to the music of applause from their ladyfolk. "Save the Constitution!" "Treason!" "Treason!" thundered Garvin week in and week out, to the delight of earls and countesses and self-expatriated Americans. Social ostracism was visited unsparingly, though amusingly, upon the Prime Minister and the most brilliant woman in England; no execration was too savage for the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Churchill was a renegade; Harcourt a time-server; Rufus Isaacs a marplot of a Jew; Redmond the most detestable of Fenians; Sir Edward Grey alone was deemed worthy of respect and consideration.

Now all, or nearly all, is changed. Public business is transacted without disturbance; Parliament meets, patiently performs the tasks allotted by its master, and quietly adjourns for the discomfiture of grouse and partridges; the voice of Garvin is become the merest echo; the entire opposition has awakened finally to realization of its impotence and, *mirabile dictu,* is beginning to be reconciled to the inevitable—to the saving, not the wrecking, of a National Constitution.

But one ray of hope has appeared upon the narrow Tory horizon in the past year—the speculation by Mr. Lloyd-George and Sir Rufus Isaacs in American Marconi shares.

At last there was something tangible to grasp—a veritable scandal, which in truth would have spelled the downfall of a ministry not so many years ago. But standards of official virtue are not as high in England to-day as once they were, and, in the end, the masses, as ever, found little difficulty in palliating mere offenses against niceties of judgment and taste. After all, Lloyd-George had not profited from his imprudent ventures, and, even though he had, was he not still their eager champion? What could advantage from substituting Mr. Bonar Law in the place of authority? What could he offer in lieu of the Welshman's innumerable humanitarian projects? Had not the fogies of his own party forbidden him to enunciate even the broadest kind of a policy, to say nothing of a single specific proposal? So the tongues wagged on the corners, and the Conservative journals, true to the British tradition of national self-extermination, invariably began a criticism with an apology.

Nevertheless, the predicament forced upon the Prime Minister was worse than awkward; it was surcharged with menace to all his plans; nothing less than his own immaculateness and perfect poise could have borne him through. But time helped and patience won.

There is nothing so paradoxical as politics. At the risk of seeming presumptuous, we hazard the opinion—a view sustained incidentally by the latest bye-election—that the net political result of the Marconi revelations is an actual strengthening of the Liberal party. Not only has the figure of the real leader been brought into bold and advantageous relief, but at least one dangerously possible rival has found his true place as a most effective advocate unfitted by temperament for the assumption of highest responsibility. No doubt now remains that, if occasion should arise to find a successor for Mr. Asquith, the royal summons would go, not to Mr. Lloyd-George, but to Sir Edward Grey—a circumstance of the utmost value to a party still in the minority in England and sure to be dependent, when the present allies shall have drifted away, upon confidence rather than upon enthusiasm.

Americans will inquire: What manner of man is this who has become the conservator of a mighty empire? Intellectually, that is to say in sheer mental power and maturity, Senator Root alone among our statesmen could fairly be considered the compeer of Mr. Asquith, but in conception of the

functions and duties of leadership Mr. Roosevelt bears the more striking resemblance. Just as in 1901 one could prophesy with the utmost assurance that, whatever else Mr. Roosevelt might prove to be in the White House, he would never be a President of the McKinley type, so it was impossible to doubt that Mr. Asquith's accession meant not only a new man, but a new appreciation of his office and a new way of utilizing its powers. The transition from the one Premier to the other, while not the same in degree, was essentially the same in kind as the transition from the one President to the other. Not that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Asquith have much in common. Far from it. One could more easily discover in them points of contrast than of comparison. The Prime Minister has none of the ex-President's fidgety activity, or of his sanguine, explosive impetuosity, or of his engaging many-sidedness, or of his passion for propounding estimable verities that hitherto had always been taken for granted, or of his headlong, hectoring temperament, or of his genius for advertisement. But he makes up for these distressing defects by being at least Mr. Roosevelt's equal in illimitable self-confidence and his superior in unvarying determination.

Mr. McKinley looked upon his office as a sort of conduit-pipe between Congress and the electorate; and though great things happened during his Presidency he can hardly be said to have directed them. He had no policies or convictions that he was not ready to abandon at the bidding of the populace—not because he was a timid man, but because the old tag *Vox populi, vox Dei* was something more than an old tag to him and summed up and satisfied his whole attitude toward democracy. Campbell-Bannerman did not minimize the privileges and opportunities of the Premiership so completely as all that. He made full and dexterous use of its negative prerogatives as a sort of court of appeal to which all men and all groups in the party might refer their disputes. But he was less a captain than an arbitrator; he allowed his Cabinet Ministers the widest possible latitude in the management of their own departments, and he regarded himself and his office as a center rather of accommodation than of leading. To men of Mr. Roosevelt's and Mr. Asquith's disposition such a view of their duties seems almost equivalent to abdication. Their instinct is to lead, not by following, by pushing from behind, but by going on in

front; and the characteristic of their type is to govern rather by insistence than by persuasion and to prefer the most direct route as being probably the easiest.

In other respects the two have little in common. Mr. Asquith has none of Mr. Roosevelt's engaging frankness, but there never arises in one's mind the faintest doubt of his complete genuineness or his perfect freedom from any form of vanity. His reputed alienation from human sympathies, too, is wholly mythical. He would never think of kissing strange babies to curry favor with the electorate, but no man is more devoted to the children he knows or better loved by them in return. Lord Rosebery surprised England when he declared that Mr. Asquith possessed qualities of heart surpassing even his qualities of head, but to his intimates the assertion bore no trace of novelty. His emotions are less vivid and, of course, much less in evidence than Mr. Roosevelt's, but they live, nevertheless, as the most powerful, even dominating, attributes of a strong man's nature. The impression to the contrary, as with Senator Root, is due to well-nigh perfect control which finds its genesis partly in recognition of the dignity of his position, but chiefly in a wholly unaffected simplicity amounting almost to shyness. To one who recalls the custom enforced by Mr. Roosevelt of dinner guests rising from the table and standing humbly and dumbly till the President had taken his place, the contrast in the great room built for William Pitt in Downing Street, where not even a lull in conversation attends the entrance of the Prime Minister, is as pleasing as it is marked.

If Mr. Asquith loses something by his habitual self-repression, he also gains a great deal, notably in those rare moments when, as in paying tribute to the late King or more recently to the universally beloved Lyttleton, some deeper surge of feeling sweeps over his reserve and surprises and moves the House by its eloquent revelation.

But those occasions are few. Ordinarily, almost invariably, Mr. Asquith's speeches in the House, like those of Mr. Root in the Senate, are as good as any public speaking can be that is not oratory. They are models of clearness and precision; full of vigorous thought, of trenchant and sonorous diction, and admirably arranged; stroke follows upon stroke without hesitation and with direct and compelling force; and yet they are as unmistakably not oratory as

George Eliot's verse is not poetry. The reason is that Mr. Asquith has himself almost too completely in hand, knows to a nicety just what he is going to say and how he is going to say it, and is never for a moment in any danger of being carried out of himself. The color and rhythm, the exaltation and abandon, of true oratory are not for him.

There is something, indeed, almost impersonal about Mr. Asquith's air on a public platform or when he rises to address the House. He seems independent of all emotional communion with his audience. It is symptomatic that he has never been known to make a bad speech or to be at a loss for an effective retort or unable to bring all his guns into action at a moment's notice. In every department of Parliamentary speaking—whether he is answering a supplementary question or unfolding a bill or winding up a debate—there is nobody in the House of Commons who approaches his level of sustained excellence. However damaging the attack upon the Government, there is a cheer of perfect confidence from the Liberal ranks when Asquith gets up to answer it. The stocky figure of medium height, the strong, clean-shaven, fresh-complexioned face that belies the white hair above it, give out an instant impression of assurance. With few gestures, squarely confronting the Opposition, the Prime Minister begins to speak. There is no appeal to passion in what he says, no loose generalities, no attempt at rhetoric, nothing over-subtle or bewildering. The sentences roll out with a hammer-like precision: the points made are direct and unambiguous; the argument never wanders; the humor is plain and intelligible; the language is massive without being ornate and virile without being violent; one gets the effect of some perfect machine producing an almost effortless fusillade of logical, ordered, deadly dialectics.

Like all public men who disdain to seek personal popularity by cultivating artifices, Mr. Asquith makes the mistake of doing things, or appearing to do them, too easily; one gets almost a sense of monotony from a survey of his unvarying triumphs. As a boy he captured all the school prizes; as a youth he won the blue riband of classical scholarship, the Balliol, became president of the Oxford Union, the famous debating society of the University, took the highest of degrees, carried off the Craven scholarship, and so impressed his professors and fellow-undergraduates, from Dr. Jowett

downward, that perhaps no man ever left Oxford amid so many or such confident predictions of a brilliant future. A few years later, after a wholesome period of struggle and difficulty, he was recognized as one of the most effective of English advocates; in Parliament he attracted Gladstone's favoring notice with almost his first speech; step by step he has mounted up till he is now the most powerful man in the British Empire.

And it has all been done without theatricality or self-advertisement, with no attempt to dazzle his contemporaries or force their applause, and without the least assistance from those advantages of birth, wealth, and social connections that in England more, perhaps, than in any other country smooth the path of political and legal ambition. A Yorkshireman of Puritan stock, born in moderate circumstances, Asquith has made his own way in life. His career is as fully a structure of his own rearing as Lloyd-George's or John Burns's; he might stand, indeed, alongside of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Local Government Board as a product and representative of that newer England in which men are judged and rewarded for what they are and do and not for the non-essentials of lineage or means or social position. He does not belong to, and has little sympathy or affiliation with, "the governing class"; and the distinction has enabled him to keep in touch and understanding with the newer movements long past the age when most Liberals are Whigs and most Whigs Conservatives.

As a statesman, Mr. Asquith undoubtedly will live in history as the conductor of a profound Constitutional revolution to a successful issue, and probably, as we have already suggested, as the true conservator of an empire's very existence in its time of gravest peril. As a man, we should say that to the minds of the many he, like Sir Robert Peel, appears and is likely to continue to appear as one who would have been the greatest of all British Premiers if his personality had equaled his performances, while to the few brought into closest contact he bears out to perfection the impression of Charles Fox expressed by Gibbon when he "admired the powers of a superior man blended with the softness and simplicity of a child—a human being perfectly exempt from the taint of malevolence, vanity, or falsehood."

THE EDITOR.

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A BRITISH VIEW OF THE MEXICAN PROBLEM

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

THE United States Government has the sympathy of all other Powers in its endeavors to find a passable solution for the complex and delicate problem that confronts it in Mexico. It is a sympathy that is not perhaps altogether devoid of a grain or two of somewhat malicious satisfaction, not merely the ordinary satisfaction that the French aphorist declared was always to be had from the misfortunes of even one's dearest friends, but a special satisfaction due to the policy and character of the United States. Mr. Bryan, it will be remembered, was no sooner ensconced in the Secretaryship of State than he unfolded a scheme for insuring world-wide peace. A cynical world received his proposals with a simulation of interest that only partly veiled the profundity of its boredom, and it would be more or less than human if it refrained from a quiet chuckle at the spectacle of Mr. Bryan hovering on the edge of a war with Mexico precisely at the moment when his plans for wiping armed conflicts off the face of the earth were due to appear in their perfected form. And apart from this there was a very general interest, mainly but not wholly charitable, in seeing how the United States would acquit itself in a situation where its favorite device of despatch-writing was useless, where policies had to be thought out and applied to meet specific and changing conditions, and where American diplomacy could only hope to succeed so far as it showed flexibility as well as firmness and was guided by a deeper understanding of the character and conditions of Spanish-American countries than Washington had ever, for instance, displayed in its treatment of Cuba.

But in spite of this, foreign Governments and foreign opinion generally have been fully appreciative of American

difficulties in dealing with the Mexican situation; and their sympathy has been clearly and usefully manifested in their patience. They have given the United States an absolutely free hand and have scrupulously refrained from any criticisms or suggestions that might embarrass the authorities at Washington; and in Mexico City itself they have consistently supported all the vagaries of American diplomacy. I remember when I was in Washington some thirty months ago gathering the impression that only two things gave President Taft any sort of pleasure in the Mexican embroglio. One was to observe the smoothness, celerity, and completeness with which the concentration of the American troops had been effected. As an ex-War Secretary the President felt and acknowledged a professional pride in watching the reforms initiated by Mr. Root, carried on by himself, and capped by the admirable administrative work of General Leonard Wood, yield such excellent results. The other feature that seemed to bring him a negative sort of satisfaction was the acquiescence of foreign Governments in American policy. There had been, no doubt, inquiries and conversations, but nothing that could be called " representations " or that smacked in any way of diplomatic pressure. President Wilson, I am sure, would be the first to declare that the attitude of the various Powers whose subjects possess interests in Mexico is the same to-day as it was in 1911, and as it has been throughout the whole revolutionary period, and that no attempt has been made to interfere with his complete liberty of action. It is universally recognized that the pacification of Mexico, whether by persuasion or by force, is an American and not a European responsibility, and that the United States can neither delegate nor share it. Fifty-three years ago, when Mexico was at least as distracted as to-day, Great Britain proposed that the United States should join with her and with France in offering to mediate between the contending factions. The proposal was not accepted; and neither Great Britain nor any other Power has for one moment contemplated repeating it in the present crisis. From every standpoint of trade, finance, propinquity, political relationship, and military strategy the interest of the United States in Mexican conditions is so palpably paramount to that of all other nations that no Government has even considered the possibility of suggesting a joint intervention. At the same time the opinion has not been con-

cealed, and in Great Britain it has found open expression, that, occupying this preferential position and being in a very real sense the guardian of all foreign interests in Mexico, the United States is under a special obligation to assist in the restoration of peace and order and not to allow its capacity for useful service to be impaired by little scruples or purely American considerations. It is felt, in other words, that in return for the freedom in the choice of ways and means which has been conceded to the United States without its being even claimed, and in recognition also of the forbearance which has attended both the American policy of doing nothing and its recent abandonment for injudicious and irrelevant interference, the authorities at Washington owe it to the world to sink narrow and merely national views and prejudices and to act with the decisiveness and the breadth of outlook that the emergency demands.

By that I do not mean that there is any desire—certainly there is none whatever in Great Britain—to see the United States intervene in Mexico by force of arms. Every friend of America abroad would deplore any such development. The criticisms that have been leveled against President Wilson's recent course of action by the British Press have their roots in the conviction that intervention has thereby been made more and not less likely. It is perfectly well realized that neither the American people nor the American Government—the Government even less than the people—desires war with Mexico, or covets a single inch of Mexican territory, or looks forward to the possibility of intervention with anything but the most profound reluctance. There are jingoes in all countries, but, so far as an outside observer can tell, there are very few of them in the United States at this moment. No doubt a war party exists in the Press and finds an occasional echo in Congress; and no doubt it is pursuing, though on a smaller scale, the same methods that worked so successfully in forcing American intervention in Cuba. But so far it would seem to have had little influence on opinion at large. The temper of the American people appears to be decidedly pacific and anti-expansionist; no issue has yet cropped up to appeal, as Cuba appealed, to their humanitarian instincts; no outrage has thus far been committed to stir them like the blowing-up of the *Maine;* and except perhaps along the Southern frontier, where race

feeling rules, there exists no enmity among Americans generally toward either Mexico or the Mexicans. Moreover, the personal, which is nearly always at a crisis the decisive factor, is far more favorable to peace to-day than it was when Mr. McKinley allowed himself to be hurried into the war with Spain. I was very greatly struck by President Taft's handling of the Mexican difficulty and by the good sense which guided the Democratic leaders of the House of Representatives in heading off all attempts to make it a matter of Congressional debate. From the very first Mr. Taft took warning by the fate that overtook Mr. McKinley in 1898 and made up his mind to keep the control of events in his own hands to the last possible moment. He confided fully and freely in the leaders of both parties in both Houses; he preserved his freedom of action by explaining and justifying each step as it arose, alike to his friends and opponents in Congress; and I gathered from him in the early months of 1911 that in his opinion the limits of executive action would not have been reached even if it had become necessary for him to take forcible but strictly defensive measures to prevent the destruction of American lives and property in the border towns. Any time within the last two years of his administration Mr. Taft could have found, if he had chosen, excuse enough for sending an army across the Mexican border. It was commonly rumored that he was strongly pressed to do so by certain political advisers who saw in a foreign war the only chance of saving the Republican party from political disaster at home. But he very wisely and honorably declined to be influenced by any but national considerations, and his policy and bearing throughout the Mexican crisis will always mitigate the verdict of failure that history will probably pass on his administration as a whole. He succeeded in keeping the relations between the two countries on this side of a rupture, and he turned over the problem to his successor in no way complicated by anything he had said or done, and in many ways alleviated by his persuasive and pertinent management of it both as a whole and in detail.

In the course of the last six months British observers have formed a decided opinion of President Wilson as a man whom it is impossible to rush. His conduct in the White House, his dramatic but absolutely untheatrical independence, his whole method of approaching his duties, the ex-

traordinary hold that he has secured on Congress and public opinion, his gift for being interesting without self-advertisement, the novel spirit of practicality he has introduced into the discharge of the Presidential functions, and especially into the delicate negotiations that pass between the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, and his power of stamping his wishes and opinions upon the course of legislation without bluster or the least suspicion of hectoring—all this has made a deep impression on the friends of America abroad. His career and personality, and the revelations of his inner mind that are to be found in his books and in his public record, seem to them an ample guarantee that he would never seek either a national or a political quarrel any more than he would shrink from it if one were forced upon him. That his policy is to circumscribe rather than enlarge the foreign liabilities of the United States, and that he is the last man to embark on schemes of adventure or to embrace entanglements that might honorably be avoided, we in Great Britain assume to be axiomatic. A strong, deft man at the head of a party that for the past twenty years has incessantly denounced every manifestation of a tendency to "Imperialism," President Wilson, I should judge, is peculiarly well placed for bridling the outbursts of belligerency to which Americans, more, perhaps, than other peoples, are liable, and for holding himself and his country fast to the common sense of whatever situation, internal or external, may develop. At any rate, nobody that I know of has ever suggested that he could be stampeded into war against his conscience and his convictions or that he would weakly renounce his control of events in favor of Congress. British onlookers, therefore, reckon President Wilson as an inestimable asset in the cause of a sane and unprovocative handling of the Mexican crisis. That is to say, the belief is pretty well universal that his instincts and temperament and his sense of responsibility and his capacity for resisting pressure are all ranged on the side of peace, and that the mistakes, if any, in his methods of ensuing peace are mistakes of judgment merely.

One factor that greatly helped President Taft in keeping the Mexican question more or less in the background—I mean the highly sensational and engrossing character of American domestic politics during the latter part of his administration—no longer assists his successor. As a topic of

public discussion, to judge from the columns of the American Press, Mexico holds its own with the Tariff and Currency Bills, and is only eclipsed by the things that really matter—the golf championships, the opening of the football season, and so on. This is an undoubted disadvantage, because in all countries—but in the United States, I think, especially—popular interest in a given problem of foreign politics is usually the greatest obstacle to its rational settlement. There are very few questions between governments and governments that could not be satisfactorily disposed of if only the Press would cease to mention them; and I always feel a particular sympathy with any American statesman who is endeavoring to conduct delicate negotiations in a glass house with all the electric lights turned on, a reporter at each keyhole, a talking Ambassador outside, and a thousand newspapers feeding an impatient and ignorant public with tainted news, imaginary interviews, and slap-dash opinions. But while this is an influence that inevitably does nothing to clear the atmosphere and threatens, indeed, to become more disturbing as time goes on, the other reasons that told so strongly with President Taft and prevented him from pushing matters to extremes are not less potent with his successor. One of them is the obvious fact that the forty-thousand-odd American residents in Mexico, representing investments and property to the extent of well over $500,000,000, are opposed to American intervention in any form. They realize that it would operate at once as a signal for peace among the Mexican factions, and for such a movement against foreigners as would place their persons and interests in extreme jeopardy. But an American President has two greater incentives to circumspection in his dealings with the southern Republic than this. He cannot but be acutely aware that a war between Mexico and the United States would inflame all Spanish-American sentiment against the latter country and would undo whatever has been accomplished by Mr. Root and Mr. Knox and the Pan-American Union in winning the good will of the Central and South American Governments. South America in general, and the Republics that are dotted round the shores of the Caribbean in particular, perfectly well realize that they have more to fear from the United States than from any European country. They remember Panama and the American treatment of Cuba and San Do-

mingo. They have studied the Nicaragua Treaty that Mr. Bryan sprang upon the Senate last July, and they detect in its provisions a formula for the expansion of American authority that may easily lend itself to repetition. They observe that the habit of interfering in Central American affairs for the purpose of enforcing what Mr. Roosevelt used to call a standard of "decency" is growing more and more popular at Washington, and that large numbers of Americans are becoming accustomed to regarding their country as the natural policeman and official receiver of the neighboring Republics; and they would one and all consider intervention in Mexico as a direct and definite menace to themselves.

The other and yet stronger argument in favor of a strict neutrality is that the United States is ill-prepared, politically and materially, for the alternative. To seize and hold the three or four strategic points in Mexico might be a comparatively simple matter, but to dominate the country and to wage the inevitable guerilla warfare that would ensue would require at least 250,000 men and probably three or four years of time. It would be by far the biggest and most hazardous undertaking on which the United States has embarked since the Civil War. That at least is certain, but the extent of the commitments that would be incurred after the pacification of the country had been effected is beyond computation. They might easily involve a permanent occupation of Mexican territory and full responsibility for its government. No sensible American, I take it, wishes to put his hand into a hornets' nest like that, or would regard it as anything but a national disaster if the United States were to become involved in such endless and complex liabilities. History is studded with examples of Powers that have intervened in the affairs of adjacent States simply for the purpose of restoring order and fully intending to withdraw the moment that object was achieved, and that have then found it impossible to do anything but stay on. The force of circumstances, and the moral and material obligations of the situation they have brought about, are all but invariably too strong for them; and the first American regiment that crosses the Mexican frontier will, more likely than not, be laying the foundations of an American Egypt. That is a prospect of such tremendous import and would entail, were it to be realized, so great a dissipation of the national wealth

and energy and so far-spreading and intricate a series of political and constitutional problems that to prevent its realization at almost any cost is the first duty of American statesmanship. Nevertheless, with the best will in the world, the relations between the two countries must continue to be not merely strained, but at the mercy of a thousand and one conceivable incidents, until such time as a régime is established in Mexico City equal to the task of purchasing or compelling order. In the past three years many American citizens have been killed, the property of many more has been injured, and a dozen vexatious questions have arisen over the enforcement or non-enforcement of the American neutrality laws. President Taft met the situation—I quote his own words—by a policy of " patient non-intervention, *steadfast recognition of constituted authority in the neighboring nation,* and the exertion of every effort to care for American interests." He despatched American men-of-war to Mexican ports, and he stationed a considerable body of American troops in close proximity to the frontier, partly to check gun-running, partly to prevent " incidents " from acquiring a factitious importance by dealing with them on the spot, and partly to warn all factions in Mexico that the United States was fully awake and that a continuance of their internecine struggle might involve some unpleasant consequences. Beyond these precautionary measures he refrained from any positive action, and while his policy did not and was not framed to contribute in any very definite way toward the appeasement of the country, it had at any rate the virtue of preserving the forms and something of the spirit of friendship between the two Governments.

In President Taft's version of his policy, quoted above, I have italicized the words " steadfast recognition of constituted authority in the neighboring nation." The President, it will be seen, made it the second plank in his platform, putting it immediately after non-intervention and immediately in front of the protection of American interests. The point is of particular interest because it is precisely here that Mr. Wilson has departed from his predecessor's policy, and it is precisely because he has departed from it that the present tension exists. General Huerta stepped into the Mexican Presidency a week or so before Mr. Wilson entered the White House. There at once came up the question whether the United States should accord recognition to the

new ruler as the "constituted authority." Had Mr. Taft remained in power the question would have been speedily settled and Mexico to-day would be well on the way to tranquillity. Both these statements, it may be said, are mere inferences or assumptions, but they are based on the inherent probabilities of the case. President Taft, at all events, would have had to reverse his former policy altogether if he had allowed six or even three months to pass by without extending to General Huerta the courtesy of a diplomatic acknowledgment. I think, therefore, it is a safe assertion that the ex-President, had he been re-elected, would have waited a reasonable time to determine whether General Huerta was in a position to maintain himself in power, and, on finding that he was, would have recognized him without further ado. He would have perceived that he was faced with an accomplished fact that it was neither his business nor within his power to challenge or reverse; and he would doubtless also have argued, as he argued in the case of President Madero, that the best chance of restoring Mexico to some semblance of order lay in strengthening the hands of the *de facto* ruler. His strong common sense would have prevented him from inquiring too closely or pedantically into the title of a President of a Spanish-American State in a time of revolution. So long as the new head of the State gave proof of resolution and capacity—and General Huerta has given proof of both qualities—Mr. Taft would have treated with him, even though he was unable to produce a certificate of his election from the receiving officer, and even though charity itself could not pretend that he was anything more than a successful military adventurer. As for my second assumption, that an early recognition of General Huerta would by now have brought Mexico within sight of peace and security, the whole course of events in the past half-year appears to justify it. As Mexico's immediate and most powerful neighbor, with a stake in the country greatly in excess of that of any other nation, America's attitude toward the Republic necessarily means more, and carries with it greater implications and significance, than the attitude of all other Governments put together. The great importance attached in Mexico City to American recognition is no greater than the circumstances warrant. It is a question of finance as well as a question of prestige. So long as the United States publicly withholds

recognition from the occupant of the Mexican Presidency the money-markets of the world are closed to him; he ranks merely as one among a crowd of rival adventurers, and he is deprived of the power and authority that go with a full Treasury. And just as the denial of his status impedes his chances of asserting himself against his enemies and establishing his rule on a sound basis, so its acknowledgment supplies him with all the moral and material assistance that the head of one State can render the head of another in the settlement of domestic troubles. I think it, therefore, not unreasonable to assert that but for Mr. Taft's disappearance from political life General Huerta would long ago have been recognized, and that Mexico would to-day be well advanced toward a reasonable pacification.

President Wilson, however, has taken a very different view of the question. I do not know that he has anywhere summarized his objections to recognizing General Huerta, but I presume they are not unconnected with the assassination of Señor Madero and with the fact that General Huerta owes his present position, not to a popular election, but to an act of military usurpation thinly veneered by Constitutional forms. There is no doubt that he climbed to the Presidency by the conventional Spanish-American route. He deserted Madero last February and so brought about his downfall, and American opinion has fixed upon him the chief responsibility for the ex-President's murder. As to that it is enough to remark, first, that the General's complicity has been repeatedly denied and has never been established, and, secondly, that there is an end of all rational relations with Spanish-American Republics if the actions and language of their politicians are to be judged by the standards of the English-speaking peoples. Porfirio Diaz more than once fell under similar suspicion, but President Roosevelt was not thereby prevented from eulogizing him or President Taft from meeting him with all the accessories of official ceremony. Even if General Huerta's guilt had been unmistakably proved, instead of being merely surmised, a practical statesman would still have to remember the abnormal conditions that have rendered assassination a frequent and by no means an abhorrent weapon of Spanish-American politics. I do not suppose it will be claimed that Great Britain or France is less sensitive in such matters than the United States; but neither of those Powers has

experienced any difficulties of conscience in strengthening General Huerta's hands by recognizing him as the temporary but properly constituted head of the Republic. It is, indeed, a somewhat remarkable fact that every foreign Government with interests in Mexico except the United States has already acknowledged the General's title and has done so with the cordial approval of its residents in Mexico. The day before President Wilson read his message on the Mexican situation to Congress a meeting of the British colony in Mexico City passed a resolution affirming (1) that one of the greatest impediments to the re-establishment of peace in Mexico was the lack of unanimous recognition of the Huerta régime on the part of the Powers; (2) that it complicated the Government's financial problem, rendered more difficult the suppression of lawlessness and brigandage, and prolonged the present disturbances; (3) that the French, German, Spanish, and Austro-Hungarian residents in Mexico had adopted and had given formal expression to identical resolutions; and (4) that it was hoped the British Government would use its friendly offices to press them upon any Power that still abstained from acknowledging President Huerta's status. It is impossible, I think, to dismiss this unanimous testimony from so many sources as part of the great fight between rival oil "interests" that is believed in some quarters to be the operating influence behind the whole Mexican entanglement. Moreover, it is well known that the American Ambassador in Mexico City, supported by the majority of his fellow-citizens in the country, had convinced himself that the best prospects of peace lay in the United States working with and through General Huerta, and that he repeatedly pressed this course upon his Government. Whatever the defects of the General's title to his office—I believe as a matter of fact that a court would decide it to be perfectly valid according to Mexican law—the fact remains that he has for six months defended it successfully and by methods that seem equally removed from the indecisiveness of Madero and the high-handedness of Diaz. That is a fact which, in the opinion of British onlookers, ought to count. That it has not counted with the authorities at Washington is ascribed by some observers to the influence of commercial and financial interests, and by others—and they, in my judgment, are nearer the mark—to a certain squeamishness of conscience which

prevents the American Executive from having any direct dealings with a ruler of General Huerta's reputedly unpleasant record.

The United States, therefore, has held aloof. But it has sufficiently compromised with the necessities of the situation to extend to General Huerta a left-handed and informal recognition. At no time during the past six months have the official relations between Washington and Mexico City been at an absolute standstill. There has always been a tacit and subterranean diplomatic connection of a kind calculated to do America no harm and the Mexican President no good. Mr. Wilson did not hesitate to send Mr. Lind as his personal representative to confer with and submit proposals to the abhorred usurper. But the simple and sufficient expedient of doing what every other Power has done and recognizing him frankly for what he is, the President in possession, the United States has refused to adopt. For the sake of a scruple it has thrown away the best and easiest chance of lending a helping hand to Mexico. It appears to have sworn a sort of vendetta against General Huerta. Not only will it not admit him to the sacred diplomatic circle, but it demands from him a pledge that he shall not put himself forward as a Presidential candidate if and when the promised elections are held. All the Englishmen who know Mexico I find in a state of exasperated merriment over American insistence on an election as the means of regularizing the status of whatever ruler is evolved from it. As though, they say, there had ever been a genuine election in Mexico; as though the people had any conception of popular government; as though every "appeal to the country" were not "made" by the ruler of the moment, with the police doing most of the voting and the average man shrewdly absenting himself from the polling-booths. American diplomacy, in short, appears in British eyes to have landed itself in a mesh of rather puerile inconsistencies. It will not itself intervene nor allow any other Power to do so; it will not recognize General Huerta; it disputes alike his authority and his power to restore order; at the same time it announces its intention of holding him severely to account in the event of injury to American lives or property; it draws a picture of a country unable to fulfil its international obligations and plunging deeper and deeper into the morass of civil war, and proposes a general election as a suitable remedy; it fixes on

the one man who has shown himself competent to cope with local conditions and insists that he must retire from the forthcoming contest; it demands the immediate cessation of hostilities, but offers no inducement, financial or political, by way of loan or of diplomatic support, to this desirable end, and apparently expects all the bands of brigands in Mexico to compose their differences and abandon their agreeably exciting mode of life at the mere request of the United States; and finally it winds up by warning all Americans in Mexico, who have lived through three years of revolution and ought by this time to be pretty good judges of the local situation, to leave the country as speedily as may be, promising them the assistance of the American Government in their flight. The net result of this extraordinary array of recommendations has been to inflame Mexican resentment to a pitch that makes the possibilities of intervention no longer remote. In his message to Congress President Wilson stated that "if Mexico can suggest any better way in which the United States can show its friendship we are more than willing to consider the suggestion." In the opinion of the outside world "the better way" has long ago been indicated. It consists in recognizing General Huerta without any further reservations, in assisting him financially to assert his authority, and in refraining from making demands that are not intended to be enforced, and that can only be considered as humiliating when addressed by one independent State to another.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

THE WEST VIRGINIA COAL INSURRECTION

BY CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

Has a State the right to develop its natural resources?

Has an employer the right to select his own employees?

West Virginia having recently been obliged to put down, at a cost to the taxpayers of more than five hundred thousand dollars, an armed insurrection, organized and maintained to oppose the exercise of these rights, it would seem that, in some quarters at least, these questions are regarded as debatable.

Because the issues involved have been so befogged by malevolent mendacity that the general public cannot be expected to understand them, it may be worth while to review the facts regarding the West Virginia coal insurrection, and, more especially, its underlying causes.

While rich in other natural resources, West Virginia is pre-eminently a coal-mining State. Of the fifty-five counties thirty-nine have coal areas aggregating 9,500 square miles, or 6,080,000 acres. If the good coal in this area that can be recovered under commercial conditions be estimated at 10,000 tons to the acre, an estimate which is accepted by mining engineers as conservative, the total amounts to 60,800,000,000 tons, worth on board car at the mine at current prices, about $60,000,000,000. At the present rate of production this almost incomprehensible sum would afford the people of West Virginia an annual income of $60,000,000 for a thousand years. The greater part of the price received for coal at the mine is paid out in wages, which are spent in the State.

All the coal is of superior quality, while the famous smokeless coal supplied to the United States Navy is the best steam coal in the world. Many of the veins are unusually

thick, those worked ranging from four to eleven feet. Most of the existing mines being above water level, have been developed by drifts, the coal being delivered by gravity to the tipple beside the railroad track. Under these favorable conditions, the mining industry has developed rapidly, the production increasing from 18,886,911 tons in 1900 to 52,923,708 tons in 1910. While the population of the State increased from 958,800 to 1,221,119, or twenty-seven per cent. in the same period, the number of mine employees increased from 28,017 to 68,135, or one hundred and forty-three per cent.

Being a mountainous State, sparsely populated, with comparatively few manufacturing industries, most of which use natural gas for fuel, less than ten per cent. of the coal mined, including that used by the railroads, is consumed within the State. The rest must be sent through competitive coal-fields to distant markets.

The most important fuel market on the continent is the Middle West, including that part of the United States and Canada served by the Great Lakes, commonly known as the "Lake Trade." The great bulk of West Virginia coal has always been marketed in the Middle West, but prior to 1897–8 the coal operators of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania enjoyed a monopoly of the lake trade, being able to adjust prices to suit themselves. In the 'nineties West Virginia operators began shipping into that market in a small way, selling their product at a narrow margin. Their coal being of superior quality, received the preference, other things being equal, so that about 1898 the competition of West Virginia began to be felt. It may not be out of place to say that, thanks to West Virginia, the consumers in this great territory are buying their fuel to-day at substantially the same price they paid in 1898.

The coals of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania are not equal to the West Virginia product in quality, while, with some exceptions, the cost of production is somewhat higher. These factors tend to neutralize the advantage of being nearer to the market. But a more sinister factor remains to be reckoned with.

The coal-mines of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania are virtually in control of the United Mine Workers of America, an oath-bound organization with headquarters in Indianapolis.

It is well known that the policy of labor-unions is to re-

strict production. While the average annual output per employee in West Virginia's non-union coal-mines has increased from 674.4 tons in 1900 to 855.9 tons in 1912, the average annual output per employee in the unionized mines of Illinois is 724.2 tons, and in Ohio 705 tons, notwithstanding the fact that in union Ohio eighty-five per cent. of the coal is produced by machine mining, while in non-union West Virginia only fifty-one per cent. of the output is machine mined.

Considering all these handicaps, the operators in the States under union domination would have been more than human if they had not viewed with increasing resentment the competition of West Virginia. The point of view of the union operators was best summed up by a high official of the largest coal company in the Pittsburg district, who characterized the development of West Virginia's coal-mines as "an economic blunder." That is, in his opinion, the people of West Virginia had no right to develop the natural resources of their own State.

To counteract the results of this "economic blunder" two weapons were available; the discriminative freight rate and the union agitator. Both weapons have been used. While all of West Virginia suffers from discriminative freight rates, the section chiefly affected is all that part of the State south of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, including what is known as the Kanawha field, along the Kanawha River, the main line of the Chesapeake and Ohio and the Kanawha and Michigan railroads. It includes Cabin Creek and Paint Creek, entering the Kanawha River from the south, separated by a single mountain ridge, the scene of the recent insurrection. Summer business for the Kanawha mines consisted largely of shipments to Lake ports.

Early in 1909 Pittsburg shippers backed by the northern railroads proposed an increase in rates on West Virginia coal. This proposed increase was successfully resisted in the courts and before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Then the Pittsburg operators instituted new proceedings before the Interstate Commerce Commission which resulted in a decision in March, 1912, lowering the rate from Pittsburg to the Lakes from eighty-eight cents to seventy-eight cents, while the rate from the Kanawha field remained at ninety-seven cents, giving Pittsburg an advantage of nineteen cents a ton, or almost twenty-five per cent. On the ship-

ments from the Kanawha district in the summer of 1911, this differential would amount to $570,000. That there may be no doubt about the object sought, two questions and their answers in these proceedings are quoted. They were addressed on November 24, 1911, to the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Pittsburg Coal Company, a corporation capitalized at $80,000,000, as follows:

"If any change is made in the freight rate which will result in increasing your output that must necessarily result in a corresponding reduction of the output in the competitor's (the West Virginia) field?"

"That is correct."

"And that is what you desire to accomplish?"

"That is exactly what we desire to accomplish."

As freight rates now stand Kanawha coal is shut out of the markets of the Atlantic seaboard, Canada east of Detroit, Memphis, Louisville, St. Louis, Mobile, and New Orleans.

The Kanawha field has no market distinctly its own. It meets strong competition at every point, and has only been able to maintain its position by the exercise of skill in mining and by activity in soliciting business. The margin between the cost of production and the selling price is small when everything is running smoothly, and it is wiped out entirely whenever there is a shortage of cars or orders or other disturbing element.

In 1911 there were one hundred and twenty-five mines in the Kanawha field producing an average of 45,480 tons annually, with an aggregate output of 5,665,087 tons, and twenty-four producing an average of 162,877 tons, with a total production of 3,909,044 tons. In other words, almost sixty per cent. of the coal produced in this field is loaded by small mines which would be forced to close down by a very slight increase in operating costs or exactions. It was this coalfield, the operators in which were already driven to the wall and hence might be expected to succumb if any further pressure was applied, which was chosen as the battle-ground upon which was to be fought the contest that was to determine whether or not a State has the right to develop its natural resources, and whether or not an employer has the right to choose his own employees.

One of the inducements held out to the operators of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Western Pennsylvania to enter into an agreement giving the United Mine Workers a monopoly

of labor was contained in Clause Eight of the contract signed at Chicago, January 28, 1898, by the operators of the central competitive coal-field and the United Mine Workers, which reads as follows:

"That the United Mine Workers' organization, a party to this contract, do hereby further agree to afford all possible protection to the trade, and to the other parties hereto against any unfair competition resulting from a failure to maintain scale rates."

In union parlance "unfair" means "non-union." The only non-union coal-field competing with the four States mentioned is West Virginia. Therefore Clause Eight meant that in exchange for the increased wages and other concessions elsewhere provided for the union undertook to prevent West Virginia from becoming an effective competitor of the four States.

The proceedings of the joint conferences of operators and miners as reported by the official stenographer and published by authority of the conference show that at every session since 1898 the operators have been urging the United Mine Workers to fulfil their agreement by organizing West Virginia. A few excerpts from the official reports will prove this.

On page 17 of the official report of the conference of 1910 will be found the following remarks by C. E. Maurer, an Ohio operator:

"The granting of the eight-hour day by the operators, after making these numerous other important concessions, was with the distinct understanding and explicit promise of the miners to give to the operators of the four contracting States adequate protection against the competition of the unorganized fields. From year to year they have been called upon to fulfil their promise. The operators, parties to that agreement, at the time of its execution, felt that it was absolutely necessary to the safety of their investments that they be protected from the encroachments upon them by their competitors of the unorganized field. . . . We ask for the fulfilment of the pledge of 1898."

At the same conference John Green, representing the United Mine Workers (page 29), said:

"The United Mine Workers of America have diligently and aggressively attempted to carry out the promise made in Chicago in 1898. They have done everything in their power to redeem any promise they may have made to organize West Virginia. Since 1898 our organization has at various times spent hundreds of thousands of dollars trying to

unionize West Virginia. We have also sacrificed human life in the attempt to redeem that promise."

In corroboration of Mr. Green's statement it may be said here that according to a statement published in the *United Mine Workers' Journal,* the official organ of the union, the organization spent $669,938 in financing disturbances in West Virginia from 1900 to 1910. Information from unofficial but authoritative sources places the cost to the union of the insurrection of 1912–13 at $602,000.

At the 1912 conference (page 274) H. L. Chapman, a mine operator from Ohio, said:

"When we met in Chicago in 1898 and re-established the interstate movement the competition from the non-union fields was the element that entered into negotiations in the adoption of the scale that was made there. . . . It was understood in that convention, although it was not mentioned in the agreement, that the miners of the competitive fields of the four States were to bring the non-union field up to the price paid for mining in those States, and unless they secured the adoption of an eight-hour day at the next convention the competitive field was to be relieved of these burdens."

At the same meeting (page 245) John P. White, President of the United Mine Workers, said:

"We are as anxious to establish the organization in the West Virginia fields and the other non-union fields as the gentlemen on the other side of the house are to have us do so. But the operators there have been successful in defeating the aims and purposes of the United Mine Workers to a large extent, although no one can deny that under the various administrations of the organization every effort has been put forth to try to break down the conditions that are complained of here on the other side."

On page 217 of the official report of the 1912 conference may be found the following remarks by Duncan McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of Illinois:

"We have had thousands of men go to the penitentiary for trying to establish our organization in West Virginia, and other non-union fields. . . . We expect that more of us will go to jail. The penitentiary doors have no terrors for us, as far as that is concerned. And if putting two or three hundred of our men in jail will organize West Virginia we will send two or three hundred down. The chances are we will have to get busy with that situation shortly."

Men are not often sent to the penitentiary until after they have been convicted of felonies. According to Mr. McDonald's admission, therefore, the United Mine Workers in their organized capacity had been guilty of a great many

crimes in West Virginia and contemplated the commission of many more. Before taking up what followed Mr. McDonald's threat to commit acts expected to land two or three hundred of his followers in the penitentiary it may be well to review briefly the reasons why the operators of West Virginia were not disposed to look with favor upon an alliance with the union.

In 1902 the United Mine Workers had a considerable foothold in West Virginia, although the organization was not "recognized"; that is, the operators did not deal with the organization in fixing wages and other conditions regulating employment. When the great anthracite strike came on in 1902, the miners of West Virginia were busy, peaceful, and contented. Nevertheless, they were called out, ostensibly, in aid of the anthracite strikers. But it is to be noted that other non-union districts in Pennsylvania, where the organization had the same sort of a foothold that it had in West Virginia, which shipped coal to the East in competition with anthracite, but did not ship to the West in competition with the organized field, were suffered to run without interference. Thus it is a fair, if not an unavoidable, inference that the strike in West Virginia was not a sympathetic one, but was in reality declared to protect the "organized" field of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania against West Virginia competition in that period of top prices for coal. The result was more than half a year of turmoil and disorder in the course of which many acts of violence were committed by the strikers, and there was considerable destruction of property. While the United Mine Workers succeeded in unionizing the Kanawha District, they lost every vestige of organization in the rest of the State, except perhaps in a few mines near Wheeling.

Two years later, in 1904, a dispute arose between the operators on Cabin Creek and the organization concerning the employment of non-union men. A strike was threatened, and arbitration of the construction of the agreement was demanded by the operators, but was refused by the local and national officials of the organization. Whereupon the Cabin Creek operators declined to have any further dealings with the United Mine Workers of America and a strike resulted. The mines were idle about ten days or two weeks, at the end of which time they started up as non-union mines and have been running as such ever since.

The rest of the Kanawha district with the exception of Cabin Creek continued to be union. Paint Creek was included in the unionized district. According to the union's own statement it had on January 1, 1912, only 1,136 members in a total of 69,611 miners in the State.

Less than a week after Secretary-Treasurer McDonald had announced the union's intention to " get busy " on a programme that was expected to land two or three hundred of its zealous members in jail, the union miners on the north side of the Kanawha River began buying modern, high-power rifles at a certain store in Charleston, which by a curious coincidence received a very large shipment of these guns just at that time, although there was no disagreement with union operators, nor any trouble of any kind. In a short time these union men, then professing peace with their employers, and all the rest of the world, had accumulated more than a thousand rifles and a large stock of ammunition.

The next step on the part of the union was to demand the same increase in wages that had been granted to the miners in the four competitive States after their officers had given satisfactory assurances that they would " get busy." The demand was refused, whereupon the union ordered a strike. Then the union offered to trade the increase demanded for the " check-off."

To understand the significance of the " check-off," which was what the union officials were really manœuvering to gain, and not an increase in wages for their adherents, it should be explained that in union territory every man working in a mine is compelled to belong to the union and take the union oath, or at least he must pay dues just as if he were a member. To make sure that he does pay, the " check-off " has been devised. This scheme is worked in various ways, but most frequently by means of the " check-weighman," who collects the dues directly, being given a number the same as the miners, and taking in rotation from each miner a car of coal or a certain weight of coal, which is credited on the books of the company to the " check-weighman." The " check-weighman " deducts his own compensation from the sums he collects and turns the balance over to the treasurer of the organization in satisfaction of the dues or assessments of the men from whom the sums have been " checked off." This system avoids the possibility of neglecting to pay dues and assessments. This explains why the " check-weighman " is

so strongly desired by the organization everywhere. The assertion that the " check-weighman " is needed to protect the poor miner from his dishonest employer is merely a specious pretext to deceive the credulous public.

At the 1912 conference the union demanded that no limit should be placed upon this forced levy, which the operators were required to make on the wages of their employees for the benefit of the organization. The conference limited the amount that might be " checked off " to five dollars at each semi-monthly pay, but provided that more might be checked-off by " special agreement " with the operators. This " check-off," under the agreement, takes precedence of the grocery bill for the miner's family and everything else, except pay for powder and tools. At the present time the " check-off " is twenty-five cents regular dues each semi-monthly pay-day, plus fifty cents special assessment for strike purposes each semi-monthly pay-day. As the union now has 400,000 members this forcible levy on the miners' wages yields the neat sum of $300,000 every half month, or $7,200,000 a year, to be used by union officials as they see fit.

The relative importance of the " check-off " and the welfare of the working miner as viewed by union officials was shown in the so-called " Paint Creek Settlement," made by two operators on Paint Creek, employing fewer than a thousand men, with the United Mine Workers at Charleston, July 15, 1913. By the terms of this agreement the union actually bound its members to return to work, after a strike lasting sixteen months, at lower rates than the two companies had offered to pay before the strike was called. This reduction in prices amounts to a loss in wages of sixty dollars to one hundred and twenty dollars a year for each miner. The reduction in wages was granted by the union in return for the concession of the " check-off." That is, the operators undertook to take out of the wages of each miner twenty-four dollars a year to be turned over to the union as payment for the privilege of operating their mines.

The few union operators in West Virginia refused to become collectors of a fund to be used for the undoing of themselves and their non-union neighbors, but they did finally agree, with the exception of three companies on Paint Creek operating some sixteen mines, employing in the aggregate about a thousand men, to purchase peace by paying half the

increase demanded. These Paint Creek mines were operating on so slender a margin that any increase whatever in expenses was out of the question. Indeed, the president of one of the Paint Creek collieries companies has testified under oath that his company was then, and still is, insolvent. The majority of the men working at these mines were not members of the union. Both they and a majority of the union men desired to continue at work at existing wages under existing conditions.

Notwithstanding all this, the union ordered a strike at these Paint Creek mines. A small minority obeyed the order willingly, others quit through fear of violence. Many of the better class of workmen quietly left the country.

The miners occupying company houses who refused to work, were, after some weeks, required to vacate the houses and leave the company's property. In each case work was offered them at union mines with union wages and conditions, and the company offered to bear the expense of loading their household goods in cars for transportation to another place to work. Some accepted these offers, but many refused. The organization established camps at Holly Grove, near the mouth of Paint Creek, and later at other points, where were gathered in tents not only the striking miners, but men who had not been at work in the disturbed districts, and who came to the camps to participate in the lawlessness which speedily followed, of which the Holly Grove camp and others established later were, as they were intended to be, the nuclei. The union provided the tents and fed the occupants, while union officials directed their activities.

Almost as soon as the Paint Creek strike began a large body of "organizers" of the United Mine Workers and other agitators were brought into the district. These persons made the most incendiary speeches, openly counseling or approving assault and murder, and an armed insurrection was soon in full swing. By July 1st, not fewer than five thousand rifles, including Mausers and other foreign makes, were in the hands of the union's forces, the bulk of them being in the hands of men working at mines in parts of the field other than Cabin and Paint Creeks, but who made frequent incursions with them into the disturbed territory, having at some mines, at least, a regular system for detailing squads to garrison the camps or participate in the numerous

attacks which were made upon the mining towns, trains, and working miners.

From May, 1912, until the end of July, 1913, a reign of terror existed upon Paint Creek and Cabin Creek. Men, women, and children in various coal towns were fired upon from ambush by union forces, in some instances several hundred shots being fired. Trains were also fired upon, passengers were interfered with and assaulted and train crews intimidated. Non-union men, or those suspected of being such, were beaten, and several murders were committed. The killing of a watchman was marked by a savagery not surpassed in Indian warfare. A deputy sheriff was killed in a union attack on the town of Ronda. When his widow and children were about to board a train to leave the place they were fired upon from ambush. So intolerable did the situation become that Governor Glasscock was compelled to declare martial law three times in nine months, for every attempt to withdraw troops was marked by a renewal of violence.

Early in February, 1913, after martial law had been declared off for the second time, the town of Mucklow was attacked by union forces. In response to telephone messages the Sheriff of Kanawha County started at night to the relief of Mucklow on a special train which included an armored car mounting two machine-guns that the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway had been obliged to equip and man to protect its property. The Sheriff was warned that the train was to be attacked at Holly Grove. Just below this point those on the train saw a considerable number of women and children gathered before a lighted cabin, and rightly concluded that the union warriors had sent their women and children out of danger. In another moment the train was fired upon. Every window in the train was shattered, but no one on board was wounded.

Three days later Mucklow and Standard on Paint Creek were again attacked; and two men were killed in an attack at Ronda on Cabin Creek. Martial law was proclaimed for the third time by Governor Glasscock, and the troops were again ordered into the field. A plot to dynamite one of the troop trains near the town of Hansford was discovered and foiled.

An organization capable of planning and executing such a long-sustained series of crimes could hardly be expected to be finicky about resorting to falsehood to palliate its conduct

or to gain the sympathetic support of a hyper-hysterical public opinion. As a matter of fact officials and press agents of the United Mine Workers, ably assisted by the Jacobin press, have directed against the State of West Virginia a campaign of calumny without a parallel.

Overwhelming testimony produced before the Commission appointed by Governor Glasscock to investigate the coal insurrection and before the Senate Sub-committee investigating the same subject, corroborated what was already well known to all who are familiar with labor statistics; namely, that the coal-miners of West Virginia have higher annual earnings than the soft-coal miners in any other State, and that the Cabin Creek and Paint Creek miners were the best paid in the State. A negro miner who testified before the Senate committee that he earned from a hundred dollars to a hundred and fifty dollars a month and that thrice he had earned a hundred and ninety dollars in a month by his unaided efforts, shed a great light on the subject when he added:

"Anybody that wants to work kin earn good wages; but most people won't work."

Other miners testifying under oath corroborated this. No less conclusive evidence established the further facts that the mines are comparatively new, equipped and conducted according to the most approved practice; that the houses are good, the rents reasonable, the sanitation excellent, and other conditions at least as good as the average.

Complaints about the mine guards and alleged outrages committed by them were a mere pretext, an afterthought on the part of the union agitators. As a matter of fact there were no guards whatever on Paint Creek until some time after the outrages began, when they were brought in to protect life and property. There were only four guards on Cabin Creek, men who had lived there for years on as friendly terms with the miners as any New York policeman maintains with his neighbors. These four guards were the only peace officers in a population of several thousand persons. When the disorders were at their height the number of guards did not exceed a hundred and ten, to protect a total area of a hundred and seventy-five square miles, containing a population of nearly thirty thousand. This handful of picked men successfully withstood a lawless force of four or five thousand men armed with modern rifles. The guards never made an attack, but always fought on the defensive.

The true reason for the frenzied hatred manifested by the union toward the guards was that the same agency which supplied the guards also furnished a highly efficient secret service which kept the guards informed of the outrages planned by the union. Many a desperate plot was frustrated by the co-operation of the secret service and the guards. This explains why the first declaration of martial law was made by an over-credulous Governor at the behest of the union, why the operators opposed martial law, and why the first act of the militia, acting under the orders of the credulous Governor, was to disarm the guards and send them away.

While a trifling wage dispute was nominally at the bottom of the Paint Creek strike, the great majority of the employees of the mines there were satisfied and desirous of continuing at work. Only force and lawlessness introduced from the outside brought trouble at these mines. On Cabin Creek there was no dissatisfaction, no complaint, no demand for higher wages or any other changes in conditions. These peaceful, prosperous, and contented miners were terrorized into leaving their work solely because the United Mine Workers wanted to "organize" them and to force their employers to "recognize" the organization in fulfilment of a contract to impose upon employers and employees burdens that would prevent both from making more money than their competitors in other States saw fit to allow them to make.

The violence and shootings were continued even after the sessions of the Senate Sub-committee began. Thirteen lives were lost in the insurrection. The cost in money was as follows: operators' loss in business, $2,000,000; loss to the miners in wages, $1,500,000; cost to the taxpayers of the State, $400,000; additional cost to the taxpayers of Kanawha County, $100,000; cost to the United Mine Workers, collected by the "check-off," $602,000; property destroyed, $10,000; total $4,612,000. According to the latest available statement in the *United Mine Workers' Journal,* the official organ, the union's total membership in the State was increased by this insurrection from 1,136, or about one and a half per cent. of the 69,611 mine-workers in the State, to 3,074. Thus it seems that the cost of union proselytes in West Virginia figures out at $2,379 a head.

CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER.

HIGH PRICES AND THE THEORISTS

BY FABIAN FRANKLIN

In his article on "Gold and Prices" in the July number of this Review, Mr. Albert S. Bolles sets out with a plea for a more thorough inquiry into the causes of the prevailing high prices than has yet been made. The desire for such an inquiry is felt by none more keenly than by the leading theoretical economists of the world; they are fully aware that in addition to that agency which they recognize as most fundamental, the vast increase in the supply of gold, other causes of great importance and varied character are at work, whose nature and magnitude can be determined only by extensive and accurate research. But after its opening sentences Mr. Bolles's article is devoted to an endeavor to show that in regard to the one large cause, concerning whose operation competent economists are in substantially unanimous agreement, they are laboring under a delusion. If this were so, the outlook for any satisfactory outcome of a comprehensive inquiry into the whole complex problem would be dark indeed. "Patient inquiry" is, surely, desirable and necessary; but no amount of patience can serve as a substitute for straight thinking on the fundamental elements of a problem. That it is not the standard economists, however, but Mr. Bolles himself who has offended against the requirements of straight thinking, it is the purpose of this paper to show.

To this end it is desirable to take up first a few instances of downright and glaring fallacy; and these not incidental, but put forward with the utmost emphasis, and as conclusive proof of the wrong-headedness of the theorists. Toward the end of his article Mr. Bolles says:

"If there be any truth in the contention that the increase of gold supply has been a potent cause in moving prices upward, why has not the interest rate on gold declined? This should be the logical and natural

consequence unless some other causes have supervened. That the interest rate has advanced during recent years no one will dispute. The English and Continental financial publications especially are constantly discussing the problem. If there is any truth in the gold theorist's position, the borrower of gold or capital should say to the lender: 'Your gold that you now offer to me has diminished in value, I cannot buy as many goods with it as I could with gold formerly, so you ought to lend it at a lower rate.'"

Here Mr. Bolles makes the amazing blunder of forgetting that the interest rate is a *ratio;* that six per cent. means six dollars for the use of one hundred dollars, six cheap dollars for one hundred cheap dollars, six dear dollars for one hundred dear dollars. There is not the slightest trace of reason for either a high rate of interest or a low rate of interest going with a high *level* of prices; diminished purchasing power of the principal is precisely compensated by diminished purchasing power of the interest. That the process of *change* from high purchasing power to low purchasing power may have an effect on the rate of interest; that in a time of constantly rising prices it may be worth while for the borrower to give, and it may be possible for the lender effectively to demand, compensation for the prospective depreciation of the principal in the shape of a higher rate of interest, is perfectly possible—nay, it may be set down as certain that this has in fact taken place on a great scale. Not only, however, has Mr. Bolles no conception of all this, but he actually insists at great length on the ludicrous notion that the diminution in the value of gold should logically be accompanied by a diminution in the *percentage* of that same gold which should be paid for its use for a given time.

I have made this quotation first because the error is so palpable; it is not, however, in the main track of Mr. Bolles's argument, but seems rather added at the end by way of good measure. Near the beginning of the article the following passage occurs:

"Is not the following observation of an eminent French economist, Neymarck, unanswerable? 'There is no denying the increase in the production of gold; it has kept up for a hundred, for fifty, for twenty, for ten years, always progressing. And yet, during the interval, in France and abroad, there have been crises caused by the going down of prices—a fall in food products, in the price of land, in mineral products, coal, iron, etc. How did it happen that the gold production, which, they say, is the cause of the rise in prices nowadays, could not stop the fall in prices then?'"

So far from this being unanswerable, the answer to it ought to be obvious to every one who has given any thought to the subject; but to those who have not, the answer may be instructive, for it involves in outline the essentials of the theory of money. The level of prices depends on the one hand on the quantity of all forms of money—metallic money, paper money, substitutes for money supplied by the banking and credit system — and the effectiveness or rapidity of its circulation; and on the other hand on the volume of business transactions for the effecting of which it is used. In a given state of the mechanism of banking and credit, an increase in the volume of business, with the level of prices unchanged, requires an increased volume of money. And if the actual increase in the money supply is less than would thus be required, the level of prices tends to fall, while if the increase in the money supply is greater than would thus be required, the level of prices tends to rise. This, roughly speaking, is the quantity theory of money. No economist is so silly as to say that *any* increase in the gold supply, however trifling, is bound to be accompanied by a rise of prices, however great might at the same time have been the increase in the volume of production and trade. And yet as a refutation of the view that the enormous gold production of the last fifteen or twenty years has caused a great advance of prices, we are gravely told that there have been times when gold production increased and prices fell or failed to rise. This is as though one were to say that a torrential rain could not possibly have caused a river flood, because there are often heavy rains which cause no floods and even leave the water below its normal level. It ought to be possible for any one of adult mind to grasp the idea that the production of gold, though considerable, may for many years have been not more than sufficient to counterbalance the growing needs of business, but that when the annual addition to the world's stock of gold came to be vastly beyond all precedent, it was also beyond the amount needed for maintaining the level of prices. When it is stated that the world's gold production during the past twenty years—in round numbers seven billion dollars—was about equal to the estimated total of the world's gold production from the discovery of America to the year 1893, some idea may be gained of the folly of disposing of the quantity theory of money by an " observa-

tion " which wholly ignores all consideration of quantity; and when it is added that in the twenty years preceding 1893 not only was the production of gold barely one-third of that in the last twenty, but at the same time the stock of basic money suffered an enormous diminution through the demonetization of silver, surely every one must see that nothing is left of M. Newmarck's " unanswerable " observation.

Finally, let us take the statement which Mr. Bolles puts at the forefront of his argument:

> The gold theorist usually starts with a wrong premise. He asserts that if a bushel of wheat sells for a dollar to-day, and fifteen years ago it sold for only eighty cents, gold has lost one-fifth of its purchasing power. But if some other commodity sells for eighty cents to-day which fifteen years ago sold for a dollar, has the purchasing power of gold increased? Can gold affect the prices of two marketable commodities differently at the same time, raising the price of one and lowering the price of the other? . . . If gold alone or gold and credit combined were the chief cause of the advance in prices, *it would affect everything bought and sold in the same manner.* Consider the prices of grain, for example. The advances, instead of showing equality, show great inequality. And when we pass from one group of commodities to an entirely different group, the advances are still more unequal; in some of them there have been no advances at all."

Of course the economist does not assert that " if a bushel of wheat sells for a dollar to-day, and fifteen years ago it sold for only eighty cents, gold has lost one-fifth of its purchasing power "; Mr. Bolles himself elsewhere seems to realize, what everybody knows, that it is the rise of the general average of prices to which the economist points as resulting from an increased supply of gold. But let us pass that point over, and examine Mr. Bolles's objection for what it is worth. There is no difficulty in exposing its fallacy. The fact that some prices go up and some down does not in the least militate against the doctrine that the increase in the stock of gold operates toward the raising of all prices. When the average level of prices is stationary, some prices go up and some down; when the average is falling, some go up and some down, and when the average is rising, some go up and some down. If there is a rapid increase in the world's demand for copper without corresponding enlargement of the sources of supply or cheapening of the process of production, the price of copper will rise relatively to other things; if on the other hand scientific research should

discover a very cheap process for making aluminum out of clay, the price of aluminum would fall relatively to other things. Along with these developments bearing upon the demand and supply for copper and for aluminum, there might or might not be important changes affecting the value of gold; and if there were, it would certainly be in no way surprising if the fall in the value of gold were such as to accentuate the rise in the price of copper, and yet not enough to completely wipe out the fall in the price of aluminum. Nobody will deny that the increase of the population of New York is a "potent cause" of the rise in the value of land in that city; but there are a thousand special causes which result in some New York lots being multiplied tenfold in value during the same time in which others experience little or no advance, and still others actually fall in value. What economists say is that the increased supply of gold is a force operating toward the rise of all prices; they do not say that it has the magic quality of suppressing all the other forces which, affecting this commodity or that, tend to raise the price of one and depress the price of the other.

With these fundamental and elementary errors exposed, it would be superfluous to give any further attention to Mr. Bolles's criticism of the views of the theorists. But a few remarks as to the views which he puts forward in place of them may be worth while. That in many instances prices have been advanced through the possession of monopolistic advantages, or of the strength that comes from combination, is undeniably true; and it would be one of the great objects of that systematic inquiry which ought to be made into the whole question, to determine the extent and importance of this factor in the case. But Mr. Bolles's notion of the matter, and indeed of the whole question of how prices are made, has a naïveté which is as remarkable as is the ease with which he dismisses the theories of the economists. What they delve down into the depths of the gold mines to discover, he finds on the very surface of things:

> "The managers of the trust fixed those prices and when they did so were not influenced by the increased gold supply. All the trust had to do was to demand higher prices, and it obtained them: it made the products; consumers could not get them elsewhere, and must have them, that is the whole story."

Again:

"The heavy advance from ten cents a gallon to seventeen per gallon is not founded on gold or credit or any other material cause, but solely on the desire of the producers to enhance their gains."

Speaking of the higher wages obtained in response to the demands of labor organizations, Mr. Bolles says:

"What has the increased gold supply had to do with these advances? Probably the labor leaders know and care as little about it as the Icelanders; they surely have never used it as an argument in support of their demands. . . . They are ever busy formulating new demands, and frankly say that this is the object of their organizations, and are as little affected by gold production while exploiting their respective fields of controversy as the farthest star."

It appears, accordingly, that in Mr. Bolles's opinion a rise in the price that a man gets for the commodity in which he deals or the service which he furnishes is sufficiently accounted for by an analysis of the state of that man's mind or of the means which he adopts for the obtaining of his desires. The question of the wherewithal at the disposal of the other party for compliance with those desires has apparently nothing to do with the case. Of course if that were so, the theorists would have to throw up the sponge: if everything turned on the state of mind of the seller, and nothing on the resources at the command of the buyer, there would be an end of the quantity theory of money. But were it not down in black and white, it would seem incredible that the fact that the labor leaders know and care nothing about increased gold supply could be regarded by anybody as proving that the existence of that supply has nothing to do with the granting of their demands. The desire for higher wages we have always with us; but whether that desire can be fulfilled or not turns on myriad factors which mold the economic situation, and among these the level of general prices is surely one of the most potent. To say that it does not operate, simply because the labor leader acts upon his feelings of the situation without any knowledge of it, is about as sensible as to say that he is not subject to the force of gravitation because he constantly maintains his equilibrium without ever having so much as heard of Sir Isaac Newton.

In tilting at the theoretical economist, there is one kind of error to which, perhaps more than to any other, the "practical man" is addicted. He is continually imagining that the economist overlooks every-day phenomena which nobody

but an idiot could actually overlook; the fact being not that the economist overlooks them, but that he looks beyond them. Everybody knows, and the economist knows as well as everybody, that to get higher prices or higher wages you have to ask for them; what the economist is concerned with is the explanation of your being able—or unable, as the case may be—to get them when you ask for them. It is true enough, as Mr. Bolles says, that the grocer "never tells you" that he raises the prices "because there is more gold around"; but this fact is not news to the theorists any more than it is to him. Unquestionably the immediate condition precedent to a rise of price is that the seller shall ask more; but economists are not to be supposed ignorant of this because they say little or nothing about it. The difference between them and him is simply that they do not regard this obvious fact as an exhaustive explanation of what happens. He offers it as proof that the economists do not know what they are talking about; which is very much as though a physicist who was explaining the action of light in the process of photography were to be silenced by pointing out to him that the thing that really happened was none of this remote business—all that you had to do to get the photograph was to press the kodak button.

There are many aspects of the phenomena of the high prices of this time which require, and would reward, patient and competent study. Economists are fully impressed with the irregularities of the rise, and the desirability of an inquiry into the causes of the most important of them. So far as regards one highly important instance, however, what has happened is only what economists have always pointed out must in the nature of the case happen, as indeed is evident enough to common sense. Nothing has been more of a commonplace in economic teaching than that a rise of prices caused by a lowering of the value of the monetary unit becomes effective much more rapidly, generally speaking, in regard to commodities than in regard to wages, and is slowest of all to affect salaries. Mr. Bolles is quite right in saying that "had there been a uniform advance," affecting salaries and wages as rapidly as other things, "the voice of discontent would never have become so loud and general"; but that this non-uniformity would exist, and that the required adjustment would be slow and painful, so far from being in contradiction to theory, is among the most familiar of the teachings of economists.

With the question of the prices of agricultural products as compared with manufactures, of middlemen's profits, of retail prices as compared with wholesale, and of the growth and influence of monopolistic combinations, the case is altogether different. These are matters of high importance, dependent upon a large and complex mass of special facts having no relation whatever to the question of the quantity of the monetary medium. To study them to any purpose would require a vast amount of systematic and expert labor. But after the facts had been accumulated with patience however great, and had been classified with skill however refined, they would still require to have centered upon them the light of thoroughly scientific thinking, in order that they might yield results of real trustworthiness and value.

To imagine that there is any opposition between theoretical thinking and practical insight is to cherish a mischievous delusion. To think correctly and fruitfully in any such subject as this of prices, it is not *sufficient* to be a theorist; but it is indispensable. A man may be a theorist and yet blunder; the man that is not a theorist, and especially the man who prides himself on not being a theorist, is sure to blunder. And he is pretty sure to blunder doubly; to blunder in what he says himself, and to blunder in what he thinks the theorists say.

FABIAN FRANKLIN.

AN INTRODUCTION TO CROCE'S PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRACTICAL

BY DOUGLAS AINSLIE

"A noi sembra che l'opera del Croce sia lo sforzo più potente che il pensiero italiano abbia compiuto negli ultimi anni."—G. DE RUGGIERO in *La Filosofia contemporanea,* 1912.

"Il sistema di Benedetto Croce rimane la più alta conquista del pensiero contemporaneo."—G. NATOLI in *La Voce,* 19th December, 1912.

THOSE acquainted with my translation of Benedetto Croce's *Æsthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic* will not need to be informed of the importance of this philosopher's thought, potent in its influence upon criticism, upon philosophy, and upon life, and famous throughout Europe.

In the Italian, *Philosophy of the Practical* is the third and last volume of the series, *Philosophy of the Spirit, Logic as Science of the Pure Concept* coming second in date of publication. But apart from the fact that philosophy is like a moving circle, which can be entered equally well at any point, I shall place this volume before the *Logic* in the hands of English readers. Great Britain has long been a country where moral values are highly esteemed; we are indeed experts in the practice, though perhaps not in the theory of morality, a lacuna which I believe this book will fill.

In saying that we are experts in moral practice I do not, of course, refer to the narrow conventional morality, also common with us, which so often degenerates into hypocrisy, a legacy of Puritan origin; but apart from this, there has long existed in many millions of Britons a strong desire to live well, or, as they put it, cleanly and rightly, and achieved by many, independent of any close or profound examination of the logical foundation of this desire. Theology has for some taken the place of pure thought, while for others early training on religious lines has been sufficiently strong to

dominate other tendencies in practical life. Yet, as a speculative Scotsman, I am proud to think that we can claim divided honors with Germany in the production of Emmanuel Kant.

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed with us a great development of materialism in its various forms. The psychological, anti-historical speculation contained in the so-called Synthetic Philosophy (largely psychology) of Herbert Spencer was but one of the many powerful influences abroad, tending to divert youthful minds from the true path of knowledge. This writer, indeed, made himself notorious by his attitude of contemptuous intolerance and ignorance of the work previously done in connection with subjects which he was investigating. He accepted little but the evidence of his own senses and judgment, as though he were the first philosopher. But time has now taken its revenge, and modern criticism has exposed the Synthetic Philosophy in all its barren and rigid inadequacy and ineffectuality. Spencer tries to force Life into a brass bottle of his own making, but the genius will not go into his bottle. The names and writings of J. S. Mill, of Huxley, and of Bain are, with many others of lesser caliber, a potent aid to the dissolving influence of Spencer. Thanks to their efforts, the spirit of man was lost sight of so completely that I can well remember hearing Kant's great discovery of the synthesis *a priori* described as moonshine, and Kant himself, with his categoric imperative, as little better than a Prussian policeman. As for Hegel, the great completer and developer of Kantian thought, his philosophy was generally in even less esteem among the youth; and we find even the contemplative Walter Pater passing him by with a polite apology for shrinking from his chilly heights. I do not, of course, mean to suggest that estimable Kantians and Hegelians did not exist here and there throughout the kingdom in late Victorian days (the names of Stirling, of Caird, and of Green at once occur to the mind); but they had not sufficient genius to make their voices heard above the hubbub of the laboratory. We all believed that the natural scientists had taken the measure of the universe, could tot it up to a T—and consequently turned a deaf ear to other appeals.

Elsewhere in Europe Hartmann, Haeckel, and others were busy measuring the imagination and putting fancy into the melting-pot—they offered us the chemical equivalent of

the wings of Aurora. We believed them, believed those materialists, those treacherous neo-Kantians, perverters of their master's doctrine, who waited for guileless youth with mask and rapier at the corner of every thicket. Such as escaped this ambush were indeed fortunate if they shook themselves free of Schopenhauer, the (personally) comfortable philosopher of suicide and despair, and fell into the arms of the last and least of the Teutonic giants, Friedrich Nietzsche, whose spasmodic paragraphs, full of genius but often empty of philosophy, show him to have been far more of a poet than a philosopher. It was indeed a doleful period of transition for those unfortunate enough to have been born into it: we really did believe that life had little or nothing to offer, or that we were all Overmen (a mutually exclusive proposition!) and had only to assert ourselves in order to prove it.

To the writings of Pater I have already referred, and of them it may justly be said that they are often supremely beautiful, with the quality and cadence of great verse, but mostly (save perhaps the volume on *Plato and Platonism,* by which he told the present writer that he hoped to live) instinct with a profound skepticism, that reveled in the externals of Roman Catholicism, but refrained from crossing the threshold which leads to the penetralia of the creed.

Ruskin also we knew, and he too has a beautiful and fresh vein of poetry, particularly where free from irrational dogmatism upon Ethic and Æsthetic. But we found him far inferior to Pater in depth and suggestiveness, and almost devoid of theoretical capacity. Sesame for all its Lilies is no Open Sesame to the secrets of the world. Thus, wandering in the obscure forest, it is little to be wondered that we did not anticipate the flood of light to be shed upon us as we crossed the threshold of the twentieth century.

It was an accident that took me to Naples in 1909, and the accident of reading a number of *La Critica,* as I have described in the introduction to the *Æsthetic,* that brought me in contact with the thought of Benedetto Croce. But it was not only the *Æsthetic,* it was also the purely critical work of the philosopher that appeared to me of great importance.

To bring the thought of Hegel within the focus of the ordinary mind has never been an easy task (I know of no one else who has successfully accomplished it); and Croce's work, *What is living and what is dead of the Philosophy of*

Hegel, as one may render the Italian title of the book which I hope to translate, has enormously aided a just comprehension, both of the qualities and the defects of that philosopher. This work appeared in the Italian not long after the *Æsthetic,* and has had an influence upon the minds of contemporary Italians second only to the *Philosophy of the Spirit.* To clear away the débris of Hegel, his false conception of art and of religion, to demonstrate his erroneous application of his own great discovery of the dialectic to pseudo-concepts, and thus to reveal it in its full splendor, has been one of the most valuable of Croce's inestimable contributions to critical thought.

I shall not pause here to dilate upon the immense achievement of Croce, the youngest of Italian senators, a recognition of his achievement by his King and country, but merely mention his numerous historical works, his illuminative study of Vico, which has at last revealed that philosopher as of like intellectual stature to Kant; the immense tonic and cultural influence of his review, *La Critica,* and his general editorship of the great collection of *Scrittori d'Italia.* Freed at last from that hubbub of the laboratory, from the measures and microscopes of the natural scientists, excellent in their place, it is interesting to ask if any other contemporary philosopher has made a contribution to ethical theory in any way comparable to the *Philosophy of the Practical.* The names of Bergson and of Blondel at once occur to the mind, but the former admits that his complete ideas on ethics are not yet made known, and implies that he may never make them entirely known. The reader of the *Philosophy of the Practical* will, I think, find that none of Bergson's explanations, "burdened," as he says, with "geometry," and as we may say with matter, from the obsession of which he never seems to shake himself altogether free, are comparable in depth or lucidity with the present treatise. The spirit is described by Bergson as memory, and matter as a succession of images. How does the one communicate with the other? The formula of the self-creative life process seems hardly sufficient to explain this, for if with Bergson we conceive of life as a torrent, there must be some reason why it should flow rather in one channel than in another. But life is supposed to create and to absorb matter in its progress; and here we seem to have entered a vicious circle, for the intuition presupposes, it does not create its object.

As regards the will, too, the Bergsonian theory of the Ego as rarely (sometimes never once in life) fully manifesting itself, and our minor actions as under the control of matter, seems to lead to a deterministic conception and to be at variance with the thesis of the self-creation of life.

As regards Blondel, the identification of thought and will in the philosophy of action leads him to the position that the infinite is not in the universal abstract, but in the single concrete. It is through matter that the divine truth reaches us, and God must pass through nature or matter, in order to reach us, and we must effect the contrary process to reach God. It is a beautiful conception; but, as de Ruggiero suggests, do we not thus return, by a devious and difficult path, to the pre-Hegelian, pre-Kantian, position of religious platonicism?[1]

This, however, is not the place to discourse at length of other philosophies. What most impresses in the Crocean thought is its profundity, its clarity, and its *completeness—totus teres atque rotundus.* Croce, indeed, alone of the brilliant army of philosophers and critics arisen in the new century, has found a complete formula for his thought, complete, that is, at a certain stage; for, as he says, the relative nature of all systems is apparent to all who have studied philosophy. He alone among contemporaries has defined and allocated the activities of the human spirit; he alone has plumbed and charted its ocean in all its depth and breadth.

A system! The word will sound a mere tinkling of cymbals to many still aground in the abstract superficialities of nineteenth-century skepticism; but they are altogether mistaken. To construct a system is like building a house: it requires a good architect to build a good house, and where it is required to build a great palace it requires a great genius to build it successfully. Michael Angelo built the Vatican, welding together and condensing the works of many predecessors, ruthlessly eliminating what they contained of bad or of erroneous: Benedetto Croce has built the Philosophy of the Spirit. To say of either achievement that it will not last for ever, or that it will need repair from time to time, is perfectly true; but this criticism applies to all things human; and yet men continue to build houses—for God and for themselves. Croce is the first to admit the incomplete-

[1] G. de Ruggiero, *La Filosofia contemporanea,* Laterza, Bari, 1912.

ness, the lack of finality of all philosophical systems, for each one of them deals, as he says, with a certain group of problems only, which present themselves at a definite period of time. The solution of these leads to the posing of new problems, first caught sight of by the philosopher as he terminates his labors, to be solved by the same or by other thinkers.

And here it may be well to state very briefly the basis on which rests the *Philosophy of the Spirit,* without attempting to do anything more than to give its general outline. The reader should imagine himself standing, like bold Pizarro, on his " peak of Darien," surveying at a great distance the vast outline of a New World, which yet is as old as Asia.

The Spirit is Reality, it is the whole of Reality, and it has two forms: the theoretic and the practical activities. Beyond or outside these *there are no other forms of any kind.* The theoretic activity has two forms, the intuitive and individual, and the intellectual or knowledge of the universal: the first of these produces images and is known as *Æsthetic,* the second concepts and is known as *Logic.* The first of these activities is altogether independent, self-sufficient, autonomous; the second, on the other hand, has need of the first ere it can exist. Their relation is therefore that of double degree. The practical activity is the *will,* which is thought in activity, and this also has two forms, the economic or utilitarian, and the ethical or moral, the first autonomous and individual, the second universal, and this latter depends upon the first for its existence, in a manner analogous to *Logic* and to *Æsthetic.*

With the theoretic activity, man understands the universe; with the practical, he changes it. There are no grades or degrees of the Spirit beyond these. All other forms are either without activity, or they are verbal variants of the above, or they are a mixture of these four in different proportions.

Thus the Philosophy of the Spirit is divided into *Æsthetic, Logic, and Philosophy of the Practical* (Economic and Ethic). In these it is complete, and embraces the whole of human activity.

The discussion of determinism or free will is of course much more elaborated here than in the Æsthetic, where exigencies of space compelled the philosopher to offer it in a condensed form. His solution that the will is and must be

free, but that it contains two moments, the first conditioned, and that the problem should be first stated in terms of the Hegelian dialectic, seems to be the only one consonant with facts. The conclusion that the will is autonomous and that therefore we can *never* be obliged to do anything against our will may seem to be paradoxical, until the overwhelming argument in proof of this has been here carefully studied.

Croce's division of the practical activity into the two grades of Economic and Ethic, to which Kant did not attain and Fichte failed fully to perceive, has for the first time rendered comprehensible much that was hitherto obscure in ancient history and contemporary history. The "merely economic man" will be recognized by all students of the *Philosophy of the Practical,* where his characteristics are pointed out by the philosopher; and a few years hence, when Croce's philosophy shall have filtered through fiction and journalism to the level of the general public, the phrase will be as common as is the "merely economic" person to-day.

For indeed, all really new and great discoveries come from the philosophers, gradually filtering down through technical treatises and reviews, until they reach the level of prose fiction and of poetry, which, since the *Æsthetic,* we know to be one and the same thing with different empirical manifestations. In truth, the philosophers alone go deeply enough into the essence of things to reach their roots. Thus some philosophy, generally in an extremely diluted form, becomes part of every one's mental furniture and thus the world makes progress and the general level of culture is raised. Thought is democratic in being open to all, aristocratic in being attained only by the few—and that is the only true aristocracy: to be on the same level as the best.

Another discovery of Croce's, set forth in this volume for the first time in all the plenitude of its richness, is the theory of Error. The proof of the practical nature of error, of its necessity, and of the fact that we only err because we will to do so, is a marvel of acute and profound analysis. Readers unaccustomed to the dialectic may not at first be prepared to admit the necessary forms of error, that error is not distinct, but opposed to truth and as such its simple dialectic negation, and that truth is thought of truth, which develops by conquering error, which must always exist in every problem. The full understanding of the Crocean theory of error throws a flood of light on all philosophical

problems, and has already formed the basis of at least one brilliant study of contemporary philosophy.

To the reduction of the concept of law to an economic factor, which depends upon the priority and autonomy of Economic in relation to Ethic, is devoted a considerable portion of the latter part of the *Philosophy of the Practical,* and it is easy to see that an elaborate treatment of this problem was necessary, owing to the confusion as to its true nature that has for so long existed in the minds of thinkers, owing to their failure to grasp the above distinction. In Great Britain, indeed, where precedent counts for so much in law, the ethical element is very often so closely attached as to be practically indistinguishable from it, save by the light of the Crocean analysis. In the *Logic as Science of the Pure Concept* will be found much to throw light upon the *Philosophy of the Practical,* where the foreshortening of certain proofs (due to concentration upon other problems) may appear to leave loopholes to objection. Thought will there be found to make use of language for expression, though not itself language; and it will be found useless to seek logic in words, which in themselves are always æsthetic. For there is a duality between intuition and concept, which form the two grades or degrees of theoretic knowledge, as described also in the *Æsthetic.* There are two types of concept, the *pure* and the *false* or *pseudo concept,* as Croce calls it. This latter is also divided into two types of representation—those that are concrete without being universal (such as the cat, the rose), and those that are without a content that can be represented, or universal without being concrete, since they never exist in reality (such are the triangle, free motion). The first of these are called empirical pseudo-concepts, the second abstract pseudo-concepts: the first are represented by the natural, the second by the mathematical sciences.

Of the pure concept it is predicated that it is ineliminable, for while the pseudo-concepts in their multiplicity are abolished by thought as it proceeds, there will always remain one thought, namely, that which thinks their abolition. This concept is opposed to the pseudo-concepts: it is ultra or omni-representative. I shall content myself with this brief mention of the contents of the *Philosophy of the Practical* and of the *Logic* upon which I am now working.

Since the publication of *Æsthetic as Science of Expres-*

sion and General Linguistic, there has been some movement in the direction of the study of Italian thought and culture, which I advocated in the Introduction to that work. But the Alps continue to be a barrier, and the thought of France and of Germany reaches us, as a rule, far more rapidly than that of the home of all the arts and of civilization, as we may call that Italy which contains within it the classical Greater Greece. A striking instance of this relatively more rapid distribution of French thought is afforded by the celebrated *Lundis* of Sainte-Beuve, so familiar to many readers; yet a critic greater in depth than Sainte-Beuve was writing at the same period—greater in philosophical vision of the relations of things, for the vision of Sainte-Beuve rarely rose above the psychological plane. For one reader acquainted with the *History of Italian Literature* of de Sanctis, a hundred are familiar with the *Lundis* of Sainte-Beuve.

At the present moment the hegemony of philosophical thought may be said to be divided between Italy and France, for neither Great Britain nor Germany has produced a philosophical mind of the first order. The interest in Continental idealism is becoming yearly more keen, since the publication of Bergson's and of Blondel's treatises, and of Croce's *Philosophy of the Spirit.* Mr. Arthur Balfour, being himself a philosopher, was one of the first to recognize the importance of the latter work, referring to its author in terms of high praise in his oration on Art delivered at Oxford in the Sheldonian Theater. Mr. Saintsbury also has expressed his belief that with the *Æsthetic* Croce has provided the first instrument for scientific (*i.e.* philosophical, not "natural" scientific) criticism of literature. This surely is well, and should lead to an era of more careful and less impartial, of more accurate because more scientific criticism of our art and poetry.

I trust that a similar service may be rendered to Ethical theory and practice by the publication of the present translation, which I believe to be rich with great truths of the first importance to humanity, here clearly and explicitly stated for the first time and therefore (in Vico's sense of the word) "created," by his equal and compatriot, Benedetto Croce.

"Then leaning upon the arm of time came Truth, whose radiant face,
Though never so late to the feast she go, hath aye the foremost place."

DOUGLAS AINSLIE.

FRANCIS THOMPSON

BY DARRELL FIGGIS

At the heart of every poet's web of song there is a knot that must be untied before its pattern can be unriddled. Or, as one has said elsewhere, there is always some central room in a man's house of Art which, if we can reach, will make all the dwelling stand round us in order and in harmony, and with a manifest purpose—or at least show us where the purpose fails if it be lacking. In the case of Francis Thompson that knot is not hard to find. It accosts us at the very outset in the facts attending the publication of his books. Soon after his recovery as a fugitive in the labyrinths of modern civilization he entered upon a great period of song. The dreams he had dreamed when the hardest pang whereon he laid his mutinous head was indeed a Jacob's stone, burst into flower of song when the arches of Covent Garden were exchanged for the peace of Storrington. The sight of his rescuer's children and the gorgeous pomp with which the sun went down evening by evening on his soundless way, on the one hand and the other, in the peace of innocence and the peace of majesty, swept the strings of his spirit, and melodies came, slowly at first, but swelling in volume as they increased in number. Yet it is not the first evocation of song that chiefly matters. Poetry attests its truth to life in that it is the continuing and maturing of purpose that give it its greater significance. Francis Thompson's first volume of *Poems* was published in 1893; and it was followed two years later by *Sister Songs*. Two years later saw the publication of *New Poems;* and with that, save for a spasmodic irruption of song, chiefly in poems penned for special occasions and of diminishing value, his output ceased. When he was asked thereafter if he proposed subsequently to publish a further volume he would answer that he had concluded all he had to say. So resolute a refusal to continue a song the

inspiration of which had dried fitted well with the mental discipline that became his philosophy. Some of his later poems, deriving a little from alien manners, show that it was wise also. Yet a decay so soon, succeeding to so sudden and splendid a flower, is not easy to understand; and, indeed, there are not a few poems in his last volume where it is plain that Francis Thompson himself was baffled by it.

So he could declare that:

> "All joys draw inward to their icy urns,
> Tormented by constraining rime,
> And there
> With undelight and throe prepare
> The bounteous efflux of the vernal time.
> Nor less beneath compulsive law
> Rebukèd draw
> The numbèd musics back upon my heart."

Though he bravely continued:

> "Whose yet triumphant course I know
> And prevalent pulses forth shall start,
> Like cataracts that with thunderous hoofs charge the disbanding snow,"

yet we know that the musics remained numb upon his heart, that the constraining rime, however caused, was not thereafter to be broken. There are facts in his life that would seem to indicate some of his personal habits as the cause of this. We know, drug-taker though he was, and increasingly so in his later years, that none of his poems (save "Dream Tryst," in his first volume) were written while he was under the influence of laudanum. Did we not know it we might have inferred so much; for, from his own work, it is clear that Francis Thompson conceived more highly, more divinely of Poetry than to make it the sport of weightless fancies. He took its business greatly, as it should be taken. And his increasing addiction to the drug would seem to account for his failure of song, since it would bring repugnance as well as ineffectuality. But when one reaches so far back one reaches a place where many occasions melt into one. One reaches, in short, a place where a human impulse has not yet differentiated itself into tendencies for which words can be provided. The influence of the drug induced a carelessness (at its gentlest expression) of personal appearance that cut him away from human society. His very garrulity to the few whom he knew was a pathetic banner in witness

of that fact; and his gaiety in that company had, out of that company, to recoil upon himself. The distinguished poet who was the center of that circle, who was also the recipient of the poem "Love in Dian's Lap," has herself declared that his presence there was a sufficient refutation of his reputed unhappiness. "No soul," says she, "oppressed by sadness is busy, as he was, with unnecessary words." Unnecessary words, unfortunately, are too often the token of unhappiness: of a yearning for company that one's own temperament frustrates. Bubbles on the face of the waters may be effervescence; they may also be a tragic symbol. And the results of this would echo in his song until it made the very habit of song difficult to maintain. The poet who could so tragically say:

> "It seemeth me too much
> I do rehearse for such
> A mean
> And single scene.
> Life is a coquetry
> Of Death, which wearies me,
> Too sure
> Of the amour";

who could declare, "For who says, 'Lo, how sweet!' has first said, 'Lo, how sad!'" has found a gesture of sorrow too native to his soul for its continued building of such song as he would desire.

Yet the order may be inverted; and with equal justice. Even as his personal habits may have tended to constrict his song, so in the very song itself he may reveal the causes that, springing from the temperamental habit of his mind, led him back to the false solace of laudanum. In that case his song would unravel itself to us by revealing the heart of its builder and maker. For of all poets Francis Thompson seemed compelled to expound himself even while he assumed the exposition of other things. It was so in all that he did. When he was set to the task of praising Cecil Rhodes he celebrated himself; and Rhodes only in the degree in which he was like himself. His famous prose essay on Shelley takes its value from the same cause. Strictly considered, it is not criticism (to its considerable gain, it needs scarcely be said), nor is it exposition. Where, for example, he says that Shelley made the universe his box of toys, one scarcely needs to be reminded that this in no way describes the man who

made his life a burning quest for reality; though it fitly denotes an important trait in Francis Thompson himself. So when he was asked to write a poem on Cardinal Manning, it was not "To the Dead Cardinal of Westminster" that he sang, but of his own tempest-riven spirit.

"Lies one I saw on earth;
One stricken from his birth
With curse
Of destinate verse.

What place doth He ye serve
For such sad spirit reserve,—
Given,
In dark lieu of Heaven,

The impitiable Daemon,
Beauty, to adore and dream on,
To be
Perpetually

Hers, but she never his?"

The stanza form he chose finely lends itself to the expression of his withering irony, that is yet not so wholly irony as it is also a tragic despair; but it is scarcely in such incisive forms that the great dead will be praised.

Yet each instance given is illuminating; and they all lend each other their light. Shelley, for example, never made the universe his box of toys, because Shelley would never have called Beauty "the impitiable Daemon," would never have imagined himself stricken with curse of destinate verse. The whole of Shelley's life was a quest he had to satisfy: Francis Thompson's life, on the other hand, was puzzled by an antinomy he always sought to resolve. In one form or another it is present in all his song, giving it its peculiar plangency, and creating at once its strength and its weakness. In the high things of Love, before the face of Nature, and in all the commerce of men in the strange business of mortality, it is always assailing him. Man, for him, was

"a swinging wicket set
Between
The Unseen and Seen";

and while the Seen was always haunting him with its appeal (as in his function as a poet it must needs have done), his body was not strong enough to possess it and to pass it

through to the unseen of which it stood as a flaming symbol, a shining portal; so he turned aside from it to enter otherwise to the Unseen, even while its appeal yet remained before his eye.

In his first volume this is already evident. There, at the outset of the series "Love in Dian's Lap" he creates for his delight the visual satisfaction that he needs.

> "As lovers, banished from their lady's face,
> And hopeless of her grace,
> Fashion a ghostly sweetness in its place,
> Fondly adore
> Some stealth-won cast attire she wore,
> A kerchief, or a glove:
> And at the lover's beck
> Into the glove there fleets the hand,
> Or at impetuous command
> Up from the kerchief floats the virgin neck"—

so he finds his thoughts tending "Before Her Portrait in Youth." Yet he concludes by crying his

> "Curse on the brutish jargon we inherit,
> Strong but to damn, not memorize a spirit!
> A cheek, a lip, a limb, a bosom, they
> Move with light ease in speech of working-day;
> And women we do use to praise even so."

Thus to the

> "Chaste and intelligential love
> Whose form is as a grove
> Hushed with the cooing of an unseen dove"

he enters: he bursts the gates, says he, in order to go to the temple (though, to be accurate, he does not enter by the gates at all), for

> "How praise the woman, who but know the spirit?
> How praise the color of her eyes, uncaught
> While they were colored with her varying thought?
> How her mouth's shape, who only use to know
> What tender shape her speech will fit them to?
> Or her lips' redness, when their joinèd veil
> Song's fervid hand has parted till it wore them pale?"

From the point of view of the answer to Life's riddle Poetry, at its highest, purports to give, it is evident that he has not resolved his antinomy: he has turned aside from it. The simple fact that high occupation with high things may

mold and beautify the physical appearance is itself sufficient to show that the Seen may symbolize the Unseen, and is therefore not lightly to be turned away from because of the "brutish jargon" inherited from a merely licentious muse. In turning to the things of the spirit Francis Thompson ranked himself as of the higher order of poets; and in the very glowing imagery in which he cast his conception, derived as it was from visible tokens of beauty, he found a better resolution than in the explicit idea which it contained. But it is evident that the idea itself, over-intellectual as it needs must be under the circumstances, was ordered for him, partly by the tragic disposition of his life, and partly by that which grew out of it, his unfamiliarity with the commerce of mankind. It was owing to this that, needing the support of the Seen, needing, that is to say, its own proper, however inadequate, symbol, it was under the necessity of creating its own symbols. It reared itself on, it knit itself together by a tissue of intellectual conceits that, in that attenuated air, that remote and not altogether real place, became frigid and deliberate—as in the closing paragraph of "Her Portrait." It is but a scholiast's labor, and profitless enough, to say whether or no these conceits have a literary derivation dating from the seventeenth century. It is true that Francis Thompson knew that literature well. It is also true that like subjects suggest like manners. But it is more to the point to see how he faced his own poetic problem, however he may or may not have remembered the speech of others.

Face to face with Earth, or the visible glory of the heavens, his problem is the same, though it takes another shape. When one recalls how much Nature meant to him during the days at Storrington, how she calmed and cleansed him there, and how his "Ode to the Setting Sun," his "Corymbus for Autumn," and indeed most of his poems at that time, were steeped in that report, it is not easy to imagine the change of mind that must have occurred when he penned the following lines:

> "Lo, here stand I, and Nature, gaze to gaze,
> And I the greater. Couch thou at my feet,
> Barren of heart and beautiful of ways,
> Strong to weak purpose, fair and brute-brained beast.
> I am not of thy fools
> Who goddess thee with impious flatteries sweet,
> Stolen from little Schools

Which cheeped when that great mouth of Rydal ceased.
A little suffer that I try
What thou art, Child, and what am I—
Thy younger, forward brother, subtle and small,
As thou art gross and of thy person great withal."

It is interesting to note that throughout this poem, of "Nature: Laud and Plaint," the decline of fervor means the banishment of inspiration: it points the way to the silence about to ensue. In the first of the poems in which he won to the larger spaces of his song, in the "Ode to the Setting Sun," the fervor is such that it overburdens his utterance with its excitement; and it is here, noteworthily, that he cries, even with the sacerdotal emblem beside him,

"Yet in this field where the Cross planted reigns,
I know not what strange passion bows my head
To thee, whose great command upon my veins
Proves thee a god for me not dead, not dead!"

It was because he could declare

"Yet ere Olympus thou wast, and a god!
Though we deny thy nod,
We cannot spoil thee of thy divinity,"

that he could tremble to the excitement of—

"If with exultant tread
Thou foot the Eastern Sea
Or like a golden bee
Sting the West to angry red,
Thou dost image, thou dost follow
That King-maker of Creation,
Who, ere Hellas hailed Apollo,
Gave thee, angel-god, thy station;
Thou art of Him a type memorial."

Sitting at the feet of doctrinaires, he forgot, in the end, that the Christ-word did not dismiss Paganism: it included it—that the Christ-word was not a denial, but an affirmation. But in the mean time the challenge of opposing laws was being called in his own mind. By the act of his will he had to put himself into relation with Reality; he had to make his choice, or wisely to guide the making of it; and in his song the issue reveals itself, at first by implication, but in the end explicitly. There can be but two ways in which this will may

put itself into action: either by a greater or lesser degree of violence, or by the peaceful resolution that the " great mouth of Rydal " sang. Neither has a monopoly of wisdom; for wisdom lies in a man's truth to the laws and reports of his own soul, not in his accepted obedience to a code. In Wordsworth's case (since Francis Thompson has himself cited Wordsworth) it is worthy of note that in the resolution he found he saw everywhere, in imperative brightness, " the Light that never was on sea or land," while yet never losing sight of the more familiar aspect of Earth, or of man when faithful to earth. The value of the latter arose, indeed, by reason of the intense reality of the former, of which they were a partial appearance and a symbol. And with Francis Thompson the shining symbols of things seen cried loudly through his senses to his spirit. None who has read *Sister Songs* can fail to note, even to bewilderment, how the trailing metaphors, drawn from the images of things seen, shift and pass and change over the face of the poem in token of the ineluctable things they imprison and typify. The very violence of some of the metaphors betokens the violence of the soul-thrift of the poet; the very vagrancy of some of them displays the pleasure of the writer, who rested, amid painful things, to make the universe his box of toys.

Some discipline had to come whether it was the discipline of order, leading to solution, or the discipline of renunciation, leading to some form of asceticism. The glory and miracle of the seen world, momentarily displaying the invisible universe as it comes into sight and passes out of sight in flux and reflux (like a globe whirling in darkness on only one tangent of which falls a bar of light), could not exclude his attention, however much it might excite him. The mind must pass on to its higher business, or rebate its achievement; and the first should hold promise of the last. But as Francis Thompson sang out his spiritual progress and discovery it is plain to see that he begins to take the way of renunciation and not that of solution. In the man himself this would make an interesting psychological study. There is no doubt that doctrinaire theology (embodying, in the first instance, the progress of other and probably wholly alien minds) was largely responsible for this. It housed him from the visible beauty that assailed and excited him, and which he could not in his body sustain, till in the agony of desire and denial cry after cry of pain was wrung from him.

"O God! Thou knowest if this heart of flesh
Quivers like broken entrails, when the wheel
Rolleth some dog in middle street, or fresh
Fruit when ye tear it bleeding from the peel."

Each of his songs began now to echo to this cry of pain; and with each quivering of the heart of flesh his estate grew worse. Moreover, having taken the way of renunciation, it followed that each poem was a new submission to this Pain. So he declares:

"I witness call the goddess, Pain,
Whose mirrored image trembles where it lies
In my confronting eyes,
If I have learned her high and solemn scroll:—
Have I neglected her high sacrifice,
Spared my heart's children to the sacred knife,
Or turned her customed footing from my soul?
Yea, thou pale Ashtaroth who rul'st my life,
Of all my offspring thou hast had the whole.
One after one they passed at thy desire
To sacrificial sword or sacrificial fire."

To the lady of "Love in Dian's Lap" he had sung—

"Teach how the sacrifice may be
Carven from the laurel tree";

Now the mistress of his vision decrees a more poignant way:

"Learn to dream when thou dost wake,
Learn to wake when thou dost sleep.
Learn to water joy with tears,
Learn from fears to vanquish fears;
To hope for that thou dar'st not grieve;
Plow thou the rock until it bear;
Know, for thou else couldst not believe;
Lose, that the lost thou may'st receive;
Die, for none other way canst live."

He who was "Beauty's eremite"—he who called himself "Bird of the Sun! the Stars, wild honey-bee!"—he who beside the tree saw the elf that was its truer self, in the ordeal of pain is disciplining himself to a strange and stern path. The whole universe is, indeed, linked in an irrefragable unity—

"That thou canst not stir a flower
Without troubling a star";

but the glory of the visible world is put by in order that the spirit may live as though in independence of it in the world

of its own order. Instead of disciplining himself in the test of incarnation, he seeks to discipline himself out of incarnation and await the dissolution that shall bring him peace.

> "When this morass of tears, then drained and firm
> Shall be a land—
> Unshaken I affirm—
> When seven-quired psalterings meet;
> And all the gods rove with calm hand in hand,
> And eyes that know not trouble and the worm."

And it is that consummation that he celebrates, by prophetic anticipation, in the superb close to that noblest of all his poems, the greatest and best-ordered, "An Anthem of Earth." If "The Hound of Heaven" (in valueless literary appraisal) be wilder in its appeal, swifter and more various of tumult, at least the two poems have a significant relation each to the other. For the soul that fled all ways from the approaching footfall came to a stern halt while it awaited the death that both closes and opens Life, "for they are twain yet one, and Death is Birth."

How much it cost him to maintain so severe a renunciation its very austerity may suggest; and the more truly so as it was indeed an austerity of renunciation rather than the triumphant austerity of solution. Denials do not give the glad answers that just affirmations may offer. Heaven is not to be entered by skirting Earth, as the beauty blazoned over her spaces will testify. So Francis Thompson proved. He might, in "By Reason of Thy Law," in a mien of fine dignity declare his "certitude of haughty fate," but there was also "The Dread of Height" to be feared.

> "Not the Circean wine
> Most perilous is for pain:
> Grapes of the heaven's star-loaden vine,
> Whereto the lofty-placed
> Thoughts of fair souls attain,
> Tempt with a more retributive delight,
> And do disrelish all life's sober taste.
> 'Tis to have drunk too well
> The drink that is divine,
> Maketh the kind earth waste,
> And breath intolerable."

Throughout the whole of this poem, full as it is of passages that claim quotation, it is strictly the dread of height that he sings, not the darkness that so strangely comes upon the soul

after periods of wonderful illumination. Such a dread will seem a strange thing; yet it was justified thus far that he had not built himself up to that height, and so was not well assured of its attainment.

Yet that this is not all of truth "New Year's Chimes" and "In No Strange Land" (now entitled by Mr. Meynell "The Kingdom of God") are sufficient to show. In one place he declares of his song that

> "Within her eyes' profound arcade
> Resides the glory of her dreams;
> Behind her secret cloud of hair,
> She sees the Is beyond the Seems";

but in these two poems he sees the Is through and by means of the Seems, and that is a sight that brings its own faith with it. It may not be given to all to see "shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross," for all may not approve Charing Cross as in itself a place where bushes are wont to burn—though human hearts may burn there truly enough, independently of their environment. But the vision that abides steadfast is the vision of—

> "One to set, and many to sing,
> *(And a million songs are as songs of one),*
> One to stand and many to cling,
> The many things and the one Thing,
> The one that runs not, the many that run.
> . . . . . .
> "And the more ample years unfold
> *(With a million songs as song of one),*
> A little new of the ever old,
> A little told of the never told,
> Added act of the never done.
>
> "Loud the descant, and low the theme,
> *(A million songs as song of one),*
> And the dream of the world is dream in dream,
> And the one Is is, or nought could seem;
> And the song runs round to the song begun."

There is no renunciation in that song; it is pure solution, wherein symbols and reality merge, and faith is justified of its vision, for the Seen takes its just value in a world of tuition. Its simplicity of speech, too, is in significant contrast with the troubled tumult of much of his song. Yet it all marks the way he went; and its Gothic splendor, typifying his spiritual adventure, has a high place in that Poetry that is also Prophecy.

DARRELL FIGGIS.

WHY THE CURRENCY BILL SHOULD PASS

BY SAMUEL UNTERMYER

RADICAL differences of opinion are bound to arise in the framing of any scheme of Currency legislation. It is hopeless to anticipate anything like unanimity even on the fundamental principles that should govern. Self-interest, ignorance, and honest differences on a subject so highly specialized and complex are the factors that render solution so difficult.

There is no system of recognized superiority, as is evidenced by the fact that no two countries have the same system. If, therefore, we wait until the unanimous judgment of any political party or other body, however well informed or well intentioned, is a unit upon any given plan, we shall accomplish nothing.

It is only by maintaining an open, patient, and judicial attitude toward the many arguments that may be presented for and against each of the propositions involved in any given plan and by a process of generous compromise that we can hope to reach a result. The treatment of the currency is not legitimately a party issue, and it is hoped that it is not to be so regarded.

With all due regard to the many able and patriotic gentlemen who are engaged in the banking business in this country, I venture to suggest that there is danger in relying too largely upon their judgment and in taking counsel from them too liberally on a subject in which their personal interests are so vitally involved. They cannot possibly be safe advisers, no matter how well intentioned and public-spirited they may believe themselves. They are the custodians of the rights of their shareholders whose interests they are in honor bound, above all other things, to protect and advance. That is the point of view from which we are

entitled to expect that they must and will primarily view any proposed legislation. They are not dealing with their own property. Their first duty is to advocate the interests intrusted to their care. Nor is it fair to regard their recent suggestion that under certain conditions they will surrender their charters and go out of the National Banking System in the light of a threat. If they are right it is merely a frank reminder that they hold a strategic position, due to our unfortunate dual form of government. It is an entirely legitimate argument for them to employ in the furtherance of the interests they represent.

The bankers are about as patriotic in this controversy as are the manufacturers in the protected industries in dealing with the tariffs in which they are interested or as any other class of citizens similarly situated. I have no doubt that in both of these instances the gentlemen concerned believe the positions assumed by them to be sound and public-spirited, but the unconscious bias of personal interest that is inherent in human nature renders such advice worthless except as the argument of an interested party which is to be carefully scrutinized and weighed. Treating this as a question of expert opinion, we all know how unreliable and irreconcilably conflicting are such opinions where bias enters as a factor. The supposed authority with which the expert speaks and the presumed ignorance of the tribunal that he is endeavoring to instruct serve greatly to accentuate the danger.

The shifting attitude of the bankers with respect to the wisdom of banking control as against government control of the issue of currency is fairly illustrative of the peril of submitting blindly to the guidance to which we are invited. They were a unit in the championship of the Aldrich Bill for the establishment of a Central Bank and for its absolute control by the bankers. They assisted to maintain for years and at great expense an organization to spread that propaganda. Yet it is admitted to-day by many of the best-informed men in the banking world that a Central Bank would not be best adapted to our needs and that the expansion and contraction of the currency of a nation is essentially a Governmental function that should never be under private control.

One of the most profound students of finance in this country is Mr. Paul M. Warburg, the well-known New York

banker. He is a recognized authority—and deservedly so. He was educated in the science of finance through a lifetime of experience in Germany, where the problems are perhaps better understood than in any other part of the world. He was an ardent champion of the Aldrich Bill, and is by many supposed (whether rightly or wrongly) to be its chief author. The fact that even the ablest of experts is fallible, and that the instinct of the country was more reliable than the judgment of the banking community, is well illustrated by Mr. Warburg's changed point of view with respect to the Aldrich Bill as evidenced by the accompanying article in which he frankly admits the justice and desirability of Governmental control and its advantages over the banking control that was the basis of the Aldrich Bill. He also concedes that a satisfactory plan can be worked out without a Central Bank, and with characteristic breadth and candor points to numerous particulars in which the pending bill is a distinct improvement.

And yet it seems only yesterday that it was considered heresy to question the perfection of the Aldrich Bill, and spelled disaster to take out of the hands of the bankers the control of the issue and regulation of the currency of the nation! Now they tell us that private control would not be proper and that they do not want it. All they ask now is representation on behalf of the bankers in the performance of this purely public and Governmental function of issuing money to them. They want to sit on both sides of the table —to be borrowers and to be represented in the Government body that passes judgment on their loans and the security they offer.

When these gentlemen tell Congress that their onslaught upon this Bill is in the spirit of patriotic co-operation unaffected by private interest they are unconsciously over-estimating their moral and intellectual strength. They are not able to judge fairly in a cause so peculiarly their own.

Whilst, therefore, it would be intolerable folly to refuse to listen patiently and judicially to the development of their point of view and to weigh carefully the arguments that their experience may suggest, Congress cannot be expected to accept at its face value their prophecies of disaster or their polite warning that they would be compelled in self-preservation to exchange their Federal charters for State charters unless their particular solution is accepted.

This brings us to the consideration of an important preliminary question that must be squarely met and determined now, before Congress can make any progress with Currency Reform. Is it true that the country can have no effective legislation except by the grace and with the approval and co-operation of the National Banks? Putting the question broadly and brutally, Must they be *coaxed* into the new system, or will they be *forced* by self-interest into the pending plan?

If no Currency Law can be made effective except by their grace and with their voluntary co-operation it follows that we must either let them write the law they demand, even though it does not meet the public requirements, or go on as at present with the inelastic, unsound, absurd system under which we have been staggering, until we can amend our Constitution so as to unify the system.

Have we really reached such an impasse? Are we in any such plight? I think not.

It is manifestly to their interest to accept the Bill as it stands. That is after all the sole criterion by which to judge the probabilities of their action. If the Bill should be amended—as it should be—to require that no State institution can become a member of any Reserve Bank unless its charter powers are restricted to those possessed by a National Bank, and if it be strengthened so that by no circumlocution could a non-member, indirectly through a member or otherwise, secure any of the rediscount benefits, there would be no sound incentive to a National Bank to retire and many reasons why no National or State Bank will be able to exist outside the membership of a Reserve Bank. The ability to rediscount its paper and to utilize its credit in the form of acceptances and thus safely and conservatively to use its capital, deposits, and credit over and over again will be a compelling power against which the non-member bank will not be able to compete.

On the other hand, it has been suggested that the character of the paper dealt in by the small country banks is such—and that the amounts are so small—as to make this paper ineligible for rediscount, and that they would be merely furnishing capital for the use of the larger banks. There is no basis for any such assumption. If there were, the plan would not be worthy of discussion. It ignores the fact that even though the makers are obscure and unknown the paper is to

bear the indorsement of the local bank, and the further fact that in foreign countries the business of the Central Government Bank consists largely in rediscounting bills and acceptances of the small country tradesmen and farmers through the local agencies that the Government Bank has scattered throughout the country. The success of the pending experiment depends on the strength of its appeal to the small borrowers and the almost universal use of its facilities by them, as is the case in European countries. During the hearings before the Senate Committee Senator Crawford of South Dakota argued that the small banks would oppose the proposed compulsory subscription to the capital of the Reserve Banks because their paper was of too long maturity to be available for rediscount and the proposed subscription would deplete their loanable funds without corresponding benefit. Did it occur to the Senator that, whatever might have been the original maturities of the bills held by these small banks, they are constantly maturing, and a given proportion would always be available for discount at some time even though not when at first received by the banks, and that they would therefore be quite as available as the short-time paper?

The Bank of France and its branches are open to everybody. Merchants, manufacturers, artisans, farmers — all alike. Any one may open an account with it for a trifling amount. It discounts for every one who has a current account, bills of exchange, checks, bills to order, and commercial and agricultural warrants which have not more than three months to run. The Bank and its branches accept for deposit and discounts without distinction bills and acceptances that are payable in any of the 467 towns in which it undertakes to collect bills. The minimum amount subject to discount was lowered in 1898 to five francs (ninety-six cents), and the number of small bills discounted by the banks has never ceased to increase since then. In 1911, 55 per cent. of all bills discounted was less than twenty francs ($3.86).

The Reichsbank will accept as low as ten marks, and will take any bill having three months to run bearing at least two good signatures. Under the proposed Bill the member banks of the Reserve Bank will perform the function of these agents of the Continental Central Banks. There is no basis for the assumption that the Reserve Banks will not be quite as useful, if not more so, to the small member banks than to their more important members. All the probabilities, based

on experience, are the other way. It is difficult to credit the accuracy of the claim that the country banks are objecting to subscribing 20 per cent. of their capital to the Reserve Bank, of which 10 per cent. is to be paid in and the balance to remain as an uncalled liability, and that they are responsible for the demand that the subscription and liability be each reduced one-half. The 10 per cent. of their capital which they invest is a mere bagatelle as compared with the reserves that they will be able to release and employ through their Reserve Banks, while they will use their capital, deposits, and credit over and over again through the privileges of rediscount and acceptances. The reduction of their required reserves from 15 per cent., as at present, to 12 per cent., as proposed, will in itself more than offset this stock investment. Besides, they in fact lose no part of their capital. They can reborrow it from their Reserve Bank and thus get back the use of their money and at the same time earn the dividend on the stock. Presumably, every member will rediscount in its proportion of the available funds. The 33 per cent. reserve requirement of the Reserve Bank applies only to demand liabilities. It does not include resources derived from the sale of its capital stock.

I submit, therefore, that the attractions of the plan are irresistible for the small banks—both State and National—and that this Bill does not depend upon the grace of the banks, nor should Congress depart from lines that it believes to be sound and just in deference to any such fear.

But there is still another and controlling reason for rejecting the view that we have no alternative but to allow the banks to write this Bill. If the country cannot have a system based on the membership and co-operation of the banks, we can, if need be, have one in competition with them, at least equally sound and far more in the public interest. This Bill as it has now been amended is far more generous to the banks than any known system, as will be hereafter shown. It unduly and unnecessarily protects the banks from wholesome competition to an extent heretofore unknown. In that respect it is unsound and is a radical departure from the principle on which the European Central Banks are operated.

As I read the Bill the Reserve Banks are not allowed to take private deposits, nor to buy, sell, discount, or rediscount *domestic* bills or notes in the open market or by any means except for or through the member banks. In that way all

healthy competition in the discount market is strangled, and the only effective way of keeping down the rate is prevented. If we ever hope to establish a discount market the Bill must be amended in the latter particular.

I am aware that the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House in its Report accompanying this Bill (p. 52) claims that the Reserve Banks are permitted to engage in these transactions, as they should be. If this was the intention there is grave doubt whether the Bill accomplishes the purpose. It authorizes the purchase in the open market of

"prime bankers bills and bills of exchange *of the kinds* and maturities made eligible for rediscount."

The only classes of paper "made eligible for rediscount" (Sec. 14) are notes and bills of exchange bearing the indorsement of a member bank and acceptances of a member bank involving the exportation or importation of goods; while Section 17 specifically provides that

"All domestic transactions of the Federal Reserve Banks involving a rediscount operation or the creation of deposit accounts shall be confined to the Government and the depositing and Federal Reserve Banks with the exception of the purchase and sale of Government or State securities or of gold or bullion."

As these are the only provisions bearing on this subject, it is difficult to understand the basis for the Committee's construction. Yet it is all-important that there should be such power and that it should at times be freely exercised as the most effective means of keeping down the private discount rate in a given locality as against local combinations and other conditions resulting in an excessive rate and in order to maintain an active discount market.

In England, France, Germany, and other countries the Central or Government Banks take private deposits and buy paper directly in the open market in competition with the private banks, bankers, and individuals who are their customers and for whom they rediscount. In this way the private discount rate is regulated.

In 1906 the Reichsbank had 70,000 depositors, of which only 2,500 were banks. There were 26,000 merchants, 9,500 farmers, 22,000 industrial companies. The first deposit must amount to not less than 150 marks ($37), and the account is not allowed to go below 50 marks ($12.25), but the smallest deposit entry allowed is 2½ cents.

In the same way the Banks of France, England, and other countries have vast numbers of depositors, of which only a small proportion are banks. All the European Government and quasi-Government banks compete with the private institutions both in the taking of deposits and in the purchase and discount of commercial paper, except that they allow no interest on deposits.

This Bill, following the lines of least resistance and apparently in the laudable desire of its framers to over-generously meet the views of the banks (but from what I believe to be a mistaken conception that they must at all costs have their co-operation), erroneously preserves and secures to the private banks the monopoly of the domestic discount market. Why, for instance, the Reserve Banks should be allowed and encouraged to buy long-time foreign bills of exchange in the open market without the indorsement of a local bank and be prevented from discounting or acquiring domestic bills except from member banks and with such indorsement, it is difficult to understand. It is distinctly detrimental to domestic business. The result will be to enable foreign merchants to borrow more cheaply in our markets than our own merchants, and in that way cripple the efficiency of our own citizens in the markets of the world where we meet these foreign merchants in competition. If they can borrow on better terms than our home merchants because the Reserve Banks are authorized to compete for their six months' bills directly in the open market, while the home merchant can discount and sell short-time bills only through and with the indorsement of his bank, the foreigner will get cheaper money.

It is likewise puzzling to comprehend how the operations of the Reserve Banks are to keep down the rate of discount unless they are permitted to fix a bank-rate at which they will purchase or discount commercial paper in the open market. If they can only acquire such paper through their member banks there is no check whatever upon the rates of interest that may be charged by the local institutions.

If, however, I am wrong in assuming that the banks cannot afford to surrender their charters, and if it transpires that such surrenders will be made in exchange for State charters, why should not the shares of stock of these Reserve Banks be offered to and held by the public as in European countries?

The Bank of England has 145,530 shares scattered among 11,986 individual shareholders, or an average holding of less than 12¼ shares each. Each owner of 500 shares or over has but one vote regardless of the amount held.

The Bank of France has 182,500 shares held by 32,867 holders, averaging 5½ shares for each holder; 11,592 holders have one share each; 6,889 have two shares each; 1,742 have 10 to 20 shares each; 1,088 have 21 to 50 shares each; 246 have 51 to 100 shares each. Only 108 holders have 100 shares or over.

The Reichsbank has a capital of 100,000 shares. There are two classes of stock, 40,000 shares of 3,000 marks ($750) each, and 60,000 shares of 1,000 marks ($250) each. On January 1, 1912, there were 18,757 holders, with an average of 5 1-3 shares each; 16,537 domestic owners held 29,810 shares of the first class and 58,540 shares of the second class.

The voting power in all cases is so arranged as to prevent large interests from acquiring control by limiting it to small holdings and disfranchising excess holdings in any one hand.

There can be no doubt of the great attractiveness to the general public of the shares of these Reserve Banks, even if the dividends be limited—as they should be—to 5 per cent. or 6 per cent., with no contingent interest above that. The Reserve Banks should be operated as a public convenience, and not primarily for profit. If they are to be co-operative and not competitive there should be no inducement to selfishness or rivalry between the managements of the various institutions. It must always be remembered that they are to be controlled by the member banks. The temptation for profit-making must be removed. Besides, the Government not only contributes the use of its vast funds, but gives its credit as well, in the form of treasury notes, and ought in justice to have everything that may remain in the way of profits after practically assuring 5 per cent. or, if need be, 6 per cent. on the investment.

So far as concerns the success of the Reserve Banks, without the co-operation of the banks, and as purely Government institutions with their shares publicly owned and appealing generally for deposits and lending in competition with the other banks, no large borrower could afford not to have an account with the Reserve Bank. The non-interest bearing accounts it would thus secure, together with its

capital and Government deposits and the ability to obtain currency on the rediscount of its commercial paper, would permit of a comprehensive plan without regard to the membership or assistance of the banks.

The $105,000,000 of capital that the banks contribute, and on which they get a very substantial return, is trifling as compared with the magnitude of the operation. The public would doubtless jump at the opportunity for such an investment in a Government-controlled institution, while the private deposits, together with the bank reserves and Government funds, would make a far more powerful and a vastly more useful institution than the scheme suggested by this Bill. It would operate as a hardship upon the banks and ought for that reason not to be resorted to if the present plan can be made operative. But if that is to be the alternative to permitting these gentlemen to write a Bill that is not regarded by Congress as the most wise or just solution of the problem, there need be no apprehension as to the outcome.

I do not believe we shall ever be confronted with any such alternative. There is far too much of advantage in the pending proposition for these eminently practical and resourceful gentlemen to surrender. The Bill may be said to be now in the stage of negotiation. Judged by their proposals to the Senate Committee, the bankers evidently so regard it, and Congress seems disposed to accept that view. I insist that it should not be dealt with on any such assumption, but should be treated like pending legislation on any other subject which Congress has the undoubted right to enact and enforce, if in the public interest, without regard to the wishes of the banks.

We have heard so much during this discussion about the necessity of harkening to the advice of these interested experts in the framing of the law that is to govern them that one would almost imagine that there is something occult or mysterious about this business of banking, upon which the lawmaking layman must not lay his ignorant, impious hands, lest by intruding upon the sacred precincts he mar the sensitive structure.

The fact is that, while finance is a science of which there are unfortunately few students in this country and which is little understood here, any good merchant knows, or should know, as much as our bankers about banking as it is practised here. The merchant extends credits for merchandise

in the same way that the banker deals in money credits, with the difference that the credits of the great merchants are wide-spread and diversified, extending all over the country and perhaps over the world, while the bank credits are mainly local. The merchant also borrows as well as lends. There is too much confusion of thought between finance and banking in the discussion of this question. The framers of the Bill seem to have been unduly impressed, for we find here and there provisions such as that requiring that the Chairmen of the Reserve Banks shall be men of " tested banking experience "—whatever that may mean. There are many great merchants whose financing operations are far greater in volume and more diversified than the banks with which they deal. Are they to be ineligible as chairmen of these boards?

Many of the most prominent men now in the banking world of America have gone to the heads of leading banks and trust companies of the country directly from the employ of railroads, from law offices, Government service, and elsewhere with no previous banking connection or experience, and have conducted them with marked success.

Again, most of our leading private bankers here and abroad have drifted imperceptibly from merchandizing into banking. Such firms as Rothschilds and Barings are mainly and primarily merchants. Rothschilds are to-day among the largest of the world's merchants in the purchase and sale of copper, rubber, coffee, and oil. It was by reason of their position as merchant traders that they began loaning on the products they were handling for their customers and thus became bankers as an incident of their business as merchants. In New York City there are numerous men at the heads of leading banks and trust companies and important partners in the greatest private banking firms of the country who went there directly from the practice of the law without any previous business experience whatever, and some who have taken their places at the heads of these institutions without any sort of previous experience either in the business or professional world and have successfully filled the positions.

A banker, on the other hand, could hardly go from his desk into the practice of the law or medicine or architecture or take charge of a factory. These activities require special knowledge. There is no legerdemain about the banking business.

These observations are not intended to belittle the importance of this useful, honorable, and dignified calling in which many of our best and most patriotic citizens are engaged. They are intended only to remind one another that we must not rely entirely on the wisdom of the interests that are to be regulated.

To return now to the discussion of the merits of the Bill under consideration, the objections that have been urged by the bankers and others and the counter-proposals that are advanced: I am an unqualified champion of the fundamental principles involved in the Bill in its present form, although there are many minor and a few important particulars in which it may be improved. It will hardly be contended that in its present form the Bill is a perfect or comprehensive measure. It does not purport to be. It must eventually be supplemented by a revision of our obsolete National Banking Law, that has not been revised for sixty years, before the Bill can be considered a comprehensive body of modern law applicable to present-day conditions in the banking and financial world. All this may safely follow later as part of the system that is now being created. So, too, the minor defects will doubtless be remedied as the discussion proceeds, for the men who have led in framing the Bill are dominated by the earnest, unselfish, and single-minded purpose of presenting the best possible results—unhampered by pride of opinion.

The fundamental principles involved may be summarized as follows:

1. A Currency issued by the Government and under absolute Government control.

2. The decentralization of the vast banking reserves of the country that have been attracted under the present law to New York as the only place where they can be utilized and at the same time kept liquid. There they have come into the hands of a small coterie of men through their domination over a dozen or less great banks in that city where they have been used to control the credits in great commercial and financial transactions and to promote stock speculation. This Bill will go far toward assuring to the country the great boon of retaining these reserves in the regions where they belong and of utilizing them in the legitimate channels of commerce of those sections.

3. The establishment and development in the course of

time of an open market for the discount of bills of exchange and acceptances based on genuine commercial transactions, thus rendering credits liquid with us as in other countries. In that way "call loans" on Stock Exchange securities will cease to be the only recourse of the banks for their idle money. The Bill will be the first chapter in a body of laws as the result of which the "loan stand" of the New York Stock Exchange will lose its unique distinction as the only open money market of the United States, and in its place we shall have a recognized and stable market for sound credits that cannot be monopolized or put at the mercy of a few men and that will go far toward stimulating healthful independent enterprise.

4. The employment of the credits of the banks through the power to accept merchants' bills and drafts, thus materially supplementing the resources of the banks without involving the use of additional money.

5. The development of a market for foreign bills of exchange that will release us from our present anomalous and absurd position of having to pay tribute to foreign countries on all our vast transactions with those countries.

These are a few of the more important results that can be worked out under this Bill that have led me to urge its passage at this time and without awaiting a revision of the Banking Law and without now attempting to engraft upon it any of the many important recommendations of the Report of the so-called "Pujo Committee," although these recommendations in my judgment will be necessary in connection with this Bill in order to correct the dangerous and growing concentration of the control of credits in a few hands and to relax the grip of the "Credit Trust" upon the industries of the country.

Let us first build the foundation of our new financial structure. This law furnishes at least an outline of the machinery for that purpose. The completion and embellishment of the edifice will take time and require discussion. Many questions, such as the adoption of the well-nigh universal European policy of prohibiting interlocking directorates, but that are not essential to be considered at this stage of the work, must then be settled.

It should accordingly be understood that whatever suggestions may be made in this discussion with respect to changes in the Bill are those of a friendly critic and cham-

pion, and are offered solely with the view of bringing about in the most effective way the accomplishment of the above-stated purposes.

If we are now ready to begin the task of shaking off the grip of the small coterie of men who hold in the hollow of their hands the control of the credits of the country affecting great financial and industrial projects; if we want to take the reserves of the country away from Wall Street, where they have been used to " rig " the stock markets; if we want to require them to be utilized in the legitimate channels of commerce; if we want to contract unhealthy speculation and at the same time expand and stimulate legitimate business, this Bill marks an important step in that direction.

The main advantages to *the banks* of the new law as against the existing system may be summarized as follows:

1. The reserves required to be kept by the banks against their demand liabilities average about 20 per cent. less than under the existing law, thus expanding their loaning power and consequent opportunity for profit to that extent.

2. The utilization of that part of the reserves that is required to be deposited with the Reserve Banks for the proportionate benefit of the depositing banks in the forms of rediscounts and of dividends on their share-holdings in the Reserve Banks.

3. The right of the banks under Section 15 to lend their credit in the form of acceptances to the extent of one-half of their capital in transactions involving the importation and exportation of goods. This form of transaction involves no expenditure or investment of capital and is almost equivalent to additional capital.

4. The enormously valuable privilege of rediscounting their commercial paper with the Reserve Banks and of receiving currency therefor.

The extent to which such rediscounts may be made for any one bank appears to be unlimited except as to the maturities of the paper and as to acceptances based on foreign transactions. Presumably not less than 75 per cent. of a bank's paper has an average maturity of less than 90 days, so that it is ultra-conservative to assume that under this provision a bank that deals strictly in legitimate commercial paper may increase its lending power on this account alone by at least 40 per cent. and its profits accordingly, less the interest it will have to pay to the Reserve Bank, which

would at all times be considerably lower than that which it would charge its customer.

5. The comfort and security with which the banks can conduct their business regardless of temporary money stringency and other disturbances, as the result of this "pooling" of the bulk of their required reserves in the hands of the Reserve Bank for equalization and distribution among the members as occasion demands. An equitable use of this fund will result in giving back to each member that needs it the use of two-thirds of the reserve thus required to be deposited.

If to these advantages there be added, as there should be, the right to the banks to lend their credit to *domestic* transactions in the form of acceptances, and the power to the Reserve Banks to discount *such* acceptances and to procure currency on the rediscount thereof, it will be difficult to estimate the extent to which the earning power of the banks will be thereby increased.

As against the assurance of this stability and vastly increased earning power the banks have been able to suggest two possible drawbacks as affecting their profits:

1. That they are required to subscribe 20 per cent. and now invest 10 per cent. of their capital in the shares of the Reserve Bank on which they have a first charge of 5 per cent. annual dividend, and (2) that whereas they now get about 2 per cent. interest on their deposited reserves they will get none from the Reserve Bank.

These considerations seem so trifling as compared with the pecuniary advantages to the banks as to cast doubt on the seriousness of their entire contention. Even if they are limited to a return of 5 per cent. dividend on their stock investment that can hardly be considered a hardship and will not arouse keen sympathy, when we reflect that besides this return on their investment they will get back the use of this capital as well as of two-thirds of their deposited reserves in the form of rediscounts. Under the present law these reserves are of no use to them or their depositors or their community. They go to New York and are there loaned on the Stock Exchange because there is no bill or discount market and no other way of directing them back into the current of legitimate business.

The opposition of the great New York banks to this Bill is

readily comprehensible. From the point of view of self-interest they are right in opposing it.

It appears from the testimony and exhibits attached to the report of the Pujo Committee that of the 25,000 or thereabouts of National and State Banks and Trust Companies in the United States, 19,015 had on November 1, 1912, accounts with the thirty leading banks and Trust Companies in New York City.

Ten of these institutions held 15,483 of these accounts, as follows:

Banks	Number of Out-of-town Bank Depositors
Bankers Trust Company	237
National Bank of Commerce	1,671
Chase National Bank	3,103
First National Bank	579
Guaranty Trust Company	182
Hanover National Bank	4,074
Liberty National Bank	312
Mechanics & Metals National Bank	1,010
National City Bank	1,889
National Park Bank	2,426
	15,483

It is probable that in this total there are duplications, as some of the larger out-of-town banks have each more than one correspondent in New York. There was no means of determining the extent of these duplications, as the banks refused to disclose the names of their correspondents, but the number is believed to be comparatively negligible, not exceeding five hundred at most.

These ten institutions have close and recognized Morgan-Baker-Stilman affiliations. Most of them are controlled or dominated by these interests through stockholdings, voting trusts, interlocking directorates and in other ways. There are 39 National banks, 42 State banks (exclusive of Savings-banks) and 28 Trust Companies in New York County alone, some of which are under like domination, but it was found impracticable within the limited time to secure the data from the remaining 79 institutions.

It is estimated that about 22,000 out of the 25,000 banking institutions of the country have accounts with New York City banks and keep at least part of their reserves there.

On November 1, 1912, the 30 New York institutions above referred to had on deposit belonging to their out-of-town correspondent banks $483,373,000, and in addition they had on that day loans outstanding which they had

made for these correspondent banks on Stock Exchange collateral aggregating $240,480,000, making a total on that day of $723,853,000. On the same day these New York banks had in addition like loans of their own funds outstanding on Stock Exchange collateral amounting to the aggregate of $526,315,000, which doubtless included funds that they held on deposit for their correspondent banks.

Of the above totals the ten so-called Morgan-Baker-Stillman institutions had on that day deposits belonging to their out-of-town correspondent banks of $338,190,000; loans of their own outstanding on Stock Exchange collateral $371,822,000 and for their correspondent banks $172,193,000 in addition to the moneys belonging to these banks that were on deposit with them. There is no available record of the amounts held on that day by other New York institutions under like control.

It requires no extended argument to demonstrate that through these deposits and the handling of this money of their correspondent banks these institutions wield a powerful control over Stock Exchange speculation and over the finances of the country.

Much of this power will be lost to them when this Bill goes fully into effect, which will not, however, occur until after thirty-six months. Here, again, the Banking Committee has erred on the side of over-abundant caution. Half the time would be ample for the purpose. The serious feature of this unreasoning timidity lies in the fact that the new system will not get a fair chance. Without these reserves it will be less powerful than several of the separate member banks, and the whole venture is in danger of being prematurely condemned. We are placing in the hands of those who may find the new system against their interest the power to discredit and cripple it. No such time is needed to make the transfers without disturbance. When the time finally comes the reserves will go into the Reserve Bank and will be loaned by it to its members for legitimate business purposes. The moneys that the country banks have been sending to Wall Street at times when they could not be utilized at home and frequently in times of semi-panic because of the attractive rates that Wall Street was bidding, will be available to buy commercial bills and acceptances, as is the custom all over Europe, when they have been made liquid here as they are there.

No more significant illustration could be offered of the conditions under which the money of the banks of the country is attracted to New York City for the purpose of stock speculation, and just when it is most needed in the sections where it belongs than the following table, showing the loans on Stock Exchange collateral that the above mentioned New York banks had outstanding on behalf of their correspondent banks on January 1st, July 1st, and November 1st, from 1908 to 1912:

No. of Banks	January 1st	No. of Banks	July 1st	No. of Banks	November 1st
1908....29	$106,621,000	29	$ 89,248,000	30	$ 85,011,000
1909....30	103,524,000	30	121,648,000	30	165,557,000
1910....31	208,260,000	31	160,185,000	31	125,201,000
1911....31	143,876,000	32	128,804,000	32	142,820,000
1912....32	140,901,000	31	141,028,000	32	240,480,000

It will be recalled that November 1, 1912, was the height of the recent panic when money was scarce and high all over the country. *On that day* the loans made by these banks for their out-of-town correspondents *were about double* the average amount outstanding on the same day of the preceding three years.

It may be that the gentlemen who oppose this Bill are really voicing the sentiment of the small banks of the country, but the more one analyzes the stated grounds of objection the more difficult it becomes to understand the basis of opposition. The independence of the country banks will be so largely promoted and their loanable resources so vastly augmented by this Bill that it is well-nigh incredible that they should hesitate.

The claim of Mr. Forgan that the Bill will result in a vast contraction of the loanable funds of the country is so effectively punctured by the figures presented by Senator Owen that further discussion is unnecessary. The real source of danger is rather from the reckless inflation that may follow a too liberal definition of what constitutes commercial paper, as will be hereafter shown.

Taking up now *seriatim* the remaining objections urged by the bankers and their proposals for changes, we find them still insistent upon a single Central Bank and, failing that, they urge a reduction from twelve to five in the number of the Reserve Banks. They no longer contend as under the Aldrich Bill, for private banking control of the Central body, but demand minority representation in the Federal Board,

although the Bill generously accords them control of all the Reserve Banks.

Let us analyze the justice and wisdom of these demands. A Central Bank is of course out of the question, not merely because the dominant party is by its platform definitely committed to the people of the country against it, but because it is impracticable and unsound. It has been truly said that it would be like having one Central Bank for all of Europe. The area is as large and the conditions in the different sections of the country are quite as varying. Discount rates adapted to the various sections would be impossible and contact between the members and the bank could be had only through local agents at the branches. There could be no first-hand knowledge of the character of the paper to be rediscounted. The structure would be bound to become top-heavy and unworkable. The discussion on that point has become so purely academic that it is not worth while pursuing.

Whether there shall be twelve regional banks or only four or five such banks is a serious and debatable question. The arguments in favor of a less number are powerfully arrayed in Mr. Warburg's paper printed in this issue. His conclusions are unassailable if his premises are correct that under the proposed system the reserves cannot be effectively mobilized, that a wide discount market for bills cannot be developed and that as a result the call-loan market will continue to be the stand-by of the banks.

I see no reason for assuming or agreeing to the soundness of any of these contentions. The various Reserve Banks are ingeniously " pipe-lined " under the supervision of the Federal Board, which thus secures the power to mobilize their reserves in anticipation of emergencies. That is a necessary power, and should be encouraged instead of being opposed by the banks. It makes for stability. It secures combined effort, which has always been urged as the great virtue of the Aldrich plan, and at the same time avoids the dangers of permanent centralization. Under normal conditions they operate independently and responsive to local requirements. In times of stress they are drawn together for united and co-operative action under impartial direction.

It is strenuously insisted in this connection that the delegation to the Federal Board of the power to require one Reserve Bank to rediscount or lend its credit to another is despotic and unjust, although it has always been admitted

and urged that such a mobilization of resources may become necessary for the general welfare. It is said that this power in the Federal Board places the funds of the Reserve Bank beyond the control of its shareholders and managers and of those to whom the deposits belong. The fact has been overlooked that as the bill now reads no action can be taken in this direction without unanimous consent of the Federal Board, which I consider wrong, as not being sufficiently elastic. The same result now complained of could probably be accomplished by concentrating all the Government funds in a Reserve Bank that needs help at a given time. In directing such transfers the Government would be dealing with its own money so that no complaint could be made of the Government extending help in that way. Again, to what extent would the exercise of this power place the reserves of the country banks further beyond their control than they are at present? They are now deposited in reserve city banks which lend them as and when they please, while under the proposed regulations they can be loaned only to member banks except by unanimous consent of the Government Board. Without that provision it would rest with the banks in control of a Reserve Bank to use the funds of the Government in the form of deposits and its credit in the form of notes and at the same time refuse the co-operation that is now admittedly essential to the working of the system. So long as it is insisted, and rightly, that the power to mobilize the reserves is essential to the success of the plan, there should be no captious objection to carrying out the scheme. The requirement for unanimous consent is quite as perilous to the banks as to the Government and the country. There seems nothing very despotic or unjust about this necessary measure of protection in the interest of those who are declaiming against it.

Answering now the argument that a wide discount market cannot be developed unless the number of Reserve Banks is diminished and their power correspondingly increased, one would imagine that the character and extent of the discount market would depend on the combined resources of the entire system that are available for the purchase or rediscount of foreign and domestic bills and acceptances and the corresponding demand, regardless of the number of units of which the system consists.

The importance of the development of such a market

cannot be over-estimated. It lies at the foundation of the entire Currency problem. The subject is little understood in this country. The Bill does not sufficiently define commercial paper or protect the character of the paper against which currency may be issued to accomplish the desired purpose, except to "sidestep" the difficult problems involved by relegating the whole subject to the Federal Board. That will never do. The question is fundamental.

I do not believe it will in any event be possible to develop this market for bills and acceptances unless the Reserve Banks are plainly permitted and encouraged to buy bills in the open market in competition with the banks, as before stated. The attributes of such paper will be discussed later.

Mr. Warburg has failed in his ingenious and highly instructive discussion to prove that the plan of four or five Reserve Banks will facilitate a discount market as against twelve such banks. If he can make good that claim he will have presented the strongest possible argument in support of his contention for a lesser number of Reserve Banks.

The bankers are inconsistent in arguing that with twelve banks each would be too weak and at the same time protesting against requiring the payment of a 10-per-cent. stock subscription to strengthen them and insisting that only 5 per cent. should now be exacted.

The advantages urged in favor of the larger number of Reserve Banks are:

1. That there should be separate bodies qualified to fix the discount rates in the various sections of the country, and that five subdivisions do not represent the varying conditions to be met.

2. The Directors should have intimate knowledge of the local and sectional conditions and of the needs and responsibility of borrowers and the requirements for currency. If there were only four or five such banks the Board would be forced to rely largely on the judgment of local agents instead of coming into personal contact with the members. If all the National and State banks join the system as it is believed they will eventually be compelled to do in self-preservation, there would be an average of 2,000 member banks in each of the twelve Reserve Banks, which is about as much real supervision as any Board can intelligently undertake without delegating the important work to agency management, which would be highly inadvisable.

3. A larger number of Reserve Banks with their separate Boards of Directors will assure the independence of the Banking business and safeguard the system against control by the powerful financial interests.

If the Bill prevails in its present form so as to compel co-operation, as it should, there are no appreciable advantages and many objections to reducing the number of Reserve Banks. If there were intermediate local organizations in the form of incorporated Clearing House Associations under Government supervision through which the paper offered for rediscount could be filtered and the claims of the member banks to accommodations determined preliminary to the application to the Reserve Bank there would be greater force in the contention. In the absence of this intermediate machinery sound supervision of loans by the Board would be impossible with less units.

The banks complain of the constitution of the Boards of the Reserve Banks and of the Federal Board and demand three principal changes in that respect:

(*a*) That they have representation on the Federal Reserve Board that is to supervise the Reserve Banks;

(*b*) That as to the six Directors who, with three members to be named by the Federal Board, will constitute the Board of each Reserve Bank, *all of whom are to be elected by the member banks* in Classes A and B of three members each, the power now given the Federal Board to remove the three Directors of Class B shall be stricken out; and

(*c*) That the nominee of the Government on the Board of the Reserve Bank should not be made Chairman.

There are others who on the other hand contend that the banks are already given too complete control of the Reserve Banks and that the provision for an Advisory Council should be eliminated.

Here, again, the Bill is over-generous in the representation given the member banks, irrespective of the recent concession of the official recognition of an Advisory Council to the Federal Board. The latter should not be permitted. There is no objection to the banks constituting such a body, or as many as they choose, for co-operation. But why should they be given a legislative status? We are told that the Council has no power, in which event it ought not be given a semblance of authority that may be asserted as the

basis for attempting to interfere with and protest what should be the supreme and untrameled power of the Government to supervise the system. This is a meaningless compromise. If the banks are entitled to representation on the Federal Board it should be accorded them. If not, this makeshift should be abandoned. It will prove a mischievous entering-wedge on which to base a demand for further power amounting to representation in the Federal Board when the auspicious moment arrives.

The member banks are already largely and more liberally represented under this Bill, taken as a whole, than in any other known system. Neither in England, Germany, nor France is there any bank representation. In Germany there is an Advisory Council selected by the shareholders, but *that is their sole participation in the management.* They have no voice in the rediscounting or other duties of the bank. All the Directors and every manager of the 467 branches and sub-branches is a Government official responsible to the Government alone.

There are no intermediate organizations in any of those countries corresponding to the proposed Reserve Banks so as to permit of bank control or even representation. The Government Banks deal directly with the member banks and with the general public, and the banks, who are depositors and shareholders, have no say whatever.

As before stated, the Central Banks accept deposits from every one and discount for all their customers, banks, industrial companies, firms, and individuals, and compete with all of them in every direction. Note how much more liberal to the banks is the proposed plan. They are given control of the banks that carry not only their reserves but the Government funds as well that will amount to almost as much as their reserves. The banks are preferred and practically assured a return of 5 per cent. on their investment. The funds are available primarily to them in the form of rediscounts, and when those resources of the Reserve Banks are exhausted the Government lends its credit in the form of notes to enable them to supplement their own resources for their own profit. There is good ground for criticism that the House Banking Committee has yielded too much.

It is imperative that the power to remove the three Directors of Class B shall not be surrendered. The Government has only one of the nine Directors. The Chairman

has no greater voting power than any other Director. The banks select the others. The Government reserves only a veto power as to three of them. Its funds are in the care of this Board. They will pass on the character of the commercial paper that the Reserve Bank will ask the Government to rediscount and for which its notes are to be issued. The Government will have no machinery for reviewing the judgment of the Reserve Bank in the performance of that important task. It must rely on the men who have been selected by the banks that are seeking the accommodation. Surely the Government could not under these circumstances ask less than that of the six members selected by the bankers, three shall be satisfactory to it, and that when the Government is not satisfied the *banks* will select others in their stead.

There are a number of minor features of the Bill that are open to criticism, among others such as

(*a*) That allowing the notes to be redeemed in "lawful money" as well as gold. They should be redeemable specifically and only in gold, and Section 16 should be amended to require the reserves against the notes to be in gold coin.

(*b*) The omission of the delegation of the important power to the Federal Board to issue notes with which to buy gold. Power is given the Reserve Banks to buy gold, *but no authority is given to issue notes for the purpose so as to keep the gold reserve intact.* This defect was pointed out to me a few weeks ago by a leading official of one of the Continental Government banks who had closely studied the proposed legislation.

The Government has two simple expedients at hand for the substantial increase of its gold reserves. The first has been pointed out by Senator Owen in the Bill introduced by him for the retirement of the outstanding gold certificates as they are paid into the Treasury for customs duties and other taxes and the issue of treasury notes in their place, thus eventually releasing over one billion dollars of gold which the Treasury holds now merely as warehouseman and to which it has no title.

The second expedient is to issue a large amount, say $200,000,000, in the course of a few years of additional fractional currency and buy gold with the proceeds. That is what Germany has done. It has about 1,600,000,000 marks

($400,000,000) authorized fractional currency of which about 1,300,000,000 marks ($325,000,000) is now outstanding. France has still more. We have an insufficient supply of pocket money for the needs of our people. It is the safest form of note issue. It is never presented for redemption.

(*c*) The failure to provide a common point for the deposit of all required gold reserves so that the obligation for the redemption in gold and on demand of the Treasury notes that are to be issued can be made good. It will otherwise be regarded as an empty form. This suggestion came also from one of the heads of a great Continental bank.

While the Government itself undertakes to redeem these notes in gold it is in effect a mere guarantor as between itself and the Reserve Bank. It will not have the gold and will have to look to its principal debtor, the Reserve Bank, to make good its undertaking. Why should it not put itself in position to make good by providing that all the gold reserves of the Reserve Banks be kept at Washington credited to each Bank, and that as notes are presented they be paid out of the gold belonging to the particular Bank by which they were issued? That will be an assurance to the world that the Government has the means of redeeming its promise.

(*d*) The provisions for bank examinations should be supplemented by legislation expressly prohibiting any voluntary Clearing House or other association of banks from requiring or enforcing the examination of any bank except through the agency of the Comptroller, and that the names of borrowers and the collateral for such loans of a bank be not disclosed to its competitors. The legislation on this subject recommended by the Pujo Committee is peculiarly germane to Section 23 of the Bill in order to put an end to the despotic power of the great banks that dominate the Clearing House Associations in the larger cities over the smaller members and to correct the character of abuses that are disclosed in the Report.

In conclusion I desire to discuss at greater length what seems to me the most important particular in which the Bill should now be perfected. I refer to a proper definition and careful restriction of the character of the commercial paper for which Treasury notes may be issued. That does not necessarily mean that the Reserve Banks should not be permitted to rediscount paper that does not come within

this definition. It means only that they cannot get currency on any paper other than that embraced within the definition. In its present form the Reserve Banks can rediscount only such paper as may constitute the basis of currency issue, but the Bill should be amended in this respect by giving wider discretion to the Reserve Banks but limiting the paper that the Federal Board may accept to legitimate commercial paper.

Commercial paper is that which represents an actual transaction in the consummated purchase and sale of merchandise intended for re-sale and consumption. It must answer the test of being an obligation that automatically discharges itself in the ordinary course of business. If A sells and ships to B cotton, grain, or merchandise that is intended for re-sale, and draws on B at ninety days for the value of the shipment, and B accepts this draft either in his own name or procures a bank or banker to accept for him, that acceptance is legitimate commercial paper. The goods represented by the draft will presumably go into general consumption and the draft be paid out of the proceeds, thus providing the funds for canceling the currency that was issued against it.

If, however, A is a wool manufacturer and makes his note for the purpose of buying a motor-car or a pearl necklace for his wife or of enlarging his factory or even to buy wool to make up into goods to put on his shelves, but which he has not yet sold, or to buy bonds or stocks, or to use as additional working capital, and his bank discounts that note and gives him the money, that note does not in any of the contingencies mentioned represent a legitimate commercial transaction and should not be eligible to rediscount by the Reserve Bank so as to form the basis of a Currency issue except, possibly, to a very limited extent and on an entirely different basis.

The distinction is fundamental. In the first case experience has taught that the purchaser who accepts the draft will in the ordinary course have disposed of the goods and will be able with the proceeds to meet the obligation at maturity. If, therefore, currency has been issued on the rediscount of that acceptance, it will be automatically retired by its payment at maturity and there will be no resulting inflation.

In the other case in which the creation of the obligation

does not arise out of a purchase and sale of goods there is no known source from which the funds are to come with which to meet the obligation at maturity. The goods may still be on the merchant's shelves; if the money has gone into improvements it may take years for the profits from those improvements to liquidate the debt, if they ever do. The result is that when the note comes due it will be paid by the issue of another, which in turn must be rediscounted and currency issued for it with which to replace that previously issued and retired. In course of time the issuing power will be clogged and eventually destroyed.

The latter class of transactions will necessarily result in dangerous inflation if they are permitted to form the basis of currency issues. For that reason the European form of obligation of bill and acceptance is better adapted to the plan of an asset currency than in our form of a promissory note. The latter is unknown elsewhere. Acceptances are mainly of two kinds—by the purchaser of goods or by a bank or private banker with whom the purchaser has negotiated for a commission for a line of credit in the form of such acceptances because the responsibility of the bank or banker is recognized and the acceptance will pass current and be eligible for rediscount as so much cash. Bank acceptances are not as well received and do not sell at as low a rate of discount in Germany as merchants' acceptances on domestic transactions, but in dealing with foreign transactions bank or bankers' acceptances are ordinarily necessary, as purchasers do not care for an obligation that cannot be enforced in their own country. When the acceptance is that of the merchant the character of the transaction is readily understood by every one through whose hands the document passes, and there is little difficulty in determining whether it represents an actual transaction in the purchase and sale of goods. When it is a banking acceptance it is more difficult to distinguish. It may represent a general credit available to improvements in the business or working capital or what not. But the foreign "acceptance houses," as they are called, and their methods are so well known and the purchasers of these bills have become so expert in discriminating between genuine commercial bills and the counterfeit article that there is not much confusion on the subject.

With us it will have to be a process of slow growth and education. It is not necessary that the asset currency shall be

rigidly confined at the outset to this limited class of commercial paper. There will not be sufficient of such paper at the beginning to employ the resources of the Reserve Banks. Our banks and merchants must first be taught to substitute bills and acceptances for promissory notes and to insist upon their customers reducing their open accounts to a more liquid form of security. The merchant who now sells goods on open account on sixty days' time and carries these accounts on his books and borrows against this book-showing on his own note at his bank, must inaugurate the foreign custom of drawing upon his customer at sixty days for the amount of the sale and of taking from the purchaser his acceptance, which constitutes commercial paper and will be eligible to discount and rediscount and as a basis for currency issue. In that way the seller secures an immediate market for the paper representing his sales and thus releases the capital which under our business customs is tied up in immovable book accounts.

The American banker now rightly regards only his call loans on Stock Exchange security as liquid and available for emergencies. His unmatured commercial paper he considers unrealizable until maturity. The European banker invests his idle funds in short-time paper. He regards his "portfolio" (as his collection of this paper is called) as his most liquid asset because he knows that if it is genuine commercial paper he can convert it into money either in the open market or at the Central Bank at a moment's notice. But the introduction of this radical change in our business methods must necessarily be gradual and will depend on the care with which we hedge around the issue of our asset currency.

There is, however, no reason why a given proportion of the funds of the Reserve Banks should not be available for the discount of bills based on certain classes of staple merchandise in responsible warehouses and that has not yet been sold. During the caucus discussion of this Bill a great hue and cry was raised at the suggestion that the issue of currency on obligations secured by warehouse receipts for cotton and grain should be permitted in the discretion of the Federal Board. The proposal was denounced as demagogic and revolutionary. Yet that is precisely what is done in Russia, France, and Germany. The Bank of Russia issues currency against grain. The Bank of France now makes note issues

against unsold merchandise in warehouse. The Reichsbank has the same right and does so in practice to a prescribed limited extent, although it does not permit the issue of notes secured by Government bonds or other bonds or stocks.

A currency issue to the extent of say 60 per cent. of the average market price of such a staple as cotton or grain in warehouse as collateral to the owner's obligation is an incomparably superior and more legitimate security than an issue secured by the note of a merchant given for permanent improvements or working capital, which is the basis of so large a part of our so-called "commercial paper." The former is liquid and realizable and should be permitted to a given extent. The latter is illegitimate and indefensible as a basis for currency issue to any extent.

Yet this Bill would permit the latter and discourage the former. Section 14, for instance, allows the rediscount of notes and bills "the *proceeds* of which have been used *or may be used*" for agricultural, industrial, or commercial purposes. Who can possibly say how "the proceeds *may be* used?" There is peril lurking in this loose language. It would allow the rediscount of notes given to build a factory or buy a farm.

It is impossible to treat this vast subject within the limits here prescribed. Suffice it to say at this time that the sections dealing with this important phase will have to be amplified before the Bill will be workable. In its present form it invites disaster, but it is largely a question of phraseology to put it right in this respect.

There are still other aspects of the Bill that should be discussed if space permitted, but they do not involve fundamental questions. The framers of this Bill are to be congratulated on the skill and justice with which, on the whole, they have dealt with a highly technical subject out of which a perfected plan can only be evolved by generous discussion and as the result of an educational campaign. The underlying principles are sound, and it is to be hoped that the beginning will now be made. We have talked and agitated for twenty years and done nothing. Now that we are at last on the right road let us use the tools we have and act promptly. The experts disagree, as they always will. It is only by actual operation that we can uncover the defects.

SAMUEL UNTERMYER.

THE OWEN-GLASS BILL AS SUBMITTED TO THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

SOME CRITICISMS AND SUGGESTIONS

BY PAUL M. WARBURG

Now that we have before us the Owen-Glass Bill in the definite form in which it has been submitted to the Democratic caucus, it may be interesting dispassionately to analyze it and to establish where it differs from and wherein it agrees in the main points with the bill of the Monetary Commission.

It is a source of great satisfaction to note that, as the Republican party had to outgrow and to abandon its old doctrine of "currency issued by National Banks against Government bonds," so the Democratic party had to relinquish its old heresies of the 16-to-1 silver standard, the guarantee of deposits, etc. Both parties are now agreed that reform must provide for "a currency"—to use President Wilson's own words—"not rigid as now, but readily, elastically, responsive to sound credit, the expanding and contracting credits of every-day transactions, and the normal ebb and flow of personal and corporate dealings."

There is a further and even more important progress. Both parties have now recognized that it is not the "currency" which is the exclusive or even the chief factor that needs reform, but that, indissolubly interwoven with this question is the problem of rendering available and efficient the now immobilized reserves of the country, and of mobilizing and modernizing the now illiquid American bills of exchange by creating a "discount market" and "bank acceptances."

Both parties are thus in agreement as to the ends to be striven for; more than that, they are agreed even as to the technical means by which they must be attained.

Accordingly, both plans provide for concentration of reserves, for the creation of an organization for the purpose of rediscounting commercial bills, for the substitution of an elastic note for the present National Bank currency, and for a conversion of the 2-per-cent. Government bonds into 3-per-cent. bonds.

The country is to be congratulated upon seeing these theories and principles clearly established; it remains the nation's duty conscientiously to watch that the aims now professed by both parties be carried into effect in the best possible way, and that they be not lost through ignorance, prejudice, or considerations of party policy. Where there is agreement as to the fundamentals, it should not be impossible to reach an accord as to the means, provided they be honestly sought for.

There were five main criticisms of the Monetary Commission's plan, and it is chiefly on these points that the Owen-Glass plan differs from its predecessor.

Mr. Aldrich's critics claim:

1. That there is too much concentration of power and that this power is placed almost entirely in the hands of the banks or their representatives.

2. That a uniform discount rate for the whole country would not be practicable.

3. That the size of the balances to be kept by the subscribing banks with the National Reserve Association is not defined.

4. That the National Reserve Association, after taking over all the 2-per-cent. Government bonds, is not sufficiently protected, because, although it would assume the responsibility for the entire National Bank note issue, it would be prevented from selling the United States 3-per-cent. bonds in case of emergency (except $50,000,000 per annum and that only after five years).

5. Finally, it is claimed that currency should be issued only by the Government of the United States and not by a semi-official body.[1]

As to point 1, the writer partly agrees with these critics; as to 2, 3, and 4, he entirely agrees; as to point 5, however, he totally disagrees with them.

[1] This article does not aspire to be a comprehensive criticism of the Owen-Glass bill in all its details, but has for its purpose the discussion only of these main points.

Let us analyze each point consecutively:

The Monetary Commission's plan proceeded on the theory of the Bank of England, which leaves the management entirely in the hands of business men without giving the Government any part in the management or control. The strong argument in favor of this theory is that central banking, like any other banking, is based on "sound credit," that the judging of credits is a matter of business which should be left in the hands of business men, and that the Government should be kept out of business. The Aldrich plan, therefore, provided for only a moderate amount of Government control; but on the other hand it restricted the powers of the Central Board and the scope of the branch boards to such a degree, and it proposed so democratic a system of electing directors, that its author hoped to satisfy the nation that the concentrated reserves of the United States and the note issue would be safe in the hands of this National Reserve Association. The Owen-Glass bill proceeds, in this respect, more on the lines of the Banque de France and the German Reichsbank, the presidents and the boards of which are to a certain extent appointed by the Government. The writer is inclined to think that the latter form is the one better adapted to modern nations. These Central Banks, while legally private corporations, are semi-Governmental organs inasmuch as they are permitted to issue the notes of the nation,—particularly where there are elastic note issues, as in almost all countries except England,—and inasmuch as they are the custodians of practically the entire metallic reserves of the country and the keepers of the Government funds. Moreover, in questions of national policy, the Government must rely on the willing and loyal co-operation of these central organs. Much is therefore to be said for the theory of centralizing reserves and note issue in the hands of a semi-official private corporation under a mixed administration of business men and Government appointees, the managing officers being appointed by the Government.

In strengthening the Government control, the Owen-Glass bill therefore moved in the right direction; but it went too far and fell into the other, and even more dangerous, extreme.

In France and Germany the Central Banks are entirely free from any sectional or political color: an officer is appointed on the strength of his qualifications, generally after

a long training and gradually rising in rank; a director is elected on account of his standing in the business world; all irrespective of their political faith, and they will remain in office according to their merits and independent of whether the liberal or conservative party be in power.

In our country, with every untrained amateur a candidate for any office, where friendship or help in a Presidential campaign, financial or political, has always given a claim for political preferment, where the bid for votes and public favor is ever present in the politician's mind, where class prejudice and antagonism between East and West and North and South run high, in a country so different from these European states, a direct Government management, that is to say a political management, would prove fatal. Moreover, in Europe the banks are not required to furnish the capital of the Central Banks, nor are they obliged to keep balances of such size as will be necessary with us, where the banks and the Government will be the only depositors of the Federal Reserve Banks. The banks, therefore, should be satisfied that the administration will be carried on without bias and upon sound business principles. There can be no doubt but that, as drawn at present, with two cabinet officers members of the Federal Reserve Board, and with the vast powers vested in the latter, the Owen-Glass Bill would bring about direct Government management.

The Owen-Glass Bill provides for the creation of twelve Federal Reserve Banks as against the one National Reserve Association, with fifteen branches, as proposed in the Aldrich Bill. The National Reserve Association is theoretically the simpler, sounder, and, in effect, the more efficient structure. The freest possible return of idle cash into one large reservoir is best assured by a single organ, and its larger strength and uniform policy render feasible the creation of a real discount market and the performance of other functions, such as accumulation or disposition of foreign bills, gold transactions, etc., which are necessary for the safety of the structure.

Moreover, as we shall see later, a single organ of vast strength is in a position to solve in a more effectual way the question of Government bonds and note issue. Messrs. Owen and Glass were moved to adopt the Federal Reserve Bank system, not only because Senator Aldrich had adopted the other, but because the absolute centralization frightened

a great many who are afraid that in some way or other "Wall Street" might secure the key to this great chest. Although, in the writer's opinion, this apprehension was unwarranted, still this fear existed and had to be taken into account. Moreover, it was thought impossible to have one discount-rate govern the whole country; and justly so.

In dividing the country into separate districts, each having its own Federal Reserve Bank and its own rates, it was hoped to counteract the danger of centralization of power and to render each district independent of the other. It seems that the framers of the law were in the beginning impressed with the idea of creating from twenty-five to thirty such centers, or even a larger number. The longer they dealt with this question, however, the clearer it became to them that the number had to be reduced and, furthermore, that some way had to be found to co-ordinate these separate entities, or rather to subordinate them under the domination of one central power.

It is clear that, if a large number of separate Federal Reserve Banks should be created without any such superimposed organ, instead of having a free back flow of idle cash into one center, we should have competitive hoarding of gold at each central point. This would destroy the basic principle of the plan, which is that the reserves of one part of the country, where there would not be any seasonal demand, should be available for the other, where crops might just be moving. Without a central organ the result would have been that these independent and weak Federal Reserve Banks would have had to depend on the strongest among them for assistance. In other words, New York would have become the center dictating the country's financial policy, instead of having it formulated and carried out by a body of men from all parts of the country, as under the Aldrich plan.

It became apparent then: First, that the number had to be reduced in order to make the units larger, and thereby more independent; and, second, that it was necessary to co-ordinate these units under a Central Board. Thus the number was reduced to fifteen, and later on to twelve, and the Federal Reserve Board was created. While these moves were in the right direction, they did not go far enough, for the proposition as it now stands is not as yet a practicable one. Let us see how it would work.

As an illustration we shall assume that a Federal Re-

serve Bank is established with the minimum capital, permitted under the law, of $5,000,000 paid in, that is a nominal capital of $10,000,000. This would presuppose a paid-in capital of the banks constituting this Federal Reserve Bank of $50,000,000. Let us assume that the deposits of these banks would amount to five or six times their capital, that is, $250,000,000 to $300,000,000. Of these, 5 per cent. would have to be paid in as balances with the Federal Reserve Banks, that is $12,500,000 to $15,000,000. Of these it should normally have no less than 66 2-3 per cent. in reserve, equal to $8,000,000 to $10,000,000, leaving about 10 per cent. of the capital of the constituent banks, or $4,500,000 to $5,000,000, as available in normal times, and an additional 10 per cent. for special demands; after which the limit of a gold reserve of 33 1-3 per cent. would have been reached. This illustration presupposes that the banks, having paid in 10 per cent. of their capital, would want to reimburse themselves by rediscounting an equal amount with the Federal Reserve Bank, which means that the capital of the latter would be normally invested. But assuming that the capital would be uninvested, the total amount available for the accommodation of the constituent banks would even then be only 30 per cent. of their capital.

This permits of several conclusions: it shows, first, that while the Aldrich plan left entirely optional with the banks the size of the balances to be kept with the National Reserve Association, permitting them to count both balance and lawful money in their vaults as reserve, the Owen-Glass Bill, while correctly stipulating a minimum balance of 5 per cent. of the deposits, errs in setting at the same time a minimum limit also for the amount of actual cash to be kept in the vaults of the banks. From the point of view of strengthening the Federal Reserve Banks, and thereby the banks themselves, the balances with the Federal Reserve Banks, that is their cash holdings, ought to be increased as far as possible. The banks ought to hold only as large or as small an amount of actual cash as they actually need for their daily business, and all unnecessary cash should be deposited with the Federal Reserve Banks. Allowing for an ample supply of till-money, but leaving the determination as to its size to the free judgment of the banks, it is safe to estimate that the aggregate gold holdings of the joint Federal Reserve Banks could be increased

by some $200,000,000. The joint loaning power would thereby be strengthened by twice that amount. In estimating this increase it has been assumed that an amount equal to at least 2 1-2 per cent. or 3 per cent. of the aggregate deposits could be safely counted upon. In our illustration this would mean that about $7,500,000 would be added to the funds of the Federal Reserve Bank, of which $2,500,000 normally, and a maximum of $5,000,000, would become available for the contributing banks; which would increase the total to 40 per cent. of their aggregate capital. The very object of the law should be to reduce to the smallest possible sum the amount of cash hoarded in the banks and to increase to the largest possible size the concentrated reserves in the Federal Reserve Banks. But it would be a mistake to attempt at this time to do more than to free and to consolidate the cash reserves, now wastefully impounded in the banks. It would be inadvisable to add to these vast sums substantial portions of the cash balances now kept with reserve agents as part of the legal reserves. These balances are now actively employed by the Reserve and Central Reserve Banks; if withdrawn from these banks and replaced by actual cash in vaults, or by balances with the Federal Reserve Banks, the accommodation, heretofore granted to the community by the Reserve and Central Reserve Banks, will have to be provided by the Federal Reserve Banks. That is to say: the regular business done by the banks will have been taken away from them, and the Federal Reserve Banks, which properly should act primarily as reserve institutions, providing the elasticity for extraordinary demands, will have been forced into the normal business, from which they should try to keep away.

Unless it be clearly understood by legislators and banks that the Federal Reserve Banks must not be used in normal times to finance the country to any substantial degree, the latter will fail to serve their purpose, because their funds would not be available when the real " pinch " came.

The balances with reserve agents should therefore be left undisturbed to a certain extent, or if we are to break with the old system of counting one bank's balance with another as a cash reserve, on the ground that such balance really is not cash, then we must concede that our system, as it stands today, implies a reserve of only 6 per cent. for country banks, of 12 1-2 per cent. for Reserve City Banks, and of 25 per

cent. for Central Reserve City Banks. It is with these actual cash reserves that the nation's banking business has been done, and, if properly organized, we can safely assume that they would be sufficient. No other nation requires cash accumulations or balances with Central Banks of such size.

If the new law eliminates these bank balances as reserves, it ought to provide for a corresponding reduction of the reserve requirements; not to the full measure of these bank balances, because a certain degree of liquidity was assured by the old system, but to a large extent.

It would appear entirely practicable to reduce the reserve requirements of the country banks from 15 per cent. (of which 6 per cent. were in vaults and 9 per cent. with reserve agents) to, let us say, 10 per cent.; of the Reserve City Banks from 25 per cent. (of which 12 1-2 per cent. were in vaults and 12 1-2 per cent, with reserve agents) to 17 per cent.; and of the Central Reserve City Banks from 25 per cent. to 20 per cent.[1] The law should then provide that of these reserves a balance of no less than 50 per cent. would have to be kept with the Federal Reserve Banks. This would mean a minimum of 5 per cent. for country banks, of 8 1-2 per cent. for Reserve City Banks, and of 10 per cent. for Central Reserve City Banks. The writer has, however, no doubt that the balances would in fact be much larger, because there would not be any reason for the banks keeping more cash at home than they actually need for their daily business. On the other hand, the size of the balances generally kept by a bank with the Federal Reserve Bank—and thereby for the benefit of the entire community—would have some bearing on the consideration which, in case of need, may be claimed from the Board of the Federal Reserve Bank. But whether this suggestion be adopted or not, there can be no doubt whatsoever that nothing can be gained by impounding an unduly large amount of cash in the vaults of the individual banks, or by unduly locking up their now free funds. If properly consolidated and organized, the present cash reserves ought to prove sufficient; if linked together in an unsound and inefficient manner, the inclusion of the bank balances will not avail. If, after a few years of active operation, it should become necessary to increase the balances, the law can be

[1] Provided there are only a few Central Reserve cities; if there were more than four or six there would not be any justification in requiring them to keep reserves so much larger than the other cities.

easily amended to that effect. But it is most important to avoid all unnecessary convulsions at the beginning.

As the law is now framed our illustration has shown that probably eight out of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks, thrown back on their own power alone, would not be able to provide the necessary facilities during seasonable or abnormal demands. The smaller the circle for each Federal Reserve Bank the more acute would be its embarrassment, because the demands of its constituent banks will be simultaneous, the dominating industries of the region not being sufficiently varied. The larger the circle of each Federal Reserve Bank, the stronger must be its own intrinsic power.

But even with larger units than are provided by the Owen-Glass Bill, the law would not achieve its purpose unless it would ultimately bring about a market for bills and bank acceptances and a free and natural interplay of reserves between the various centers. The business normally done by Central Banks must be only a fraction of the aggregate discounting done by the general banks, banking firms, corporations, large and small, and in particular by foreign banks and governments. When the cotton crop is to be moved, not only the Southern Federal Reserve Bank or Banks must provide their limited share, but the local banks in those parts of the country where money is not in as strong a demand during that season should be ready to buy Southern bills. In doing so they would rely on their own ability to rediscount in turn their own short maturities with their Federal Reserve Bank or depend upon the broad market for discounts, in which they could, in case of necessity, resell these bills with their own indorsement. Can such a market, which is an absolute prerequisite for the safety of the entire structure, be developed with a system of twelve Federal Reserve Banks as now proposed? The answer is a most unqualified "No!"

The basis of a discount market is confidence; confidence in its large absorbing power and in its reasonable rates. By "reasonable" I mean to imply rates that can be foreseen by "reasoning," by summing up all the natural influences,—and the extraordinary ones too,—that may contribute to shape money rates in a rising or falling direction. Both these elements would be lacking under the Owen-Glass plan. With twelve discount rates (even though a good many might be generally the same), with twelve competing centers, with

twelve, conceivably, different discount policies, a large discount market cannot develop. A market develops where purchasers and sellers meet. Locally the majority of the small finance centers will be purchasers; but, as between the various centers, they will on balance almost invariably be sellers. No open discount market will therefore develop in such smaller centers. It could, however, develop in the large centers like New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Boston, Philadelphia, etc., if it were not for the arbitrary powers vested in the Federal Reserve Board.

If, at these large centers, the banks could rely on *a natural* development of the discount rates, they would not hesitate to invest freely in bills instead of keeping their working reserves (not the legal ones) in " on call money "; but what means have they to cast any reasonable prognostication as to the course of such rates? The New York Federal Reserve Bank's position may be very strong and the Federal Reserve Banks at Boston and Chicago may be in an equally good condition. Eastern banks might therefore be quite willing to buy Southern paper at 5 1-2 per cent. while the official Bank Rate of the Federal Reserve Bank at New York presumably might be at 5 per cent. and that at New Orleans at 6 per cent. But here comes the Federal Reserve Board and issues its edicts that the Federal Reserve Banks of New York rediscount $10,000,000 each from the Federal Reserve Banks at New Orleans, Seattle, Kansas City, or, perhaps, Denver, Salt Lake City, Minneapolis, or Duluth. To what extent these requirements will be made and on whom they will be made, whether on New York, Chicago, or Boston, no banker will be able to foretell, nor will anybody know to what points the money may be directed. In the face of such conditions the call-money market will remain the stand-by of the banks; for they will not incur the risk of investing in discounts while the discount rate, instead of developing according to the natural free flow of credit and money, jumps according to the whim of a largely political body. With an election coming—and an election is always coming in the United States—how strong a probability is there that a demand from Seattle or Dallas (be they over-extended or not) for money from the East will be refused? How strong a probability is there, in the face of some political agitation, that a depleted New York would receive money, even were it its own, from the South or the Far West? And even

if the majority of the men constituting the Federal Reserve Board were entirely free from political considerations (which they cannot possibly be because some are political officers and owe it to their party not to disregard the political aspect of the case), what training, what ability would they command to pass upon these business and banking questions so as to enable them actively to run the banking business of the entire country? For not only is the discount rate of each Federal Reserve Bank "subject to review" by the Federal Reserve Board; not only has this Board the power of throwing the reserves from one part of the country to any other part that it pleases; but the Board will fix at its own discretion the rate at which "Federal Reserve notes" will be "advanced" to the Federal Reserve Banks. To this latter question we shall have to revert later.

While it is true that, by the addition of the Federal advisory council, a very commendable improvement has been made, because through it the Federal Board will have an opportunity of at least learning facts concerning general conditions which otherwise it could not possibly know (though it remains entirely optional with the Federal Board to act on these facts, or rather upon local or political pressure); while it is true, furthermore, that the arbitrary powers of the Federal Board have been somewhat "toned down," none the less, the proper working of the entire system will depend upon the wisdom with which the Federal Board exercises its functions, in particular that of "permitting or, in time of emergency, requiring Federal Reserve Banks to rediscount" paper of other Federal Reserve Banks.

It has been argued with great insistence that the Federal Board should not be clothed with the power of "requiring Federal Reserve Banks" to rediscount for each other; but it is the weakness of the entire plan that without such power lodged in some group of men the whole structure would fall to the ground. With twelve Federal Reserve Banks the *permission* to rediscount for each other is a theoretical option of which they would hardly ever avail themselves. If the Federal Reserve Bank of New Orleans should happen to have a bank rate of 6 per cent., against rates of 5 per cent. in the majority of the other zones, and if the Federal Reserve Bank of New Orleans became crowded, facing the necessity of increasing its rate to 7 or 8 per cent., what

would happen? Would New England or Pennsylvania or Chicago or New York of their own accord apply for permission to grant a loan? If money should be plentiful in these regions, the boards of these Federal Reserve Banks would argue that their individual constituent banks should take as much paper from the New Orleans banks as they would think safe and good business, but they would not for a moment consider it wise or incumbent upon themselves to weaken the reserve power of their own Federal Reserve Bank for the benefit of the New Orleans Federal Reserve Bank, shouldering thereby a burden which would otherwise fall on the remaining ten Federal Reserve Banks. In order to avoid the semblance of a Central Bank, the structure has been torn into twelve separate entities; but as the majority of these units are unable to stand alone, and as safety lies in union only, there must be some arbitrary power to take the place of the links that are missing in the structure. The further decentralization has gone, where centralization is the end to be sought, the vaster and the more arbitrary those powers must be.

With twelve units, for the deliberation and co-operation of which among each other the law does not contain any provision—excepting the advisory council, which may advise the Federal Board but may not act—the initiative and executive power for any joint or individual action between these Federal Reserve Banks must rest solely with the Federal Board.

This is most unfortunate, because for these seven outsiders, who constitute the Federal Reserve Board—outsiders because, living in Washington, they all stand outside of active business and they cannot possibly ever be in direct touch with the same—it is a problem beyond any man's power to decide wisely which of these twelve Federal Reserve Banks is to receive a rediscount and which of the remaining eleven, and in what proportions, shall grant the same.[1]

[1] The law provides "that the interest charge to the accommodated *bank* (we take this to mean the accommodated *Federal Reserve Bank*) shall be of not less than one nor greater than three percentum above the higher of the rates prevailing in the districts immediately affected." This must be a mistake. If New Orleans's "Bank Rate" is 7 per cent., its Federal Reserve Bank can only take discounts at the uniform rate of 7 per cent.; why then should it sell its assets at 8 per cent. or 10 per

There will, therefore, be no natural flow of reserve money, nor any free flow of money, into these disconnected discount centers. Important open discount markets will not develop; because neither Europe nor the large American banks will trust a system of this kind, which does not insure a sufficient mobility for commercial paper. Consequently the banks will not be enabled to dispense with their present habit of keeping a substantial proportion of their assets in loans "on call." For the sake of creating some provincial centers, which will be centers only by name, and which, standing alone, will not be able to provide the needed relief, the efficiency of the whole system will have been sacrificed.

But while a system of twelve Federal Reserve Banks will prove a failure, it will be well-nigh an impossibility to reduce the number later on. It is difficult to withdraw privileges once granted, even though their elimination would be of general benefit. On the other hand, it would not be hard, at any time, to increase the number, if this should prove advisable later on. Meanwhile, under a system of a small number of Federal Reserve Banks, discount markets would have developed, and the nation would have an opportunity of judging itself whether or not those were true prophets who predicted that the "discount market" would remove the concentration of money on the Stock Exchange, and whether or not the fear of a "tyranny of credit" will survive under the new system.

There are further phases of this problem that we must consider:

The Owen-Glass Bill contains elaborate provisions for the development of bank acceptances and for dealing in foreign exchange. Both provisions are most appropriate, for without creating an effective machinery covering these two items the law would not achieve its aims.

If we want to finance our own foreign trade, if we want to establish a standard banking paper with a large market at home and abroad, great pains must be taken to develop these

cent. in order to accommodate at 7 per cent. some banks, conceivably those that have expanded too much? If the Federal Reserve Bank of New Orleans can borrow only at 8 per cent., its bank rate should be not only at least 8 per cent., but rather higher in order to keep down the expanding banks of the region and in order to draw money into the dry district from other banks of the United States or Europe.

bank acceptances (not only those of subscribing banks, but also of our private firms; for the banks alone could not provide all the necessary facilities). The accepting bank receiving a commission of between 1-4 per cent. to 1-2 per cent. for giving its three months' acceptance, the discount rate for bank acceptances will have to be about 1 per cent. to 1 1-2 per cent. lower than the rate for single-named promissory notes. Though it would be better business for the Federal Reserve Banks to buy 45-days paper at, let us say, 5 1-2 per cent., they will have to make it a point to have a private discount rate for bank acceptances of, let us say, 4 per cent. This private discount rate must meet the English, French, and German rates in the world's market, and, unless the Federal Reserve Banks make special efforts to make the American rate reasonably low, no American bank acceptance will take the place of the European ones, no matter how many foreign banks may be established under the American flag.

Which of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks is to carry this burden? They all will want to earn their 5 per cent., for which the margin does not appear to be very large as the bill is drawn at present, and they all will strive to make the surplus earnings beyond 5 per cent. as large as possible, since they are to receive 40 per cent. of such excess. There are several reasons, however, why the 5 per cent. dividend is not as amply assured as it was under the Aldrich plan: (1) under the latter plan, the Treasury money was deposited free of interest, while under the Owen-Glass Bill interests are to be allowed to the Treasury; (2) under the Aldrich plan the profit on over $700,000,000 National Bank notes, which were to be assumed by the National Reserve Association, and the profit on any further note issue, was to go to the National Reserve Association. Under the Owen-Glass Bill the Federal Reserve Banks will have to pay interest on the notes to the Government, so that it may not be sure that any profit will be derived by them from this source. While the National Reserve Association's profit was limited to 5 per cent., the balance going to the Government, the margin was so large that all transactions which were to be done, for the public welfare, with small profit or even at a loss, could be carried out without encroaching on the 5-per-cent. dividend. It is a fair question whether, in view of these conditions and considering the vast

powers of the Federal Reserve Board to interfere with the profits of the Federal Reserve Banks, the Government should not guarantee a minimum return to the stockholding banks,—let us say 4 per cent. as maximum and minimum,—and permit the banks to dispose of their stockholdings at their pleasure, selling the stocks to them above par, and using the premium for the establishment of a surplus fund.[1]

If we review our considerations at this point, we find that the result of the division of the country into twelve Federal Reserve Banks, under the Owen-Glass plan, would be the destruction of a reliable and strong discount market, the weakening of the reserve power of the country, the undoing of the hope of developing on a broad basis the American bank acceptance, and the sacrificing of a strong and efficient foreign-exchange and gold policy. On the other hand, while all these advantages of a frank centralization have been lost, the Owen-Glass plan cannot avoid the same degree of centralization which, however, it brings about by conferring autocratic powers upon a small group of men. And because the technical decentralization into twelve units has gone too far, the individual powers, which are to take the place of the well-knit links of a single organization, must necessarily be too far-reaching. They become a danger to the whole structure and, at the same time, to those who are to be the responsible officers of the Federal Reserve Board.

The remedy is a simple one. If the framers of the Owen-Glass Bill, continuing in the same direction in which they have moved up to the present, will further reduce the number of the reserve centers, the very serious objections to the present law may easily be eliminated.

In the writer's opinion a system of four Federal Reserve

[1] The plan of permitting the Federal Reserve Banks to participate in any profit secured in excess of 5 per cent. does not appear to be sound. It would act as a stimulus toward activity and money-making, where the main duty of these Federal Reserve Banks must be conservatism, and a strong tendency to remain in reserve without any consideration of sacrifice of profits.

It would be better to allow the stockholders a return of 5 1-2 per cent. or 6 per cent., under a liberal system that would permit them to earn this dividend even with the greatest conservatism, than to permit them a share in the excess profits under a narrow system that would rather force them to do business in order to be quite sure of even their 5-per-cent. dividend.

Banks, with centers at New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco, with a Federal Reserve Board at Washington, would under the circumstances form the best possible solution. If it be objected that by such a division New York, which would include New England, would become too strong, a system of six Federal Reserve Banks would still be practicable, though less safe and efficient. Any larger number the writer strongly believes to be pernicious. It may be well to bear in mind that with any further increase in number of the Federal Reserve Banks, New York's weight could not be much reduced, and the larger the number of the Federal Reserve Banks, the more acute will become the disproportion of New York's power as compared with that of the other centers.

Let us contemplate now how a system of four or six Federal Reserve Banks will meet the various difficulties that we have discussed. For simplicity's sake we shall discuss a system of four Federal Reserve Banks, but if six should be decided upon, the argument, though weakened, will still remain the same.

A system of four Federal Reserve Banks would offer to the people a guarantee that New York could not in any way have any direct influence upon the management of the banks in the other parts of the country. (The New York Federal Reserve Bank would embrace New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland.) The country would be as safe in this respect as it would be under a system of twelve Reserve Banks. On the other hand, what have we gained? The accumulations of reserve money would be so strong in each of the four centers that a sectional, seasonable demand could be readily taken care of; all the more because with four large units, four powerful administrations with a distinct and strong policy, important discount markets will develop. We should then have a real concentration of reserves and a real mobilization of credit. As to bank acceptances, foreign exchange, government bonds and note issue, these four Reserve Banks could agree upon a joint handling of these (perhaps for a joint account to be based upon the capital of each Federal Reserve Bank). Four large concerns will be able to agree upon a disinterested policy; twelve local Federal Banks, with unequal powers, and naturally more selfish interests, never will. The idea prevails among some critics, that twelve centers will

take better and fairer care of the country than four. This idea is unfounded. The reverse is the case. The question of the branches of the National Reserve Association and of the Federal Reserve Banks has, in the writer's opinion, never been sufficiently considered in detail. If a free system of transfers from one part of the country to the other is to be established, if balances with Federal Reserve Banks are quickly and easily to be created and used for the purpose of clearing, then all important cities must have branches and all minor cities must at least be within easy reach of a branch. It will be impossible to establish an effective system of transfers of balances with twelve zones, within the boundaries of each of which the easy transfer would remain confined. There are between sixty and seventy cities now that are entitled to branches, or where branches are necessary to cover certain sections. Let us take cities like Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo, Columbus, Indianapolis, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, etc. They all would be entitled to branches, and they all could be branches of Chicago. If we were to pick out one of these and make it a Federal Reserve Bank, the others, almost equal in importance or possibly superior, would fare poorly by becoming tributary to, and dependent on, an organization weaker than Chicago. But this must happen with twelve centers. Moreover, it is hard to imagine that a Federal Reserve City should not become a Central Reserve City. To create twelve Central Reserve Cities would defeat the very idea of Central Reserve Cities; we need not enlarge upon that thought,—but with twelve Federal Reserve Cities we could hardly escape that necessity. By adding San Francisco to the list of the existing three Central Reserve Cities the question might be solved without difficulty with a system of four centers.[1]

[1] With four Federal Reserve Banks one could imagine that each Federal Reserve Bank city would become a Central Reserve City, each city where there would be a branch (and only those) would become a Reserve City. If the accumulation of reserve money with reserve agents is to cease, the main motive in the determination of Central Reserve and Reserve Cities will have been eliminated. On the other hand, the position occupied by a city in the organization of the Federal Reserve Banks will become a very important factor, and inasmuch as there will be a certain concentration of business wherever there will be a branch or a head office, it may be logical to require banks in these centers to contribute in a more substantial degree to the reserves of

If six centers must be created, we must suppose that New Orleans and some other city, presumably Boston, would have to be added. (But, again, the South, grouped around New Orleans, will be less efficiently provided for than by grouping a larger Southeast around St. Louis. Even New Orleans itself would fare better as an important branch than as a comparatively weak Federal Reserve Bank.) In other words,—to use again our old metaphor, often employed in the last six years,—in order to procure fire protection for the entire community we must provide faucets in as many places as we possibly can (*i.e.,* the branches), but we must concentrate the water so that we may have enough for any emergency. If we cannot concentrate all the water into one central reservoir, let us at least see to it that there will be only a few and large ones. Small reservoirs will quickly run dry, thereby creating consternation, and any other small reservoir, that may be drawn upon, will quickly show the effect, again causing anxiety and, as a consequence, an increased demand. Large reservoirs can stand a drain without an alarming drop of the gage and, if interconnected, they can assist one another without much sacrifice and without creating any convulsion or alarm. Twelve interconnected reservoirs would be a complicated system, inefficient in its results and to be handled only in the most arbitrary and haphazard way.

To insist on a large number of Federal Reserve Banks because, it is argued, reserves ought to be kept where they originate, is a selfish and narrow doctrine. For some charitable minds it may be a comfortable feeling of safety to see their neighbor's house burn down and to shut off from him their own water-supply. But when their own house happens to be on fire they may find some fault with such a system. Moreover, with the key in the hands of a board appointed by the President, they should be able to overcome this provincial point of view.

As to the organization of the four Federal Reserve Banks and the Federal Reserve Board, it would not be difficult, while preserving a similar machinery as now proposed in the Owen-Glass Bill, to begin by organizing the branch boards, which would be responsible to, and under the control of, the boards of the Federal Reserve Banks. The lat-

the nation than the other banks which in the future would constitute the "country banks."

ter would be constituted from members of the branches, and some members would be appointed by the Federal Reserve Board. Each branch would have a manager to be appointed by the Board of the Federal Reserve Bank. Each Federal Reserve Bank would have a governor to be appointed by the President, from lists to be submitted to him by the Board of the Federal Reserve Banks, which lists the President might return, asking for a new set of names. These Governors would be first-class, expert men, who should receive large salaries in order to render them independent and in order to make the position an attractive one for men of the strongest caliber. The Federal Reserve Board should consist of these four governors, three additional members to be appointed by the President, and to these should be added the Governor-General to be appointed by the President in consultation with a committee consisting of delegates from the Federal Reserve Banks. It should not be difficult upon a basis of this kind to agree upon a constitution of the Federal Board satisfactory both to Congress and to the business community. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency ought to be members of a Board of Supervision.

With units so large and a Federal Reserve Board thus constituted the powers of the latter may remain almost unchanged; but it is submitted, that it may not be necessary to destroy the independent character of each Federal Reserve Bank by making it obligatory for them to rediscount for each other at the request of the Federal Board. If there be only four Federal Reserve Banks, the heads of which are members of the Federal Reserve Board, at which they would meet one another, they may be relied upon to stand by one another of their own free will—in particular if they have to deal jointly with Government bonds, bank acceptances, foreign exchange, and note issue—and the law may be easily amended in case they should not.

In the writer's opinion Cabinet Members should not be members of the active board. It would be safer both for these officers and for the country if men whom duty toward their party compels not to neglect the political aspect of each case should be kept away from this post. Moreover, Secretaries resign, or, in the course of events, they change, whereas it is most important that the members of the Federal Reserve Board should gradually become experts like

the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission. There are no Cabinet Members on this latter commission, nor are there any on the Supreme Court, with both of which the Federal Reserve Board has been compared. Inasmuch as the Democratic party appears to have set its mind on exclusive Government control, the writer's proposition, as above outlined, bears fully in mind this prerequisite even though he may consider it extreme. The plan as here proposed would not allow a single member on the Federal Board not appointed by the President, none the less, but it would gain the confidence of the business community and overcome its objections, because the four Governors of the Federal Reserve Banks, who would be thoroughly familiar with actual banking and business conditions in their respective zones, would have an opportunity and duty frequently to confer with one another, and would have an important voice in the shaping of the policies of the Federal Reserve Board. The remaining three members would be free from any political pressure. The Democratic party's principles would have been fully respected, and yet grave dangers and defects would be avoided.

But, no matter what conclusion may be reached in this respect, and what form the Federal Board may take, the dangers and iniquities of Government management would materially be reduced by the establishment of only four Federal Reserve Banks. The more the Federal Board is called upon to deal only with composite bodies—that is, a number of varied elements massed together—the more it is protected from political pressure. The local demand would address itself to the Federal Reserve Banks; the Federal Reserve Board at Washington would only deal with questions of policy, applying to groups that would be so large that the divergent interests of the various component parts would in themselves eliminate any provincial color, helping the Federal Board to deal with its problems, without fear or favor, in an absolutely statesmanlike, unbiased way.

A structure of this kind would have the advantage, as against the Monetary Commission plan, that, while there would be among the four Reserve Banks one policy of expansion or of contraction, they could each adapt their rate to their own conditions, as against the uniform discount rate for all the country proposed in the Monetary Commission

plan. The Federal Board might even have power to permit a Federal Reserve Bank to establish a higher rate for a single branch, when it would appear necessary to curtail a particular over-expanding branch or community, without wanting to affect by a higher rate the entire zone of the Federal Reserve Bank.

A structure of four (or six) Federal Reserve Banks would offer the greatest advantage in dealing with the Government 2-per-cent. bonds and the note issue. With both of these features the Owen-Glass Bill deals in a most unsatisfactory way.

In the first place our currency is already redundant and we would begin with the existing maximum as the minimum, because National Bank Currency, based on Government bonds, does not materially contract. We would provide for a possible increase of $500,000,000, though this limit has now been removed by law, but for a decrease only of $35,000,000 for the first year. The entire National Bank Currency ought to be converted into elastic currency from the beginning. What do we gain by spreading this conversion of bonds and notes over twenty years? There is every argument for a prompt conversion.

The present proposition is unsatisfactory for both the Government and the banks. If we consider that within the last twenty years English, French, and German Government bonds have gone down about 20 per cent., anybody would be a bold man who would dare to foretell at what price United States Government 3-per-cent. bonds will sell within the next twenty years. If the United States should embark upon any national enterprise which would entail a material issue of bonds, the price certainly would go down. Should United States 3-per-cent. bonds sell below par, the National Banks would, of course, not convert. The National Bank note issue, in that case, would remain outstanding for twenty years, when the United States would have to sell a 3 1-2-per-cent. or possibly a 4-per-cent. issue to take the place of the old 2-per-cent. bonds. The present proposition, then, gives the option to the National Banks to convert in case the 3-per-cent. United States bonds sell above par, while, if they sell below, the United States will have to take the loss. This is a poor proposition for the Government; on the other hand, it is the minimum that, in fairness, could be offered to the National Banks.

The Aldrich plan proceeded on correct lines in converting the 2-per-cent. bonds all at once and in assuming the entire National Bank note issue. It went astray when it provided that these bonds were to be kept from the market for five years and were to be sold only at the rate of $50,000,000 per year after that period. This meant that the National Reserve Association, having assumed over $700,000,000 on-demand obligations, would have had its hands tied if it had been called upon to protect these liabilities—an unsound position.

The problem is not an easy one. If we imagine that after twenty years the National Banks would have disposed of all their bonds to the public, we must expect that, on the other hand, at that period there will be required at least the same amount of circulation as we have to-day (and more according to the increase in population). That means that Federal Reserve Currency will have been permanently substituted for National Bank Currency, let us say to the extent of $700,000,000 to $800,000,000. But currency cannot be issued without something having been given in return for it, which means again that, inasmuch as the Federal Reserve Banks would not own any Government bonds against these outstanding notes, they must have other assets to that extent—that is, mainly, commercial paper. It follows that, in addition to their own capital and part of their deposits, the Federal Reserve Banks would have *permanently* invested about $800,000,000 in commercial paper, and to this we would then have to add the extraordinary and seasonal demands for which $500,000,000 were estimated to be issued, a total of about $1,300,000,000 to $1,500,000,000. This would not be a healthy condition, for *normally* the Federal Reserve Banks should not be so deep in business, they should become such heavy investors in commercial paper only in times of active demand. It would therefore be desirable to find a way of investing several hundreds of millions of dollars otherwise than in commercial paper, provided that these assets would be safe and quickly salable. It is from this point of view that the following suggestion is made.

Let the four Federal Reserve Banks jointly assume the National Bank note issue and let them take over jointly, in proportion to their respective capitals, the 2-per-cent. Government bonds. Let the Government convert half of the amount so taken over into 3-per-cent. 20-year bonds, the

other half into one-year 3-per-cent. Treasury notes of the United States. As long as their charters last the Federal Reserve Banks would jointly bind themselves, whenever these one-year notes would mature, to buy at par the same amount of new one-year 3-per-cent. Treasury notes. The advantage of this plan is obvious. For the United States it is indifferent whether they issue a twenty-year bond or a one-year bond the renewal of which at par has been guaranteed for twenty years. But the position of the Federal Reserve Banks would be immensely strengthened thereby. For, in case the Federal Reserve Banks found themselves in a situation where they wanted to strengthen their position or create a balance in foreign countries, they could at once sell these short Treasury notes, if not on a 3-per-cent. basis, let us say, even on a 6-per-cent. basis. In serious times the loss incurred would not weigh heavily, because money at home would then be in strong demand and bring more than that rate. By such a sale the price for the long-term Government bonds would not be affected in anxious times, when these could only be forced on the market at great sacrifice and at the risk of tearing down the price of all other securities. On the other hand, these United States one-year Treasury notes,—which might be issued so as to mature half in January and half in July—would be a quick asset, a most suitable investment for the Federal Reserve Banks. With $350,000,000 of such an investment it might be quite safe to preserve the holding of the remaining $350,000,000 in twenty-year bonds. If it should be found that the available liquid means of the Federal Reserve Banks should be permanently increased, it can safely be left in the hands of the Federal Board to dispose of them gradually in favorable times and in quantities that the market will readily absorb.

While the Government, in following this suggestion, would continue to run the risk of having to renew the 3-per-cent. bonds at their maturity on possibly a 3 1-2-per-cent. or 4-per-cent. basis, it would on the other hand preserve its chance of securing the advantage of a sale of the 3-per-cent. bonds above par, in case the investment market should take a favorable turn. It would not grant a one-sided option. Furthermore, the profit on the circulation would from the beginning be received by the Federal Reserve Banks—that is to say by the Government—and the earnings of these Federal Re-

serve Banks would show an ample margin over and above 5 per cent., the importance of which we have already emphasized.

This presupposes that sound counsel will prevail, and that, in the face of the emphatic protest coming from all parts of the country, the framers of the Owen-Glass Bill will ultimately abandon their intention of letting the Government issue the new notes. One need not be a prophet in order to be able to foretell that this heresy will have the same fate as the 16-to-1 silver standard and the guarantee-of-deposit plan, and that after a few years people will wonder how they could ever have considered seriously so absolutely unsound a theory.

Though, as against its original form, Section 17 of the bill has been materially improved, it still remains a puzzle to the writer how, in practice and in theory, it will work out in any satisfactory way. Is there to be a uniform rate for the "advances" of these Federal Reserve notes? Or will the Government undertake to discriminate between various parts of the country? Is this rate to be different from the bank rate in the Federal Reserve districts?

Neither the constituent banks nor the Federal Reserve Banks, when granting accommodations, can know whether the ultimate customers will use this book-credit for the payment of book-debits (that is, by check), or whether it will be employed to discharge debts that cannot be paid by checks, and whether, consequently, notes will be required. Notes that have been issued to-day may again be turned into book-credits to-morrow. They are interchangeable, and, from the Federal Reserve Bank's point of view, they ought to be treated alike, both as deposit liabilities. To cut these functions in two, to attempt to let the book-credit and the note—twin brothers—be born by two different mothers, is a most anomalous proceeding. But, we must ask, how would it be possible at all for the Federal Reserve Banks to act boldly and comprehensively with their problems, if they cannot rely on being able to provide circulation as long as they are within the limits of the law concerning their cash reserves and collateral? While it is inconceivable that the Federal Board should ever refuse to grant an advance to a Federal Reserve Bank in sound condition, still this arbitrary power given to the board would be a menace, and an unnecessary source of weakness, to the whole structure. Moreover, is

it at all reasonable that a Federal Reserve Bank should not be in a position to figure what its investments in discounts will return? To illustrate: If a Federal Reserve Bank buys from the Sixth National Bank $100,000 of 60 days' paper at 6 per cent., and the latter draws a check against this rediscount, the Federal Reserve Bank nets 6 per cent. If the Sixth National Bank, or its customer, should draw $100,000 in notes, and if the Federal Board should charge 6 per cent. for "advances," the Federal Reserve Bank would not receive any return at all from the investment. Why punish the Federal Reserve Bank, and indirectly the people, for issuing a legitimate amount of circulation? If the Federal Reserve Bank's earnings above the 5-per-cent. dividend are well assured, the amount charged for the advances will be put from one pocket of the United States Government into the other.[1] If there should be any doubt as to this 5-per-cent. dividend, would it not stand to reason that the Federal Reserve Bank, if it had ample cash reserves, would rather pay out its lawful money than pay for the costly "advance" of Federal Reserve notes? This is, of course, the very last thing the Government ought to encourage, but we can hardly see how this consequence can be escaped under the law as drawn at present.

But these "advances," when carefully analyzed, are nothing but a myth. Sooner or later, but within twenty years, under the Owen-Glass Bill, there will be outstanding $700,000,000 of Federal Reserve notes (which will have replaced the National Bank notes), and in addition such notes as will have to be issued to take care of extraordinary demands, together, let us say, between $1,000,000,000 and $1,200,000,000. Against these notes "which will be the obligation of the United States," the United States will have no assets of their own whatsoever. The Treasury balances, of about $100,000,000, are to serve for certain specified obligations of the Government, and are neither available nor suffi-

[1] As a question of revenue to the Government a tax on note issue is superfluous when the excess earnings go to the Government. If the tax is created for the purpose of acting as a sentimental check on over-expansion—unnecessary, because an effective one is being applied by the bank rates—it ought to be based on *"liabilities"* (comprising deposits and notes issued) and gold cover. But, in a country in which the deposit-and-check system is so highly developed, it would be impracticable to apply the brake on the note issue alone.

cient for the purpose of securing these Federal Reserve notes. The Government relies absolutely on the Federal Reserve Banks to pay these notes when presented. It has no money to advance to these Federal Reserve Banks and it has no money to pay the Federal Reserve notes when presented. As long as the note is in circulation, the Government kindly grants the "advance"; as soon as the note is presented for payment, the Federal Reserve Banks have to cash it. In other words, if we thread our way through this bewildering maze, it is not the Government that gives the advance, but the public which holds the notes that grants the credit. In other words, it is not the United States upon whom rests the primary obligation, but the Federal Reserve Banks. The United States are the guarantors of the notes, which the Treasury would be called upon to pay only after the Federal Reserve Banks are in default.

Why then not put it into a clear form? Why not let the Federal Board at Washington issue these notes—under the supervision of the Treasury—for the joint account and as the primary and joint obligation of the Federal Banks, the United States, in consideration of the profits to be received and against collateral, as proposed in the Owen-Glass Bill, guaranteeing the notes? It is this the writer makes bold earnestly to recommend. The status of both the Government and the Federal Banks would thereby become clear.[1]

Under the Owen-Glass Bill the Federal Reserve Banks set aside a gold reserve for notes which they have not issued and which do not appear as their liability. The United States Government, on the other hand, is to issue up to $1,200,000,000 of notes, and against these no gold cover would appear on their statement; but as a cover they would show only the indebtedness of the Federal Reserve Banks. There is not sufficient differentiation between contingent and direct liabilities and contingent and direct assets. The Federal Reserve Banks are asked to assume practically the direct obligation for a contingent liability, and the United States figure a contingent asset as a direct asset. The writer proposes to put direct assets and obligations into the same balance-sheet, and the contingent assets into the same balance-sheet with the contingent obligations.

[1] The guarantee by the United States is not a necessity; the notes would be good enough without the same; but as a matter of expediency it would appear wise to follow this course.

This is not a question of bookkeeping only, it has a most vital bearing upon the question of direct responsibility or contingent responsibility in the management of the Federal Reserve Banks. If the United States issued the notes as their primary obligation, if the Federal Reserve Board fixed any interest rates for these advances, the Government would establish a direct connection and direct responsibility which, as we have shown, it is most important to avoid. If the method suggested by the writer be followed, any political pressure addressed to Congress or to the Executive for a lowering or raising of rates, a freer or less supply of facilities, in any particular part of the country, would be promptly turned off by the statement that while the Government undertakes the responsibility for supervision, for installing an efficient and honest management, it could not have any direct influence upon the business of the Federal Reserve Board or the Federal Reserve Banks.

It is the world's acknowledged theory and practice to keep the obligations of the Central Banks distinct from those of the Government. It would lead too far to present a full argument showing the advantages of the semi-official Central Bank over a direct Government organ. It may suffice here to refer to the gold loans granted in critical times by the Banque de France to the Bank of England, a transaction that in 1907 we should have been only too glad to bring about for the United States, but could not achieve because there were no modern American bills and no central organization. A semi-official organ can bring about a transaction of such kind, which would be hardly compatible with the dignity and the duties of a Government. This is another reason for keeping the Government in a " contingent position," but not in the first line of battle.

History has shown that the Banque de France survived when the Government of France went to pieces; it remained unchanged whether France became an Empire, Commune, or Republic. History has shown that by keeping the Central Banks and the Governments separate entities, they become mutual supports. The Government is a customer of a Central Bank; at times its largest depositor, at times its heaviest borrower. The Government's credit strengthens the Central Bank, the Central Bank strengthens the credit and power of the Government. Where Government credit and bank credit have been mixed up, the consequence has been

to weaken both. Are the United States, under the Presidency of a man of science, going to throw this universal experience to the wind?[1] The friends of the present administration, and any good citizen, for that matter, cannot too earnestly warn it not to insist on any extreme measure that would antagonize wide circles of business men and the very element through the agency of which alone the benefits of the law can accrue to the people of the United States. While technical parts of the measure will have to be amended as the country develops, it will prove the greatest curse for the nation if the fundamental structure should not become a permanent one. Extreme party policy now applied will bring extreme revision whenever the Democratic party should happen to again become the minority party; and the Federal Reserve Bank, instead of being a rock standing unmoved and unshaken by the waves of party strife, will become its very plaything, a fate to be avoided at all hazards. We cannot set business free by tying it in turn to the chariot of every conquering party. Wise moderation alone will insure the safety and the continuity which are the basis of prosperity.

It is sincerely hoped that amendments on lines as here submitted will be adopted. As the bill stands to-day it is vastly inferior to the plan ultimately submitted by the Monetary Commission. In its present form the Owen-Glass Bill is fraught with serious dangers, and it would not be able to bring about those remedies and benefits that the country is entitled to expect.

The suggestions made in this article take into full account the political requirements of the problem.

A reduction of the number of Federal Reserve Banks from twelve to four would not violate any principle. The demand for Government control would be carefully complied with, and the notes would remain "obligations of the United States," with the difference only that they would express what in essence they are under the law, and that interest charges for "advances" would be eliminated.

In dealing with the 2-per-cent. Government bonds as here proposed, no principle would be involved at all, but the prac-

[1] We cannot dwell here upon the harm and danger that would follow the watering of the United States gold currency, which will militate against our securities and our "discount market."

tical importance of this change for the safety of the entire structure cannot be overestimated.

Amended on these lines, the writer feels confident that the law, though not ideal, will redound to the benefit of the nation and be a credit to the party under the auspices of which it was created.

The writer deems it wise not to burden this article with a discussion of a number of questions of a more technical nature, preferring at this time to center attention on the main points at issue.

He hopes that it may not be considered a presumption on his part, if, from Europe, after an absence of several months, and out of touch with the general discussion now taking place upon the subject, he ventures to make these suggestions.

But the active interest which he has taken in developing the ideas, on the main lines of which legislation is now proposed, may, he trusts, justify his effort to point out some pitfalls which may prove fatal and which can easily be avoided.

PAUL M. WARBURG.

THE ORIGIN, PLAN, AND PURPOSE OF THE CURRENCY BILL

BY HON. ROBERT L. OWEN, UNITED STATES SENATOR, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

THE more immediate origin of the pending Banking and Currency Bill was in the panic of 1907, the Vreeland-Aldrich Bill, the National Monetary Commission, and the rejected Central Bank plan outlined in the so-called Aldrich Bill.

A brief history of the more remote origin may not be without interest.

In 1900 I had the honor to prepare a plan for the issuance of emergency notes by the United States Treasury against adequate security, under a rate of interest high enough to cause automatic retirement when the exigency passed. It was an adaptation to the American banking system of a principle demonstrated to be sound by European, especially German, experience. This plan was offered as an amendment, by Senator James K. Jones, to the then pending currency bill, but was not accepted by Senator Aldrich, although in 1908 he put in force, in a very defective form, the same principle of finance in the so-called Vreeland-Aldrich Act.

In 1907 a violent financial panic shook the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, thousands of banks suspending currency payments, with a shrinkage of property values estimated at from two to five billions of dollars. It was a gigantic national misfortune. It ruined multitudes of worthy men by unmerited disaster, by shrinkage of value, by compulsory liquidation, and by bankruptcy. That the disaster was no worse was due to the sound sense of the American people who ignored a grossly defective statute and manufactured for themselves about five hundred millions of artificial "currency" in the form of clearing-

house certificates, certificates of deposit, certified checks, cashiers' checks, pay checks, etc., etc., of an estimated volume of five hundred millions. In the mean time the banks had, tied up in their vaults, legal reserves amounting to nearly fifteen hundred millions of dollars, under a reserve law which did not permit these moneys to be used for loans after the reserves of the banks reached the minimum fixed by law. The amendment, above referred to, which I caused to be offered in 1900, and had it been adopted would have made this panic utterly impossible, was fully explained to the United States Senate in discussing the Vreeland-Aldrich Bill.

Growing out of the great disaster of 1907 the Vreeland-Aldrich Bill was passed providing emergency currency, but under numerous and difficult conditions, which made this defective bill of far less value than it might have been. This bill contained some objectionable features, but it did, nevertheless, have one substantial merit,—that after a panic ensued, or was about to ensue, emergency currency could be obtained.

The Vreeland-Aldrich Bill provided for a National Monetary Commission to study the financial system of the United States and ascertain what remedy was necessary to make it serve its high and proper function. Several hundred thousand dollars of *public* funds were expended by this Commission. They gathered a library of over two thousand volumes; they employed experts; they prepared numerous interesting and instructive reports on the banking systems of the various civilized countries of the world, including England, Scotland, Germany, Belgium, The Netherlands, Italy, Austro-Hungary, Switzerland, Sweden, Russia, Canada, Mexico, and Japan, as well as that of the United States, and various interesting compilations relating to the principles of banking, to European exchanges and acceptances, and to the currency systems of the world.

The Commission finally drew a bill known as the Aldrich Bill, which Mr. Aldrich assured the country would provide the necessary relief.

Briefly, this bill proposed to recognize certain important principles, which had been found to be sound, and to furnish relief by providing—

First, the concentration and mobilization of bank reserves.

Second, elasticity of currency, and

Third, a constant market for commercial paper of a qualified class.

To accomplish these beneficial results, it proposed one great Central Reserve Bank with gigantic powers, recognizing the essential principles above mentioned, but giving the banks (a private interest) control of the proposed Central Bank, a principle not only not essential to public relief, but absolutely intolerable to a free people.

The establishment of a reserve bank system was urged and justified as necessary for the *public* welfare. The information had been obtained at *public* expense. Senator Aldrich, as Chairman, had spent three hundred thousand dollars of *public* moneys on the theory of a great *public* need, and then he attempted to give the control of this tremendous power into the hands of *private* persons, who would have used such power naturally to promote their own *private interests*. Mr. Aldrich utterly ignored the precedents of Europe, which do not permit *private* interests to control the great public reserve banks of Europe: as, for example, the Bank of England, the stock of which is owned by private persons, is nevertheless a great public utility bank, and on whose governing board "no banker, bill broker, or bill discounter" is permitted to sit. For further example, in France, the Governor, the sub-Governor, and all the Managers of the Bank of France are appointed by the Government, because that bank is a great public utility bank, a reserve bank, and an avowed servant of the commerce and industry of France, furnishing money at a low rate of interest and always prepared to accommodate commerce by discounting commercial paper of a qualified class.

In like manner, in the German Empire, the affairs of the Reichsbank, the great governmentally-controlled reserve bank of the Empire, are administered by the Curatorium, consisting of the Chancellor of the Empire, the Prussian Minister of Finance, three members of the Bundesrath, exercising supervisory powers, and the Direktorium, consisting of nine members appointed for life by the Emperor, on the nomination of the Bundesrath. The reason for this governmental management of the German Reichsbank is that it is a public utility bank, conducted not for merely money-making purposes, but as an avowed servant of the

commerce and industry of the German Empire, prepared at all times to furnish accommodation and to discount commercial paper of a qualified class.

Mr. Aldrich was obviously using the momentum of a great *public* need of concentrating and making mobile the cash reserves of the country, of providing elastic currency, and of providing a constant market for commercial paper, as the means for promoting the enthronement of the *private* but powerful owners of capital in the Nation, thus giving them organized and complete control of the credit system of the United States, and, as a necessary consequence, of the finances, of the commerce, and of the industries of the people of the United States. This fatal defect of the Aldrich plan led to general public disapproval.

During 1910 and 1911 the reports of the Monetary Commission were printed and Mr. Aldrich's plan was tentatively put forth and skilfully presented to the people of the United States by gigantic publicity agencies. He finally presented his bill in concrete public form in Congress in January, 1912. He and others had theretofore urged the plan before various groups of citizens, organizations, Chambers of Commerce, clearing houses, and banking associations throughout the United States.

The meritorious principles involved in the bill, to wit, concentrating and mobilizing the reserves, providing elastic currency and a constant market for commercial paper, did not save the bill, which proved to be unacceptable to the mature public opinion of the United States because it concentrated the control in a few private hands. Although the few gentlemen who ordinarily meet as "the representatives" of the "American Bankers Association" gave their approval to the bill, it was overwhelmingly rejected by the public opinion of the United States, including thousands of bankers, for the obvious and very good reason that the powers of the proposed Central Reserve Bank were placed in the hands of *private* persons, and were not placed where they properly belonged—under the *public* control of the Government of the United States. Even in a Republican Senate, this plan could make no headway.

In the session of Congress of 1912–1913 the Committee on Banking and Currency of the Democratic House of Representatives gave diligent consideration to this great problem. Mr. Carter Glass, as chairman of a sub-committee of

the Committee on Banking and Currency, gave extensive hearings to the bankers of the country and business men, with a view to legislative action.

Another branch of this committee, under Mr. Pujo, investigated the money trust, taking evidence of over twenty-two hundred printed pages, and presented to the country a most remarkable and startling report, showing a concentration of control of credits and of business properties, through three hundred and forty-one directors of one hundred and twelve corporations, of property exceeding twenty-two thousand millions of dollars.

Immediately that the sixty-third Congress (Democratic) came into power, President Wilson, in a special message, urged that the country be given the necessary relief by the passage of a proper banking and Currency Bill. And the Bill now pending was drawn tentatively by Mr. Carter Glass of Virginia, chairman of the House Committee, the writer, chairman of the Banking and Currency committee of the Senate, consulting with Hon. W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, and with President Wilson, and having expert counsel.

OUTLINE OF THE PENDING BILL

In discussing this Bill before its passage, it should be understood that it is subject to some amendments which at the proper time I shall feel at liberty to urge.

This Bill, as now modified, provides for not less than twelve Federal Reserve Banks under the control of a Federal Reserve Board of seven members, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Comptroller of the Currency, ex-officio members, and four members to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

Each Federal Reserve Bank is to be controlled by nine directors, three appointed by the Federal Reserve Board, three elected by the member banks to represent the bankers, who may be bankers, and three elected also by the member banks, who shall not be bankers but fairly representative of the commercial, agricultural, and industrial interests of that district, the latter group being subject to removal by the Federal Reserve Board upon failure to properly perform their public functions.

The Federal Reserve Board is to have the right to fix the

rate of interest charged by these Federal Reserve Banks, to exercise supervision over them, to furnish them with currency, to place the deposits of the United States current funds with them, and to require them generally to perform the purposes for which they are proposed to be established.

The Bill proposes that the capital stock shall be furnished by subscription of each National Bank in an amount equal to 10 per cent. of its capital stock in cash, with a double liability, and that each bank shall keep its reserve either in its own vault or in the vault of the Federal Reserve Bank, upon the following basis:

The country National Banks, after sixty days from the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank, will be required to keep 5 per cent. of their deposits, not including savings deposits, in their own vaults, and, for fourteen months, 3 per cent. in the Reserve Banks. Thereafter, for thirty-six months, 5 per cent. in addition to the 5 per cent. in their own vaults is to be kept in the Federal Reserve Bank, and then 2 per cent. additional, either in their own vaults or with the Federal Reserve Banks, making a total of 12 per cent. reserve.

The National Banks in the Reserve Cities will be required to carry as a reserve 18 per cent. of their deposits. One-half of this is to be kept in their own vaults. Sixty days after the passage of the act and for one year, three-eighteenths is to be kept in the vaults of the Federal Reserve Bank, thereafter five-eighteenths, and after thirty-six months, four-eighteenths additional either with the Federal Reserve Bank, or in their own vaults, as they prefer.

The National Banks of the Central Reserve Cities, after sixty days, will be required to carry only 18 per cent. of their deposits, 9 per cent. in their own vaults, 4 1-2 per cent. with the Federal Reserve Bank, and 4 1-2 per cent. either in their own vaults or in the Federal Reserve Bank, at their option. All of the deposits referred to exclude savings deposits.

The effect of this Bill is to leave with their present reserve agents so much of the bank's reserve as is not required to be transferred to the Federal Reserve Banks. The country banks now carry about 25 per cent. reserves on all deposits, including savings deposits.

Below is a brief table showing the effect of the readjustment of reserves required by the proposed law measured in *millions of dollars.*

7106 COUNTRY BANKS

Present deposits, $3,610.
Required reserve, $541.

Demand deposits (June 4, 1913), $3,157.

	In bank's own vaults	In federal reserve banks	Optional, in own vaults or federal reserve banks	Optional, in own vaults, in other reserve banks, or in federal reserve banks	Total
Bet. 2 & 14 mos.	5%=$157+	3%= $93		4%=$126	12%=$378
Bet. 14 & 36 mos.	5%=$157+	5%=$157+		2%=$63	12%=$378
After 36 months	5%=$157+	5%=$157+	2%=$63		12%=$378

367 RESERVE CITY BANKS

Present deposits, $1,945.
Required reserve, $486.

Demand deposits (June 4, 1913), $1,887.

	In bank's own vaults	In federal reserve banks	Optional, in own vaults or federal reserve banks	Optional, in own vaults, in other reserve banks, or in federal reserve banks	Total
Bet. 2 & 14 mos.	9%=$170−	3%=$56		6%=$112	18%=$340
Bet. 14 & 36 mos.	9%=$170−	5%=$94		4%=$76	18%=$340
After 36 months	9%=$170	5%=$94	4%=$76		18%=$340

52 CENTRAL RESERVE CITY BANKS

Present deposits, $1,568.
Required reserve, $392.

Demand deposits (June 4, 1913), $1,554.

	In bank's own vaults	In federal reserve banks	Optional, in own vaults or federal reserve banks	Optional, in own vaults, in other reserve banks, or in federal reserve banks	Total
After 60 days....	9%=$140	4½%=$70	4½%=$70		18%=$280

PRESENT RESERVES ON HAND, DUE FROM RESERVE AGENTS AND IN REDEMPTION FUND (Report June 4, 1913).

	Required reserves	Active reserves	Specie	Legal tender	Redemption fund	Reserve agts.	Surplus
Country banks.....	$541	$786	$207	$59	$23	$310	$186
Reserve city banks..	486	515	202	40	8	232	32
Central reserve city banks.....	392	409	315	91	3	...	....
Totals.....	$1,419	$1,710	$724	$190	$34	$542	$218

TABLE SHOWING CASH ADJUSTMENTS UNDER THE NEW BILL

(All dollars in Millions)

	Cash in bank's own vaults	Credit reserves in federal reserve banks	Optional in own vaults or federal reserve banks
7106 Country banks	$157	$157	$63
367 Reserve city banks	170	94	76
52 Central reserve city banks	140	70	70
7525 Total reserves	$467	$321	$209
One-half estimated from col. 3	104	104	....
Cash capital required	....	105	....
Cash from U. S. Treasury (estimated)	....	210	....
Total cash to federal reserve bank	....	$740	....
Two thirds of $740 being loanable, the actual cash required of the banks would be one-third of $740 less amount furnished by the United States, equal to	36	....	....
Making total actual cash requirement of all 7525 national banks	$607	....	....

To supply this actual cash requirement the banks have on hand, specie, $724, legal tender, $190, a total of $914, or $207 in excess of requirements.

But even this total includes 15% on about $500 of savings deposited against which no reserve is required; and allowing 5% reserve for such savings deposits, in lieu of 15%, would release $50 additional lawful money, or a grand total of 257 millions of specie and legal tender, more than twice as much as the actual cash on hand in the reserve funds of the Banking Department of the Bank of England.

Actual cash available for banks, assuming that half of the optional reserves are retained in their own vaults and two-thirds of federal reserve bank cash is loaned on notes.

7106 Country banks require.....$250 cash for reserves
61 for capital

Total.....$311, and they have $266.
Actual cash deficit, $45

367 Reserve city banks require.....$252 for reserves
26 for capital

Total.....$278, and they have $242.
Actual cash deficit, $36

52 Central reserve city banks require.....$210 for reserves
18 for capital

Total.....$228, and they have $406.
Actual cash surplus $178

Net surplus..$ 97

From the central reserve city banks' surplus the country banks and reserve city banks can draw as they have credit there subject to draft. Moreover, two thirds of $210 in cash, deposited in cash by the United States with federal reserve banks, or $140 in cash, can be obtained by rediscounts, leaving a net cash

available, surplus of bank reserve cash $97, and $140 cash by discounts from federal reserve banks—a total of $237,000,000 cash, which, on a basis of 18 per cent. reserve, would form a safe basis of 4.55 per cent. times that amount in sound credit expansion, which the country greatly needs at this time.

It is obvious, therefore, that the statement of Mr. James D. Forgan, President of the First National Bank of Chicago, before the Bankers' Conference at Chicago, that there would be a shrinkage of $1,800,000,000 is a dismal apprehension not justified even upon any theory of the case.

The Bill provides that the Federal Reserve Board may issue United States Federal Reserve notes receivable for all taxes, customs, and other public dues, and redeemable in gold or lawful money on demand at the Treasury Department of the United States, in the City of Washington, or at any Federal Reserve Bank. These notes will be protected by collateral security of commercial notes and bills accepted for discount of a qualified class set apart under the control of a Federal Reserve agent appointed as one of the directors of the Federal Reserve Bank, and who serves as the Chairman of the Board. These notes will be protected by 33 1-3 per cent. gold reserves in the vaults of the Federal Bank.

These notes are the notes of the United States, and are intended to be elastic notes, being issued to the banks and retired by the banks in a volume identical with certain commercial paper of a qualified class, thus limited in volume and serving strictly the purpose of an elastic currency, meeting the exigency of commerce.

It is my personal opinion that these notes should be legal-tender notes, in order to give them the fullest possible credit to enable them to be used as reserves by member banks, but not by the Federal Reserve Banks.

The notes of the Bank of England, of the Bank of France, and of the Bank of Germany are legal-tender notes, although they are private institutions. It is of more importance that the Federal Reserve notes should be legal tender, for the reason that they should serve every purpose of actual lawful money. It is obvious that such notes, being limited in volume to actual commercial needs and issued against commercial bills based on actual commercial transactions and having fixed limited maturity, there is no danger whatever of undue or unwise expansion. They will automatically contract with the payment of such notes on their maturity and immediately that the commercial exigency passes.

I am also of the opinion that these notes ought to be redeemable in gold only at the Federal Reserve Bank, since this phase of redemption is sufficient and avoids the neces-

sity of tying up gold in the Federal Treasury for redemption purposes and, therefore, makes the gold of the country more useful.

These notes, in my judgment, should not be ear-marked, or in any way stigmatized to contract them, that being shown unnecessary.

In order to enable the Government, acting in the national interests, to restrain undue expansion of credits by the banking system of the country, and to safeguard the gold supply of the nation, the Federal Reserve Board has the power to raise the rate of interest, if necessary. It can also stimulate business when the necessity arises, by lowering the rate of interest, as is done by the great reserve banks of England, France, and Germany.

I will not at this time discuss the question of the retirement of the 2-per-cent. Government bonds.

The Bill provides a permissible retirement annually of 5 per cent. of the 2-per-cent. bonds sufficient to prevent these bonds going below par, reissuing 3-per-cent. bonds in lieu thereof, but without circulation privilege, and contemplating an adjustment of the 2-per-cents. at the end of twenty years on a like basis.

I believe that at a later date a better method, without issuing to the banks the proposed 3-per-cent. bonds, may be provided, but the limits of this article will preclude a proper discussion of this subject.

The purpose of the Bill is to concentrate and mobilize reserves and provide elastic currency and a never-failing market at a low rate of interest for commercial paper of short fixed maturities drawn against actual commercial transactions.

At present twenty-five thousand banks, National, State, and private, must each defend itself by its own individual reserve in time of stringency. This causes a dangerous rivalry, a hoarding of current fund for reserves, which leads to alarming the timid depositor and to the danger of withdrawal by such timid depositor of actual cash for hoarding. The timid depositor would have no fear, and the ordinary bank would have no fear if there were a large reservoir of cash reserves always available for use. This is accomplished in the proposed twelve Reserve Banks by providing a capital of something over $100,000,000 in stock and $400,000,000 of reserve deposits with $200,000,000 to $300,-

000,000 additional of current Government funds, making a total reserve of between $700,000,000 and $800,000,000, always available in a very liquid form, for extending accommodations to legitimate commercial demands by rediscounting for member banks.

This large reserve capital is further supplemented by the right to obtain from the Federal Reserve Board United States currency in quantities sufficient to meet any unusual commercial demand. The great purpose of this system is to make stable the commerce, industry, and finances of the United States, afford a uniform low rate of interest for legitimate commercial purposes, prevent the possibility of panic, and stimulate the activities of the people in manufacture, commerce, agriculture, and various industrial pursuits by removing absolutely the hazard of panics, and giving a national guarantee of stable conditions, so that men may calculate with precision on the future.

Again, the purpose of this Bill is to withdraw the excessive and dangerous use of the reserves of the nation from the speculative market, in stocks, bonds, agricultural, and other products. Under the Bill these above-mentioned reserves would be devoted to legitimate commerce and industry.

Still another great purpose of this system is to enable the United States to protect its foreign commerce and enable its merchants to transfer in fair degree a part of the great exchange market of London, Hamburg, and Paris to American financial centers, but particularly above all to enable the American merchants, manufacturers, and farmers to transact their enterprises upon favorable terms as compared with those of other nations.

A further purpose is to build up a system in this country of acceptances and domestic exchanges upon the improved basis used in the most highly civilized nations of Europe.

Again, it is believed that the Bill will give greater safety to the National Banks of the nation and greater security to the depositors of such banks by protecting the banks against panic, by a more thoroughgoing examination of the banks, and binding them more closely together in a system which will cause them to safeguard each other.

These purposes will all follow as a necessary consequence. Doubtless as this system is put into actual practice the Government will, under the advice of the banks concerned,

find ways in which to improve this service and make it more efficient. If these reasonable expectations are fulfilled it will give the United States the most gigantic and masterful system of the world.

The Conference of Bankers held in Chicago, August 22 and 23, 1913, at the instance of certain great banking-houses, urged several modifications in the pending Bill.

Their first great objection, and the one upon which they laid the most stress, is that the Federal Reserve Board should consist of eleven members—the seven now included and four additional members to be named by the Federal Reserve Banks. They insist that the banks furnish the capital and the reserves and should, therefore, have a voice in the governmental management of the system.

The simple answer to this is that this is a Government function—the exercising of supervision of the Federal Reserve Banks for the public welfare, including the welfare of the banks themselves—and that no class of private persons has a right to exercise the governing powers of the United States.

The Federal Reserve Board, in fixing the rate of interest, in supervising, inspecting, and safeguarding these banks in their duties toward the general public, is exercising directly a governmental, and not a banking function. It is in a position to require these public institutions to discharge their duty toward the general public. The Reserve Banks are not money-making banks. They are great public-utility banks. They are not intended for private profit, but for the public welfare, to safeguard our national commerce, industries, manufactures, and transportation services against disturbances heretofore arising under a defective banking system, sometimes unwisely administered by the banks.

There is no more reason for allowing the banks to exercise a part of this governing function than there would be to allow the railroads to name certain members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which was established to regulate the railroads in the public interest. The Chicago beef-packers have just as much right to demand representation in the enforcement of the pure-food act and meat-inspection services which were established to protect the public against the purveyors of food products.

The next important demand made by the banks is that the Government should not issue the Federal Reserve notes. They urge that the Federal Reserve Banks, controlled by the bankers, should have the right to issue these reserve notes as bank-notes, thus enabling them to control such notes and to expand and contract them as they might see fit. They urge that such notes should not be issued by the United States because it would weaken the credit of the United States. But the volume of the National Currency should not be expanded or contracted by private persons, but by the Government alone. They concede that these notes, secured by short-time commercial paper, drawn against actual commercial transactions, indorsed in every instance by a member bank, safeguarded by the assets of the Federal Reserve Bank, and with a gold reserve of 33 1-3 per cent. against the issue, would be absolutely sound in either contingency, whether issued by the Government or by the banks. This, of course, is true, but it is also true that it would not tax the credit of the United States in the least to issue these notes for the reason that the credit behind them, under any and all circumstances, in peace or in war, would abundantly cover such notes with absolute safety. Behind these notes, which are intended to pass current from hand to hand, by the citizens in dealing with each other, is, in fact, in either contingency, a moral obligation on the United States, to keep them at par with gold. If the 2-per-cent. bonds should go below par and the bank-notes of the country should go to a discount, the banks would be the first to insist that the Government should protect these notes, and whether they did or not, it would be the duty of the United States to see that these notes were maintained at a parity with gold. It is better for the Government, as a matter of economic justice, to issue these notes directly and be responsible for them and exercise the sovereign right of issuing the money of the country, rather than permitting it to be issued and controlled by private persons.

There are various minor matters suggested by the banks, some of which have been already recognized and put in the Bill, such as lowering the reserve required, as well as some others which are meritorious.

The Chicago Conference rather urgently insists that the banks should not be *required* to enter this system, and yet they argue that unless the Bill is modified in the ways they

demand, the banks will not enter the system. In other words, they demand the right to defeat the purposes of the Government, unless the Government permits them to govern the system in whole or in part. But again it must be urged that no class of private citizens, not even the bankers, can be permitted to govern the people of the United States and that its government must be through its chosen representatives in Congress and in the administrative branch of the Government, and that the banks, under the National Banking system, should be glad to avail themselves of the opportunity of being protected against panic, against financial stringency, and against one another, and ought to be glad to be put in a position where they can properly serve the people of the country under the excellent system which has heretofore been built up by the Government, the defects of which are now about to be remedied.

There is no class of men in the United States who will be more greatly benefited than the bankers themselves, in having the Government of the United States put its gigantic powers behind them, giving them stability, safety, and the widest opportunity for patriotic service.

ROBERT W. OWEN.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF PHILIP YORKE, EARL OF HARDWICKE, LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN. By PHILIP C. YORKE, M.A. OXON. Cambridge: at the University Press; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1913.

Philip Yorke, who became Earl of Hardwicke in 1754, was Lord High Chancellor of England from 1737 to 1756—a period covering the greater part of the reign of George II. The work and opinions of the Lord Chancellor have importance both legal and political. During his tenure of office, English law underwent a great transformation—a transformation largely guided and promoted by the Chancellor himself. As a statesman, he appears to have been a steady supporter of the administration and of the Whig policies, a firm friend of Lord Newcastle, a peacemaker, a man of authority and sound sense, not much in advance of his age, but moderate, clear-headed, just. In reading the story of his career and the exposition of his judgments, we obtain a calm, reasonable, contemporary view of the period over which his active life extended. Needless to say, no contemporary view coincides exactly with the final judgments of history; but as a point of departure from which to explore "the devious courses and obscure windings of petty intrigue," and of party politics during the period in question, a tentative acceptance of Lord Hardwicke's attitude is safe and advantageous. He was conscientious and consistent. His accounts of public questions are unwarped by self-interest or eccentricities of judgment, and in reviewing his estimates of men and affairs we need be on our guard only against a conservative tendency and against decidedly Whig predilections, inherited from the period of rampant and dangerous Jacobitism.

The three volumes which contain Lord Hardwicke's life and correspondence form, in short, a complete and somewhat *ex parte* exposition of the opinions of a level-headed, responsible Whig during the reign of George II. The narrative which connects and explains the excerpts from the Chancellor's correspondence takes its tone wholly from the letters. To all intents and purposes, the book might have been written in the eighteenth century—that period which Philip Yorke in his introduction lauds so highly as the "classical age."

That the eighteenth century was a period of great political and industrial progress, and of imperial expansion on the part of England, cannot, of course, be disputed: that it was a truly classical age with respect to literature, manners, and morals, is more or less open to doubt. In fact, the greater our familiarity with the life of the times, the better we learn

to understand the intense cynicism of Swift. In Philip Yorke's narrative no attempt is made to conceal the evil conditions of the epoch—the venality, the vice, the damp disapproval of zeal, secular or religious. This was the period in which Walpole remarked that he could make a "patriot" at any time by refusing an unreasonable request. It was the period in which Newcastle and others trafficked shamelessly in money and patronage. Yet it was a period, too, in which sentiment held unreasonable sway; for it was to sentiment of a sort that the Jacobites owed all, or nearly all, their strength. Doubtless many a substantial gentleman who drank secretly to "the King over the water" was by no means ready to join the ranks of the Pretender when he advanced upon English soil. In this "age of common sense"—an age in which false sentiment flourished side by side with cynical disregard of decency—men cultivated a stately style of speech, of dress, and of correspondence. But where stateliness is the fashion, pomposity becomes the fad. People who could not spell wrote letters in the periodic style, replete with fulsome compliments and stiff circumlocutions. The literary exercises written at school by Lord Hardwicke's sons sound to modern ears incredibly priggish and Addisonian. It is difficult for all but the most gifted of the Lord Chancellor's correspondents to reach the point of their discourses in less than twice the space a modern would require.

In style, Philip Yorke reflects the dignity and clearness of the eighteenth-century writers without their faults. With the ruling ideas of the age he shows greater sympathy than do most moderns. He thus defends the severity of the then existing criminal laws: "The little importance attached to human life and to human suffering must be regarded, therefore, not as a sign of the brutality of the law, but of the general spirit and civilization of the period. In our own more fortunate and settled times the sense of security is so complete that the more inhuman crimes can now be viewed without fear as accidents of curious and dramatic interest only. . . . But one cannot read far into the records of these times without being convinced that the preservation of life and property and the suppression of disorder and violence among the populace were the principal and most important tasks which confronted the Hanoverian statesmen, and it is one of their chief glories that now were firmly laid the strong foundations of the social order upon which in after years was built the great edifice of empire and progressive well-being." No doubt there is much truth in all this; yet Fielding, a contemporary of Lord Hardwicke's, complained of the indiscriminate severity of the law as both inhuman and ineffective. Thus, the narrative, throughout, is eighteenth century and decidedly Whiggish in tone.

The Whigs of that day, be it remembered, were they who believed that the safety and prosperity of the country lay in the hands of the rich and powerful land-owners, as opposed to King and Commons. The Hanoverian dynasty was of their making, and their business it was at once to support the King, and to limit his power. George II., by turns obstinate and tractable, on the whole served their purposes well, though in their eyes, as abundantly appears, he was a weak, unsatisfactory instrument. George III. escaped from their guardianship altogether, and they promptly despaired of the country's future. A passage in *The Life and Correspondence of Lord Hardwicke* relating to the period immediately follow-

ing the death of George II., reflects the Whig frame of mind. "It was not, however, until the death of the Old King," writes Mr. Yorke, "that the value of his strong personality and of his capacity for government was thoroughly understood and realized. The misfortunes and confusion consequent upon his disappearance from the scene give the measure of the great services he was rendering to the nation." Continuing, he quotes with approval Mrs. Montagu, who wrote that "if we consider only the evils we have avoided during his late Majesty's reign, we shall find abundant matter of gratitude toward him and respect for his memory," and Burke, who, "writing from the gloom and shadow of the next reign . . . extends this eulogy still further."

Of the conservative Whig party—a party of undemocratic principles, a party of enlightened expediency, and of somewhat narrow views—Lord Hardwicke was a firm pillar. In the necessary political work of the day, which this party performed, he aided powerfully. Among his great achievements is reckoned the cementing of the union of England and Scotland; and it is suggested that if he could have applied his great talents in a similar manner to Ireland, much subsequent difficulty might have been obviated. Always the man to whom his wrangling colleagues turned in time of trouble, he it was who brought about the famous Pitt-Newcastle coalition as well as many other useful agreements; and chosen, as he often was, to remonstrate with the King, he succeeded in keeping the respect of both ministers and sovereign.

Considering his party affiliations and sincere views, it is not perhaps so surprising as at first it may appear to find Lord Hardwicke throughout his long career in the closest association with the Duke of Newcastle. Newcastle, who in the famous Coalition, "gave everything" while Pitt "did everything," is generally represented in history as a cheap corruptionist, glorying in power conferred by the dexterous use of bribes and patronage. Far more favorable is the Hardwickeian view of him. His eccentricity, "nervous emotionalism, fearfulness, fretfulness, want of self-reliance and fortitude" are admitted. On the other hand, "it is unjust to represent him as guided entirely by selfish and ambitious motives in his public life. He was sincerely and firmly attached to the Hanoverian dynasty and the Protestant cause, and he did good and solid service for his country. He consistently resisted, even at the risk of losing power and place, the King's Hanoverian tendencies, conducted foreign affairs in most difficult times, on the whole with wisdom, managed with great success the national finances, and provided for expensive and burdensome wars. Throughout his long tenure of office he maintained a character beyond even the suspicion of corruption."

As friendly to Newcastle, Lord Hardwicke was consistently distrustful of the elder Pitt, whose character, we are told, he thoroughly understood. Plainly he regarded "the Great Commoner" as a dangerous firebrand, a self-seeker, a demagogue. Doubtless no one—not even Lord Rosebery—would undertake to pronounce upon Pitt's sincerity at every moment of his career; yet history on the whole, justifies his courses, and in the Yorke narrative quite enough is made of his impetuosity and inconsistency. Equally hostile, of course, is the attitude toward Cartaret—an unquestionably able diplomat who played none too scrupulously upon the King's weakness for Hanover and thus interfered with the Newcastle

plan of salvation for the country. Henry Fox is treated with the contempt he probably deserves.

During the period of real danger from the Jacobites—the period preceding and during the rebellion—the necessity of maintaining a stable government seems to justify the methods of those in power. Still, it is surprising to read the Lord Chancellor's opinion regarding the notorious "Appin murder," which came up for trial soon after the English victory of Culloden. There seems to have been no very solid proof connecting James of the Glen with the murder of Colin Campbell, King's agent upon the forfeited estate of Stewart of Ardshiel; yet the Chancellor writes of James in these terms: "Criminals of this kind are seldom wanting in strong asseverations of their innocence, especially when the evidence against them consists altogether of circumstances; but such proof is often more convincing than positive witnesses, who for corrupt reasons may swear falsely. I hope that the proper officers will take care that the prisoner be kept by himself, free from any resort of company and with low diet, which may perhaps at last induce him to confess his guilt and discover his accomplices." Not a word is said, of course, about the need of propitiating the powerful Campbell clan, and perhaps this motive did not weigh with the Chancellor.

A case belonging to a later period and enlisting greater sympathy is that of another scapegoat, Admiral Byng, who, it seems, should have been allowed to share responsibility for his failure at Minorca with the weak and blundering Newcastle ministry. Instead, he was court-martialed and shot. In the Yorke narrative and correspondence, it is ingeniously argued that Byng was guilty of unwillingness to risk his reputation in behalf of his country—in other words, of treason. Instances of such a nature are indicative of a not unnatural political bias; but the narrative is thoroughly honest, and in forming our opinions we have no difficulty in making whatever allowances are required.

As to the contents of the treatise, it gives a fairly complete account of English affairs, domestic and foreign, covering a period of more than a quarter of a century; it contains letters and documents throwing light upon the negotiations of the time, and includes accounts by eye-witnesses of such famous battles as Fontenoy, Dettingen, and Culloden. The Chancellor's work as a jurist is reviewed, and several of his most important cases are given in some detail. In general it is shown that Lord Hardwicke greatly furthered the "peaceful penetration" of the common law by the principles of equity, while his love of "certainty and repose" operated to prevent confusion in future and distant times. In one case, however—a case involving slavery—his decision shows him to have been at any rate not far in advance of the thought of his age.

Among the many merits which may be justly claimed for *The Life and Correspondence of Lord Hardwicke,* wit is not one of the chief, yet as a young lawyer the Chancellor made at least one contribution to the nonsensical side of *belles-lettres.* Being pressed by a certain judge to confess that he had written a book, he at length acknowledged that he was composing a metrical version of "Coke upon Littleton." Urged to give a sample of his work, he responded thus, making use of some of the judge's pet mannerisms of speech:

"He that holdeth his land in fee
Need neither to quake nor to shiver;
I humbly conceive, for look, do you see,
They are his and his heirs' forever"

—a stanza that has almost the fatal fascination of "Punch, Brothers, Punch."

In conclusion it should be said that the *Life and Correspondence* corrects errors of previous ill-informed or prejudiced biographers of Lord Hardwicke, and presents an apparently just portrait of a really eminent man, together with a wealth of historical information.

A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War. By John Bach McMaster. Volume VIII. New York and London: D. Appleton & Company, 1913.

The eighth volume of McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* brings the narrative to that period of rapid industrial expansion and violent political conflict which lies between the years 1850 and 1861. Admiration of the author's clear and comprehensive method of treatment, his grasp of diverse problems, and his mastery of the art of compact expression, increases as we see the skill and accuracy with which he traces the many important tendencies of this dynamic and confusing epoch. Politically, public opinion is made the *leit-motif,* and in this way the story of political bickerings and compromises becomes indeed a history of the whole people. By a system of abridged quotation which conveniently does away with repeated pronouns and verbs of saying, we are enabled to realize the parts taken in the great slavery controversy by Calhoun, Webster, Clay, Douglas, Lincoln, all the great men of the day. The discussion broadens from Congress to the press of the whole country; we catch the very ring of popular opinion; we know what the people did and felt, North and South. Quite as full and satisfactory in treatment are those sections of the volume which deal with non-political topics: the rush to the gold-fields in 1849, problems of city government, immigration, the extension of railroads, the Erie War, the labor movement, strikes for a ten-hour day, the woman's rights movement, and a multitude of similarly interesting and important subjects, merging into the tendencies of our own time, are lucidly discussed in a single chapter. Without destruction of balance, the narrative extends, with something more than passing allusion, to such subordinate matters as the teachings of Mrs. Bloomer, the "Rochester Knockings," and the craze for Spiritualism. In the chapter upon "International Entanglements" the revolutionary movement in Cuba is viewed in connection with the European revolutions of 1848; our dispute with Great Britain over the fisheries is explained without exaggeration of its importance, and we are made to understand both the social and political significance of Louis Kossuth's visit to America. The chapter entitled "Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-seven" analyzes not merely the financial panics, but their social symptoms and consequences. A later chapter, "On the Plains," describes the laying-out of the Pacific railroad routes, and even such a matter of strictly minor but curious interest as the importation of

camels for use on the American deserts finds its proper place in the narrative. Justice is done to the remarkable story of the rise of the Mormon power in Utah and its conflict with the national government.

Including in his narrative every conceivable matter, it would seem, of political or social importance, the author nevertheless succeeds in keeping his historical structure well proportioned, so that his plan is, in a fashion, always before the reader's eye. Never obtruding his personal opinions or his technique as a historian, leaving much to the logic of events, often allowing the significance of a movement or occurrence to be determined by its place in the story and by the amount of space or emphasis accorded it, he economizes attention and stimulates thought. This is "scientific history," truly, yet the narrative has also the human interest of a more or less gossipy "history of our own times." Without the help of a single rhetorical flourish, we are made to feel the passion and the throb of life in the period preceding the War.

A Political History of the State of New York, 1865-1869. By Homer Adolph Stebbins, LL.B., Ph.D. New York: Columbia University; Longmans, Green & Company, agents, 1913.

This interesting monograph, which is the latest of the "Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, traces in great detail the struggle in New York State during the years 1865-1869 between a Republican party divided against itself and a Democracy endeavoring to recover from the blow inflicted upon it by the War. The period in question is that during which the battle was waged between the President and Congress over Johnson's Reconstruction policy. To an exceptional degree the national issues were reflected in New York State, which was the home of two violently opposed groups of Republican leaders—Horace Greeley, Reuben E. Fenton, and Roscoe Conkling, all bitterly hostile to the President; and the triumvirate composed of William A. Seward, Thurlow Weed, and Henry J. Raymond, of whom Raymond defended the Presidential policy in Congress, while Seward and Weed strove to hold the balance against the radicals in the State. In 1866 the central political tendency was the effort to organize a new party upon the basis of Johnson's policy—an effort which found expression in the National Union Convention held at Philadelphia. Graphically the situation is represented in *Harper's Weekly* by a cartoon of Nast's, which shows the Northern and Southern delegates walking into the convention arm in arm, uttering such exclamations as "Charity covereth all," and "Oh, blessed hour!" They are accompanied by a dog and a cat, arm in arm; also a cat and a rat, arm in arm. Running parallel with the Philadelphia movement was the attempt made at Albany in September, 1866, to bring about a fusion of Democrats and conservative Republicans in the State, using Johnson's policy as a platform. Here, Tammany—a chief cause of perturbation in New York State politics—intervenes. The attempt of the Democratic party to outmanœuver the Republican radicals proved unsuccessful. By a ruse the Tammany candidate, who "represented neither the principles nor the purposes of the Philadelphia Convention," was nominated over General John A. Dix, the logical candidate;

and the ensuing campaign resulted in the election of Fenton, the Republican candidate for Governor. The Philadelphia principle proved doubly disastrous, since its backers lost caste as Republicans. Raymond, as author of the address to the Philadelphia Convention, was read out of the party, and Seward, now growing old, came in for his share of unpopularity through his faithful support of Johnson's policy.

Thus the first distinctive feature of the period from 1865 to 1869 was the attempt of the New York Democracy "to rehabilitate itself and cooperate with the Southern States against Radical Reconstruction, under cover of a union with the Conservative Republicans." The second distinctive feature was the rise of Tammany, culminating in the undoubtedly fraudulent seizure of the State by Tweed in 1869. The author conjectures that, had Seymour and Blair been elected in 1868, certain of the previous Reconstruction acts of the Radical Congress would have been abrogated, and that the readjustment of the difficult situation in the South would have followed more natural lines.

The sources used in this valuable study are chiefly the newspapers of the period, which are somewhat freely quoted. It is as difficult to read the truth through the clash of contemporary opinions as it is to analyze the journalistic judgments of our own day. Nevertheless Dr. Stebbins's monograph is as clear-cut as the nature of the subject permits.

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1913

SIX MONTHS OF WILSON

BY THE EDITOR

"Who could have foreseen four years ago that a discredited and demoralized Democracy was about to be converted into an efficient, responsible instrument of government by men like Wilson, Underwood, and Simmons, whom a majority of the American people had hardly heard of?"—"New York World."

Yet it was foreseen and has been done—and that is the great achievement. All that had been predicated of the effectiveness of Woodrow Wilson has been realized. No President of the United States has demonstrated greater capacity for true leadership. None, barring Lincoln, was confronted at the outset by a larger number of perplexing problems. None has met his difficulties with more sagacity or resolved them more skilfully. Recognition of that fact is as universal and ungrudging as it is gratifying to all patriotic citizens whose faith in the potency of the individual survived all contingencies.

Much work is in process. Currency legislation awaits the judgment of the country and the action of Congress. The success or failure of the Administration's novel Mexican policy is yet to be determined. All other foreign matters, including the canal-tolls dispute with Great Britain, the im-

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portant treaty with Russia, the difficulty with Japan, the surprising proposal to Nicaragua, and the quite ridiculous arrangement with San Salvador, if not neglected, are at least held in abeyance. We may leave these and other pending subjects for future consideration.

But two acts of the deepest significance characterize the first half-year of the Wilson Administration. One is the enactment of a rational tariff bill, the other is the exemption of a class from prosecution under the Anti-trust Law.

The way for genuine tariff reduction was paved by Representatives Champ Clark and Oscar W. Underwood when they organized the House under new rules three years ago. Upon the bill then passed by the Democratic majority the National campaign was waged and won. No possible doubt of the intent of the country remained, and there was little hope for recalcitrancy. Nevertheless, the task of successful direction which President Wilson promptly and properly assumed would have daunted a less resolute spirit. How simply, how admirably, how persistently, and how successfully he performed that duty need hardly be recounted. To the great body of Democratic members of both Houses who placed the National weal above local considerations, no less than to Messrs. Underwood and Simmons, is due a large measure of credit for unselfish public service, but first honors for this signal achievement go necessarily and rightfully to President Wilson, the guiding and pacifying but unyielding mind. The Speaker, in his generous and manly tribute to the part played by the President, but voiced the gratitude of the Nation.

There is no need now to analyze or discuss a measure which, having become an accomplishment, must demonstrate itself. But there can be no doubt of " revision downward " when the average rate of duty is reduced from 40.12 per cent. to approximately 26 per cent. Neither is there left much room for cry of free trade under a tariff of 26 per cent. We frankly question the advisability of cutting off all of the revenue so easily derived from the tax on sugar, and we are uncertain of the fairness of " free wool," but these changes had become tenets of the Democratic faith, and the President was as fully warranted in insisting upon the keeping of the pledges as Mr. Underwood was justified in waiving his personal judgment.

Whether or not or to what extent the lowering of duties

will reduce the "high cost of living" is a matter of speculation. Upon that point neither Mr. Wilson nor Mr. Underwood has ever ventured demagogic predictions. Both have held fast to the theory that, regardless of effects upon costs, competition is the very essence of freedom from monopoly and imposition. The President, indeed, went much further when in his Message he said:

"We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. . . . The object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world."

This is no less than a positive demand for greater efficiency, a call upon labor and capital to co-operate in renewed endeavor to meet all comers upon an even basis in the markets of the world, an appeal to the spirit of both enterprise and patriotism. It is pitched upon the high key which won attention and held interest when Mr. Wilson began to enunciate his ideas and has the inspiring note which marks him at his best.

None can deny that, in this most difficult of domestic undertakings, President Wilson has kept the faith by unimpeachable methods and with the faithfulness, directness, and dignity which appeal most strongly to the American people.

The one big blot on the record of the Wilson administration is the initiation of class legislation, through the enactment of a statute which separates American citizens into two great bodies and exempts one of those bodies from the punishment prescribed by a specific law for criminal offenses. The exact words written into the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill are these:

"For the enforcement of anti-trust laws, $300,000: *Provided, however,* That no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the conditions of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful: *Provided further,* That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the prosecution of producers of farm products and associations of farmers who co-operate and organize

in an effort to and for the purpose to obtain and maintain a fair and reasonable price for their products."

This flagrantly discriminatory act is the culmination of efforts to that end exerted over a period of nearly a quarter of a century. The first attempt was made while the Sherman Anti-trust Bill was under consideration by the Senate, taking the form of an amendment proposed by Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island and reading as follows:

"*Provided,* That this act shall not be construed to apply to any arrangements, agreements, or combinations between laborers made with a view of lessening the number of hours of their labor or of increasing their wages; nor to any arrangements, agreements, associations or combinations among persons engaged in horticulture or agriculture made with the view of enhancing the price of their own agricultural or horticultural products."

The discussion took place on March 27th, 1890. After Senator John Sherman had declared succinctly that in his judgment "this amendment practically fritters away the substantial elements of this bill," Senator George F. Edmunds attacked the proposal in a speech of exceptional power, and, after full discussion, participated in by Senators Hoar, Platt, George, and Aldrich, the amendment was rejected. In view of the constantly reiterated assertion that the act was not designed to apply to labor unions and farmers' associations, the importance of this fact is both obvious and vital.

The makers of the law having refused to grant the discrimination, it became necessary to resort to subterfuge to obtain the exemption, and the scheme which has now attained fruition was hatched nearly twenty years ago. Both President McKinley and President Roosevelt were relieved by Congress from the necessity of meeting the issue, but persistence aided by circumstance finally crowned the efforts of Mr. Samuel Gompers with success, and the measure was placed before President Taft in the last days of his administration. His veto was prompt and incisive, reading in part as follows:

"This provision is class legislation of the most vicious sort. If it were enacted as substantive law and not merely as a qualification upon the use of moneys appropriated for the enforcement of the law, no one, I take it, would doubt its unconstitutionality.

"The proviso is subtly worded so as in a measure to conceal its full

effect by providing that no part of the money appropriated shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual 'for entering into any combination or agreement *having in view* the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the conditions of labor,' etc. . . . So that any organization formed with the beneficent purpose described in the proviso might later engage in a conspiracy to destroy by force, violence, or unfair means any employer or employees who failed to conform with its requirements, and yet because of its originally avowed lawful purpose it would be exempt from prosecution so far as prosecution depended upon the moneys appropriated by this act, no matter how wicked, how cruel, how deliberate the acts of which it was guilty. So, too, by the following sentence in the act, such an organization would be protected from prosecution 'for any act done in furtherance' of 'the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the condition of labor,' not in itself unlawful. But under the law of criminal conspiracy acts lawful in themselves may become the weapons whereby an unlawful purpose is carried out and accomplished.

"An amendment, almost in the language of this proviso, so far as it refers to organizations for the increasing of wages, etc., was introduced in the Sixty-first Congress and failed of enactment.

"Representative Madison characterized it as an attempt to 'write into the law, so far as this particular measure is concerned, a legalization of the secondary boycott. . . . The laws of this country,' he pointed out, 'are liberal to the working-man. He can strike, he can agree to strike, he can act under a leader in a strike, and he can apply the direct boycott; but when it comes to going further and so acting as to impede and obstruct the natural and lawful course of trade in this country, then the law says he shall stop. And all in the world that this anti-trust act does is to apply to him that simple and proper rule that he, too, as well as the creators of trusts and monopolies, shall not obstruct the natural and ordinary course of trade in the United States of America. I believe,' he added, 'in the high aims, motives, and patriotism of the American working-men, and do not believe that, rightly understanding this amendment, they would ask us to write it into the law of this republic.' (Congressional Record, p. 8850, 61st Cong. 2d sess.)

"It is because I am unwilling to be a party to writing such a provision into the laws of this Republic that I am unable to give my assent to a bill which contains this provision.

"Wm. H. Taft.

"The White House, *March, 4, 1913.*"

On the very calendar day when this veto was filed President Wilson was inaugurated.

On April 12th President Wilson summoned Senator Martin and Representative Fitzgerald, chairmen, respectively, of the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations, to the White House and expressed his wish that the Sundry Civil Bill, including the proviso, be reintroduced and passed. Announcement to this effect was made in the newspapers

of April 13th, accompanied by the assertion that "President Wilson does not believe that the anti-trust act should be enforced against labor unions or co-operative associations of farmers."

Immediately upon the introduction of the bill in the House, in conformity with the President's suggestion, there arose a storm of indignant protest in every section of the country. Many Chambers of Commerce and merchants' associations adopted opposing resolutions, and the press without a dissenting voice urged the President to reconsider his determination. It was clear that the bill would become a law if he should refuse to do so. Democratic members of Congress could not antagonize both the President and the labor unions without inviting their own political ruin. Nevertheless, leading Democratic members did call upon the President and pledge their best endeavors to defeat the obnoxious proviso if he would lend his approval or acquiescence to their endeavor. The President declined to accede to this request, and the bill was passed by both Houses as an Administration measure.

The press and civic organizations renewed their opposition with great vigor, recalling insistently the Democratic party's pledge of "equal rights for all, special privilege for none," and even more particularly Mr. Wilson's many denunciations of "every form of special privilege and exemptions," his reiterated dedication of self to "the common as against any particular interest whatever," and his declaration to the very farmers concerned in this discriminatory legislation that he would be "ashamed of myself if I tried to stir up any feeling on the part of any class against any other class."

The venerable ex-Senator from Vermont, Mr. Edmunds, alarmed by the threatening infraction of the effectiveness of the Anti-trust Act of which he was the author, in a telegram from California, directed the President's attention to the fact that the proviso had been rejected originally by the makers of that great law, as it has been well designated by Senator Root, and "implored" him for his sake and his own to veto the bill.

On June 23d, after several weeks of deliberation, President Wilson affixed his signature to the measure whose introduction he had directed two months and ten days before, and so placed it upon the Federal statute-books.

Such, in brief, is the history of the first law avowedly exempting a class from the operation of another law ever enacted in the United States.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the iniquitous nature of class legislation in general or of this Act in particular, since President Wilson was not only elected on repeated pledges of equal treatment for all, but has pronounced this very proviso "unjustifiable in character and principle."

Why, then, did he originally propose and finally approve it?

The President sets forth the grounds for his action in a memorandum which he filed as an accompaniment to his signature. We may consider them in the order presented.

"I have signed this bill because I can do so without in fact limiting the operation or the power of the Department of Justice to prosecute violations of the law by whomsoever committed."

A more exact way of putting it would have been to say that he had *not vetoed* the bill in view of the fact or assumption noted. Obviously there is nothing in this statement calling for or justifying affirmative action. If there were, a President would find in a mere negation full warrant for signing any measure, however heinous he might consider it to be. Suppose, for example, the proviso had been "That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the prosecution of bankers for entering into combination or of associations of manufacturers who co-operate and organize," etc. Both situation and argument would have been identical. Surely if the restriction could be imposed in the one case "without in fact limiting the operation of the Department," so it could be in the other. But would President Wilson have considered this an adequate reason or any reason for signing such a bill? Moreover, is it more than technically true that the restriction does not limit operation? If other funds already in hand are sufficient "to prosecute violations of the law by whomsoever committed," why the need of this additional appropriation at all? Assuming that the sums provided do not suffice and must be increased, one fact and only one is certain, namely, that the added amount cannot be employed "to prosecute violations of the law by *whomsoever committed.*" And if it be proper to deprive the Department of the right to use a part of the general fund to prosecute labor unions and farmers'

associations for "violations of the law," why should not the use of the remainder be refused? And is it not, in effect? Is it conceivable that the Department will withhold any portion of the inadequate funds already in hand for the prosecution of criminal offenses which may be "committed" by "whomsoever," *i. e.*, by labor unions and farmers' associations?

The President continues:

> "If I could have separated from the rest of the bill the item which authorized the expenditure by the Department of Justice of a special sum of $300,000 for the prosecution of violations of the anti-trust law I would have vetoed that item because it places upon the expenditures a limitation which is in my opinion unjustifiable in character and principle. But I could not separate it."

So there is a limitation, after all, a limitation so "unjustifiable in character and principle" that the President would have liked to veto it, but did not because he "could not separate it" from the rest of the bill. The implication seems to be that the President had no opportunity to act until the measure came to him in completed form for approval or disapproval, and that consequently he was forced to treat it as a whole and either accept that which was "unjustifiable in character and principle" or reject the part that was desirable. It is unthinkable, however, that the President meant to convey an impression so palpably false. Surely he could have separated the obnoxious proviso from the bill when he requested the chairmen of the two Appropriation committees to have the measure introduced and passed in the precise form which President Taft had indignantly repudiated. Surely, too, he could have acquiesced in the separation proposed to him by members of the House. True, when the bill came to him for official action, he was obliged to accept or reject it as it stood, but even then he could have insisted, as President Taft insisted, that Congress should cut off the hateful "rider." Congress might or might not have acceded to such a demand, but it is certainly significant that the bill was not even introduced until the President declared his willingness to accept it.

Nor is the exceptional influence which the President has exerted over Congress in other matters to be disregarded when calculating probabilities. At the very least and the very last he could have put the responsibility for refusing

to enact a general Appropriation bill unless accompanied by an "unjustifiable" proviso where it belonged—upon the Congress itself. That is what President Taft did, no less to the satisfaction of the country than to the discomfort of many members. President Wilson, on the contrary, by his instigation, virtually relieved representatives in Congress of the opprobrium which would ordinarily and should, of course, have been visited upon them.

The President continues:

"I do not understand that the limitation was intended as either an amendment or an interpretation of the anti-trust law, but merely as an expression of the opinion of the Congress—a very emphatic opinion backed by an overwhelming majority of the House of Representatives and large majority of the Senate, but not intended to touch anything but the expenditures of a single small additional fund."

Passing over the difficulty of differentiating between an emphatic "expression of opinion" and an "interpretation," nothing could be more evident than that, whatever may have been the intention, the effect was a virtual amendment, since the power to enforce an act was explicitly denied. The proviso was and is, on its face, nothing else than a grant of privilege to a class to break a law with impunity. It is a novel suggestion in any case, if the President so meant his words to be construed, that the unusual size of a vote in the House of Representatives tends to relieve an Executive from his official responsibility, but when, as in this instance, the overwhelming majority was directly traceable to knowledge that the bill had the sanction of the President, it becomes absurd.

In conclusion, the President promises:

"I can assure the country that this item will neither limit nor in any way embarrass the actions of the Department of Justice. Other appropriations supply the Department with abundant funds to enforce the law. The law will be interpreted in the determination of what the Department should do by independent and I hope impartial judgments as to the true and just meaning of substantive statutes of the United States."

The matter of "limitation," having been once admitted, need not be considered further. But what does the President mean by his hint at the possession of "abundant funds" from "other appropriations" to "enforce the law"? That he intends really to use such funds in prose-

cuting the exempted classes and thereby deliberately evade a law which plainly directs him to evade another law? Would that be regarded by the labor unions or could it be regarded by anybody as an act of good faith? The President was an essential party to the transaction; his approval was as requisite as the vote of Congress. Surely he would not belie his own signature.

On the other hand, it is impossible to believe that the suggestion of enforcement is mere pretense—an attempt to avert criticism for suspending without repealing a law enacted for the punishment of criminals. Nobody knows better than President Wilson that the fact that this "rider" does not alter the "substantive statutes" only increases the offense of such legislation. Nobody, at any rate, has denounced indirect and evasive work of this kind more sharply than he.

"Independent and impartial judgments as to the true and just meaning" of the Anti-trust Act suggests an opinion already formed. Inevitably we recall the uncontradicted announcement in the newspapers on the day after the President gave his original direction to Senator Martin and Representative Fitzgerald to the effect that "President Wilson does not believe that the Anti-trust Act should be enforced against labor unions or co-operative association of farmers." What the President does or does not "understand" to have been the intent of Congress in passing this hateful measure is of little consequence; it is the actuating and underlying purpose of the President himself, at whose behest Congress acted, that possesses real importance.

What, then, is the President's idea?

An indication of purpose or understanding can be found perhaps in the Senate debates of last May. The most outspoken champion of the exemption clause was Senator William Hughes of New Jersey, who owes his present official position to the personal support which he received from Mr. Wilson, and is commonly supposed to reflect the President's views.

"I have never feared, and I do not fear now," said Senator Hughes, "that the present Administration will use any of this particular fund, or any other fund, for the prosecution of organizations of labor. I am simply desirous of having the Senate retain this language in the bill because

to strike it out would be to say that the Senate of the United States was against discriminating between organizations of labor and organizations of capital.

"It is true that it is class legislation in my judgment."

Senator Hughes concluded with this significant utterance:

"I will close by saying that I trust the time is not far distant when an opportunity will be given to the Senate to pass upon this question, not as a few lines appearing in the middle of an appropriation bill, but as a substantive proposition, not limiting or tying the hands of the Attorney-General in certain directions, but as saying to the Nation, and to the courts particularly, that it never was intended and is not now intended to prevent organizations of laboring men from combining to do the thing that they are permitted to do in the language of the proviso."

We have no doubt that Senator Hughes really believed and perhaps still believes that "it never was intended" to prevent labor organizations from combining. But President Wilson knew better. Former Senator Edmunds saw to that when he sent the telegram imploring the President to veto the bill. It is evident, too, that, whatever may have been Mr. Wilson's "understanding" of the intent of Congress, there was no shadow of doubt in the mind of his chief supporter in the Senate. The purpose was to say to the Nation, and "*to the courts particularly,*" that it never was and "*is not now* intended to prevent organizations of laboring men from combining to do the thing that they are permitted to do in the language of this proviso." In brief, the proviso was regarded by its sponsors as a mere precursor of a definite amendment of the "substantive statutes" to exempt one class from the punishment visited upon all other classes for criminal offenses against the law. Already signs appear that, encouraged by President Wilson's attitude, Mr. Gompers intends to urge this explicit proposal upon Congress at the coming regular session, in conformity with the prediction of Senator Hughes. The inevitableness of this consequence of the President's action was apparent from the beginning. It becomes evident, therefore, that unless the President can and will control and chain the forces opposed to the fundamental principle of "equal rights for all" which he himself has unloosed, the country will very soon face a determined struggle for class domination whose outcome every patriotic citizen must contemplate with the gravest foreboding.

THE COCKPIT OF EUROPE

"PEACE, peace, when there is no peace," lamented the prophet. But even Jeremiah could hardly have imagined a situation so hopeless as that which, so vividly depicted elsewhere in this REVIEW by Mr. Tonjoroff, now confronts the hapless Balkan States.

In all their murderous history the Balkans have never known so terrible a year as that which is now drawing to its close. Never has such a vulture's feast been prepared; never has such a devil's dance gone on. Every frenzied passion of which human nature is capable has been let loose upon and is still decimating the hapless Peninsula. After thirteen months of warfare, during which states have soared to incredible pinnacles of glory only to be hurled to the dust and trampled on; during which a magical league of inveterate foes against their common oppressor has been turned into an internecine conflict of unexampled atrocity; during which an Empire has been overthrown and the boundaries of ancient kingdoms have wavered as though traced by a planchette, and lives have been sacrificed by the hundreds of thousands, and treasure squandered by the hundreds of millions, and new Principalities have been called into being, and three separate treaties of peace have been signed by soldiers and statesmen who at once set to work to undo them, and a yet more devastating struggle between the Great Powers has only been averted or postponed by a hair's breadth—after all this, stability and tranquillity are still as far to seek as ever, the Balkans remain a floating chaos of horrors, and every loathsome impulse that can degrade humanity is being spurred on to a yet deadlier activity. There is no peace in the Near East; there can hardly be said to be even a truce; civilization in those regions has for the moment given place to an insatiable and reciprocated lust to seize and plunder, to burn and slay.

Has nothing, then, been accomplished? Yes. Turkey in Europe is now confined to a wedge of which Adrianople is the apex; the vast bulk of her Empire has been wrenched from her for ever; and necessity, if not wisdom, will probably force her to concentrate more and more on her Asiatic provinces. There lies her real future, and though the temp tation to seize the opportunity presented by the quarrels

among her late conquerors and to reoccupy Adrianople was irresistible, it may prove a disaster to her own interests that she yielded to it. That she is still in Thrace is, at any rate, one of the reasons why it is hopeless for the present to expect a durable peace. Instead of reorganizing her Government, building up her finances, and developing her Asiatic territory, she will be constantly seduced into meddling with Balkan politics, playing off one Balkan state against another, and risking a renewal of the conflict with Bulgaria. Her diplomatic success in retrieving the fortunes of war has rendered her jubilant, headstrong, and obstinate. The military clique that controls her Government intends to remain in office at any cost. It is at this moment granting privileges, signing away concessions, and raising loans with a recklessness never exceeded in the palmiest days of Abdul Hamid; and with the money thus procured it has equipped an army of at least 300,000 men and is proceeding to negotiate a settlement with Greece in a spirit that, even before this article appears in print, may have precipitated another war.

But the real victim and the real hero of the kaleidoscopic events of the past twelve months has been Bulgaria. In that time she has tasted the sweetness of an unlooked-for triumph and the anguish of a yet more surprising and crushing defeat. She bore by far the major share of the war against Turkey; there even at one time seemed a prospect that she would capture Constantinople itself. Then when the Treaty of London had secured to her the fruits of victory, her statesmanship failed her, she grasped at too much, and in a moment of fatuous arrogance ruined everything. Her allies turned against her while the bulk of her armies were still tied up with the Turks; she offered a bloody but an ineffectual resistance; Rumania stepped in to complete her discomfiture; one by one the laurels were stripped from her, and after losing 150,000 men and spending between 300,000,000 and 400,000,000 dollars, she had to surrender all but a small *enclave* in Macedonia and a narrow strip of the Ægean coast with no desirable port and very uncertain and difficult access for a railway. Thrace went, Adrianople and Kirk Kilisse, the scenes of her most brilliant exploits, had both to be given up, and some 7,500 square kilometers of Bulgarian territory, with 180,000 inhabitants, were snatched from her by Rumania. It is doubtful whether there has

ever been in history so swift a fall from so great a height. It will not be permanent. Bulgaria has both the will and the capacity to recover. Already she is plotting and working for her revenge; a Turco-Bulgarian alliance against Greece and Servia is even now a possibility of the next few weeks. Neither the Czar Ferdinand nor his people will rest till one or both of their late allies are made to bite the dust.

And at any moment the opportunity for a successful sally may present itself. The permutations and combinations of Balkan politics are without an end, and not half of them have been tried as yet. Albania on paper has been created an independent state and its frontiers delimited by the Powers; but the Albanians have taken matters into their hands and have invaded Servia, and are fixing the boundaries of their state as they go along. The Powers meanwhile look on helplessly; the harmony that hitherto has kept their differences under control shows some ominous signs of giving way; from the Adriatic to the Ægean there is hardly a square mile where life is secure; we may hear any day that Montenegro has made another dash for Scutari, that Bulgaria is profiting by the Albanian entanglement to fall upon Servia, that Turkey has declared war against Greece, that Rumania has discovered another pretext for claiming "compensation" at the expense of one of her neighbors, or even that Russia, her patience at length exhausted, has made a decisive gesture in the direction of Constantinople. The drama that began when the Allies over a year ago formed their league and made their memorable dash on Turkey has already run through three acts. The first ended with the Treaty of London, the second with the Treaty of Bucharest, the third with the Treaty of Constantinople. But there are many more acts still to come, and there is little reason to think they will be less brutal or convulsive than their predecessors.

What a spectacle and what a prospect in the twentieth century of Christianity!

THE CURRENCY BILL

That is a very interesting pen-picture of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency which appears upon other pages of this Review—interesting in itself and doubly inter-

esting because it is drawn by the President of the greatest National bank in the country. Mr. Vanderlip does not conform to the countryfied impression of a Wall Street man. He was born in Illinois and began work as a reporter for a Chicago newspaper, subsequently becoming financial editor and then editor of the *Economist*. In 1897 he was appointed Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury and served four years under Lyman J. Gage. Then he became successively Vice-President and President of the National City Bank of New York. As a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation, he was associated with Mr. Woodrow Wilson, who regarded him highly until he grew to distrust all bankers. When Mr. Wilson's application for a pension was rejected by the trustees of the Foundation, Mr. Vanderlip was suspected by some of Mr. Wilson's friends of having made the fact public with unfriendly intent, but there was no truth in this surmise; in reality, he was one of the minority who voted to make the grant. Whether or not any part of the prejudice that once existed against Mr. Vanderlip still remains in President Wilson's mind is a question of some importance, because upon the answer probably depends the general attitude of the Administration respecting his suggestions. In any case, the Committee charged with the duty of formulating this most vital legislation made no secret of their admiration and appreciation of the ability, frankness, breadth, and patriotism manifested by Mr. Vanderlip at the hearing in Washington; and it bodes well for sagacious accomplishment through honest and honorable co-operation that he, in turn, bore away the favorable impression which he records upon other pages.

There is in the pending bill, in Mr. Vanderlip's judgment, "far more to commend than to deprecate"—in about the proportion of 80 to 20 per cent., he told the newspapers. But the 20 per cent. of defects he finds very serious indeed, and he presents his reasons for this opinion with a clearness which cannot fail to illuminate many minds which have been befogged by technicalities.

We suspect that Mr. Vanderlip's opinion, based upon his talks with the Senate Committee, that "but for political exigencies practically every member would favor the creation of one central reserve reservoir," is correct. Such, at any rate, seems to be the judgment of well-informed and disinterested persons generally. And yet a proposal to that

effect is scouted from all sides because, forsooth, "the American people will never stand for a central bank." What nonsense! Are "the American people" so dense that they cannot discriminate between a bank conducted by Nicholas Biddle and a bank controlled by the United States Government? President Jackson made his great fight upon Mr. Biddle's concern, not because it was a single and exclusive institution, but because it was owned and managed by individuals who held no official responsibility. That is precisely President Wilson's position to-day. He believes that the credits of the country are privately, even monopolistically, controlled by a few to the advantage of a few and unjustly to the many. His chief purpose is to rectify that condition by vesting in the Government itself "the power to control and guide and direct" those credits. Whether the instrument created to perform this work shall be one or four or twelve banks is obviously a matter, not of principle, but of practicability. The "political exigencies" referred to have no basis whatever except presumed prejudice against a name —a prejudice which, if not already obsolete, could readily be dispelled from all rational minds by the simplest explanation.

The chief difficulty in solving a problem like this lies in such prepossessions. Senator Aldrich bitterly denounces the pending measure for no other reason that we can detect in his long speech than that Mr. Bryan upholds it; Mr. Bryan retorts characteristically that the mere fact that Mr. Aldrich opposes the bill is sufficient evidence of its worth; Chairman Glass insists vehemently that the bill is perfect because it is *his* bill; other Representatives are no less positive that it is ruinous because it is not theirs; and so it goes. Fortunately the members of the Senate Committee, as Mr. Vanderlip observes, are not only sensible of their great responsibility, but are eager to profit from all obtainable information. Chairman Owen alone, according to common report, has two score or more of amendments ready for submission at the proper time.

Nor do we understand that the President's mind is in any sense closed as to details. Currency legislation is one of the subjects about which he does not assume to possess all knowledge in existence. Moreover, he cannot but recognize the danger to both the country and his administration from enactment of an ill-considered measure which vitally con-

cerns every corporate and personal interest in the land. If an object lesson pointing the need of care in detail were required at all, it has been found already in the blunder which has brought the new tariff law into direct conflict with existing treaties.

What the President objects to is not careful consideration or advantageous amendment, but unnecessary delay. We do not suppose for a moment that he anticipates final action upon the bill in the few remaining weeks of this session, but his insistence that no time be lost serves an admirable purpose in keeping the subject wholly alive and in evoking discussion which cannot fail to be enlightening and beneficial to an exceptional degree. The attention of the country is now riveted upon a National necessity which hitherto has been recognized but vaguely and timorously—and that in itself is no mean achievement, for which President Wilson deserves undivided credit and unstinted praise.

THE SACRIFICE OF SULZER

Nobody except the person most directly concerned questions the justice of the verdict against William Sulzer. Even he does not deny the main facts upon which he was adjudged guilty. His plea for consideration is one of extenuation. Because of his intent and effort to do his duty his own offenses against the law should be pardoned. That is substantially all that he can find to say. And we have no doubt that he is quite honest in his opinion to that effect and in his belief that he has been wronged. John Trumbull's famous aphorism still stands.

For ourselves, we sympathize with Mr. Sulzer because we regard him as a victim, not of injustice or persecution, but of circumstances which have grown out of a popular trend that is charged with menace to American government. That Mr. Sulzer was never fit to be Governor of the State of New York is no new discovery. That was as well known before he was nominated as it is to-day. True, the moral obliquity which he has now revealed was not then suspected, but there was never any doubt of his mental incompetency. A rattle-brained demagogue he always was and always appeared to be.

Why, then, was he nominated for Governor at a time when

the election of any honorable and capable member of his party was a certainty? There can be but one answer. Because he was " popular "; because he was " a plain man of the people "; because he was " strong with the Jews "; because he was " a true Progressive "; because his candidacy would fortify the National ticket. The fitness of the man for the most important and exacting executive position, with one exception, in the country was never even considered by those who were responsible for his nomination. In their minds was no question of principle; it was wholly a matter of expediency. And so the poor, unbalanced egotist was raised to a place of the highest authority, only to fail inevitably, to wreck his own life, to fetch contumely upon a great State, and to humiliate the whole American commonwealth in the eyes of the world. A pitiful ending, truly! But if the outcome shall be an awakening of the public mind to realization of the need of superior intelligence, no less than of fine professions, in high places, the merciless sacrifice of Sulzer to the ambitions and designs of others may not have been in vain.

It is not surprising that Mr. Roosevelt should have felt impelled to proffer advice and sympathy to the " dear Governor " who had betrayed his trust. The impeachment was a triumph of law and of method prescribed by the Constitution for the discharge of faithless public servants. A more severe blow to the precious doctrine of " recall " could hardly be imagined. To offset the effect it was clearly necessary to divert attention and becloud the issue, and Mr. Roosevelt responded glibly to Mr. Sulzer's instinctive appeal for help and comfort.

" We have never seen," he wrote, " a more startling example of the power of the invisible government under the present system. The extraordinary thing is that the conservative upholders of this present system should have witnessed the decrees of the invisible government carried out within twenty-four hours, and who nevertheless denounce as revolutionary our proposal for changes in the form of government whereby the deliberate judgment of the majority of the voters may be executed within a space of time no shorter than that required for the execution of their deliberate judgment in the choice of a President of the United States."

The proven fact that Mr. Sulzer had violated his oath of

office, had broken the law, had taken for his gambling operations moneys contributed for campaign purposes, had made false returns, had tried to instigate perjury, meant nothing to Mr. Roosevelt. The "extraordinary thing" was that he had been caught and punished, thus demonstrating—what? Why, nothing else, to be sure, than that the "present system" is bad and ineffective, and that "changes in the form of government" are not only not "revolutionary" but are positively essential. For the verdict rendered by a High Court acting under established rules of evidence he would substitute "the deliberate judgment of the majority of the voters," precisely as he would submit judicial decisions to popular vote, to be upheld or set aside in conformity with the dictates of prejudice, partisanship, or passing caprice rather than of equity and of right.

When we contemplate Mr. Roosevelt's hardy insistence that the adoption of his great idea is made manifest by the *success* of the constitutional procedure against his guilty friend, we cannot pretend to imagine the vehemence and power of his argument in the possible event of *failure* of like procedure against a guilty enemy.

It was but natural that Mr. Sulzer should appeal to Mr. Roosevelt in his hour of distress and to expect, as he declares with apparent justification he does expect, to be reinstated in public office by the Progressive party.

But let there be no confused thinking. Whether or not or for what reason Tammany instigated the impeachment of Mr. Sulzer, it was not Tammany, but Mr. Sulzer, who was put on trial. And the High Court nobly justified both the Constitution and itself. During the coming week Tammany will be brought before the bar of public opinion in the New York City election. Now let us see what the people will do.

HUMILIATING THE VICE-PRESIDENT

"Government," said Vice-President Marshall sternly in his speech of acceptance, "is a necessity and not a luxury." Hence the need of the most rigid economy in public expenditures. Hence, too, the obligation of those occupying high places to set an example of simple and unostentatious living. How firmly and how frequently the Vice-President has

preached this Jeffersonian doctrine is known to all the world; aye, even to the Senate of the United States. And yet what did that prankish body do but add an appropriation of seven thousand dollars of the people's money to the Urgent Deficiency bill for the purchase of a new automobile for the use of its presiding officer? Not only so, but, knowing full well that such conduct would evoke vehement protest from the unwilling beneficiary, it took a mean advantage of his temporary absence from the chair and passed the amendment, so to speak, behind his back. The fact that he already had one motor-car was duly noted, but it was weakly urged that his good lady wanted another.

No wonder the Vice-President blushed when he returned to his high place. He was humiliated beyond measure. But what could he do or say? That he would not be a party to such extravagance? That he would not use or even permit his good lady to use a costly additional vehicle paid for from the proceeds of the toil of the starving masses? Perhaps. But such a declaration would have involved a confession that for one brief instant his eternal vigilance, so often and so eloquently depicted by himself as the price of liberty, had relaxed. There was danger, moreover, that some malicious maligner might insinuate that he had forsaken his place of authority at the psychological moment by private arrangement with the proposer of the amendment.

It was a most embarrassing situation, as any one can see, but Mr. Marshall met it like a true Indianian with dignity and courage. Sternly repressing the temptation which occasionally besets him to make a few remarks, he maintained a silence that was more indignant than the most scorching of denunciations could have been. Fortunately the House of Representatives came nobly to the rescue of the Vice-President and struck out the obnoxious provision by a vote of 147 to 51. This considerate action imparts to Mr. Marshall's virile tongue a new freedom, and presently, we are informed, he will express in no measured terms his abhorrence of the conduct of the faithless body over which it is his misfortune to preside.

We trust that the rumor is unfounded. We crave the Vice-President's indulgence for those Senators whose intent at least was kindly. We beg him to recall his own

beautiful words in the speech of acceptance aforesaid—" At its best, human nature is weak "—and be merciful.

THE PROGRESSING COLONEL

Since the Democratic party now occupies the National stage, we had not intended to indulge in speculation respecting other political organizations at this time. Nor shall we do so in any comprehensive way because of the value which should attach to time and space. And yet we cannot wholly ignore the suspicion that, if ever remarks are to be adventured concerning the Progressive party, they would better be set forth without delay, to avert a quite strong probability that presently there will be nothing of the kind to write about.

Splendid as was the showing made by Colonel Roosevelt's aggregation of diversified inhabitants last year, many there were, nevertheless, who regarded it, in the light of history, as no more than a flash in the pan. To-day " flash " seems as a term to have been unwarrantably strong; " flicker " apparently would have been more accurate. So far this year, whenever a Progressive candidate has appeared upon the horizon the electors have turned their backs and walked away with astonishing unanimity. By Mr. Roosevelt's direction the party put forward in Maine its two best feet—meaning Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Garfield—to no effect. The total vote polled was larger than that cast in the National election, but the Progressive portion was cut in half. In an Illinois district which last year gave Mr. Roosevelt 5,678 votes, the total in the Progressive column last month was only 65. This is an extreme case which may have been influenced by the fact that the candidates were for the bench and not subject to recall, but generally the results have been most disheartening to eminent leaders like Sir George Perkins and Lord William Flinn, who continue to be dissatisfied with the environment of their growing children. During the coming week further indications will be afforded, notably in New York City, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. We frankly look for the worst.

So, too, we infer, does Colonel Roosevelt. Else he would hardly have sailed away so far at a time so inopportune. True, he vowed eternal allegiance to the deathless Progres-

sive principles from the quarter-deck while the stokers below were trying to coax up another variety of steam, but the reporters returned curiously unimpressed. Even a quite broad hint that one William Barnes should not be universally acclaimed a wholly veracious citizen failed to evoke excitement. The simple, sad, and singular fact that the Colonel was going away from here in time of need was too significant to be shrouded even by his most dexterous diversions.

We were interested to observe that Colonel Roosevelt felt impelled to express personal disapproval of President Wilson's words and deeds before sailing. He spoke through the *Century* instead of through the *Outlook,* for reasons best known perhaps to the bewildered publishers of the latter periodical. After lamenting the "utter incoherence" which, as everybody has noticed, has characterized the Democratic party since Mr. Wilson assumed leadership, and denouncing the passage of the Underwood bill as a perpetuation of "the principles of evil tariff-making," he declares as emphatically as ever and more truthfully than usual that the bill which had not yet become a law had *not* reduced the cost of living. "*Therefore,*" etc., etc.

Colonel Roosevelt also informs us that he had "read with care" Mr. Wilson's collection of thoughts published as "The New Freedom." He thought little of it. In the first place, he could not make out what the author was driving at, and, secondly, he doubted if he was driving at all. Swimming is what he would have suggested if he had thought of it. What he did know was that Mr. Wilson had made "repeated, detailed, and specific misrepresentations of the Progressive position so gross that"—and so forth and so forth again. That may or may not be so. If something more definite than high-sounding "social and industrial reform" had been presented as the crux of those wonderful principles, perhaps we could tell. Even so, we have our doubts, because, to speak with candor, we experienced no little difficulty ourselves in determining the precise points where sense began and nonsense ceased in that curious admixture of surmises and nostrums to which Mr. Wilson attached his captivating title.

Be that as it may, Colonel Roosevelt sailed away wholly dissatisfied with the way the President is carrying on. Seemingly he had in his mind's eye one who could give a far

more praiseworthy performance as leading man in the White House. That, at any rate, is the thought which he left with us to be cherished and sunk deep in our unsophisticated understandings.

Well, so be it. We will think it over. Meanwhile, we shall miss the Colonel more than pen can tell. There have been times when it was difficult to meet his views with rapt enthusiasm or even in full accord, but his rugged deliverances in the *Outlook* have never failed to evoke emotions more poignant than can possibly be aroused by the tempered utterances of Dr. Lyman Abbott and Hamilton W. Perhaps.

A safe and sane return, then, to our most picturesque and engaging Colonel!

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CONTENTNEA

The prenatal discussion pertained to his name. He was to be a boy and braver than lions; that was certain. Hence Daniel. And he was to possess vast literary gifts with power of immeasurable loquacity. So Josephus. But should it be Josephus Daniel or Daniel Josephus? That was the question. But he might be twins. There was a possible contingency to be provided for. Josephus Daniels then it was, by universal assent.

The happy event took place at Washington, North Carolina, on the left bank of the river Tar, on May 18th, 1862. And the lad throve very much as the original Josephus tells us Moses did. His hair was fair, his eyes blue, and his form lithe. He was endowed, too, with curiously winning ways which served well to temper the intrepid spirit and marvelous garrulity which had been anticipated.

We have no record of the youth of Josephus except the impression which still abides in the hearts of old residents that he was the joy of Washington. Even then, his childish prattle was so fascinating that the rugged mountaineers who toiled by day made pilgrimages to the town by night to hear him talk in his sleep. At the comparatively early age of fifteen ambition stirred within the breast of Josephus and he resolved upon an abrupt departure from the place of his birth in search of culture. Westward he turned his toes, unaccompanied by retinue of any kind, and in the short space of three days, going by way of Old Sparta, he encompassed

the distance—by no means inconsiderable, as all now must recognize—from Washington to Wilson. Naturally there was no lack of pedagogues in a town of that name, and it was with the greatest ease that Josephus acquired a university education at the Collegiate Institute. Having become notoriously proficient after three years of studious application, at the age of eighteen he assumed the editorship of the Wilson (N. C.) *Advance*, a journal of the highest type whose political tendencies are indicated by its title. There he was admitted to the bar, but for some reason not noted in the American Biography, he "did not practise"! he only preached.

The year 1885 marked the turning-point in the career of Josephus Daniels. Wilson, oddly enough, though classical, was circumscribed, and the brilliant young journalist experienced a long-felt want for a wider sphere of usefulness and renown. So it came about that he applied for and obtained the position of editor of the Raleigh *State Chronicle*. And then ensued the most remarkable and regrettable personal tragedy recorded in the annals of modern journalism.

The information having been conveyed surreptitiously through the columns of the *Advance* that the editor proposed to make the journey to the scene of his future triumphs by water, admiring friends and fellow-countrymen conspired and combined and purchased for his use a canoe. It was a blithesome day in June when, to the music of many plaudits, Josephus embarked upon his tiny but fearless Dreadnought and set paddle down the winding Contentnea. Past the cheering multitudes upon the teeming wharves of Stantonsburg and Snow Hill he glided gracefully as a swan, and on the third day entered the woodland. Awearied by his unwonted exertions, at nightfall he landed and slept upon the boughs provided for such purposes by Nature. Arising refreshed by gentle slumber and inspired by the singing of the birds, he detached large areas of bark from trees and wrote thereon his first editorial "For the Raleigh *State Chronicle*, by Josephus Daniels." It was entitled "On a Balmy Morn on the Contentnea," and when finally published filled seven overwrought columns. Then on and on he wended his way into the dark and gruesome forest, gay as a lark in seeming solitude.

But danger lurked in the deep recesses of that noxious swamp. The unsuspecting Josephus was not unseen. Had

he looked up he would have beheld a pair of ferocious eyes glittering through the branches of a noble tamarack. And back of the eyes was a wild man of the forest, unclad from birth, but shrouded by the leaves, clinging with feet and hands and with the ease of long experience to the boughs. That night, when the moon shone high, Josephus slept as only the pure and just can sleep on prickly limbs, but not for long. Stirring restlessly from instinct of peril, he awoke with a start to behold hovering gloatingly over him that breathing specter of the forest. Leaping quickly to his feet, our hero turned upon his enemy the proud, fearless gaze of a Daniel in a lions' den. And there they stood, these two, for several trying moments, steadfastly regarding each other. Although one was the finest type of our modern civilization and a college graduate, and the other was only an untutored embodiment of aboriginal existence, physically they were not ill-matched. There was the light of like intelligence, too, upon both countenances. Neither was armed with gun or club.

Finally, responding to the impulse of habit, Josephus spoke and the other listened in grim and contemptuous silence. A long time Josephus spoke, calmly, amiably, ingratiatingly, until, weakened by lack of nourishment, for an instant he hesitated and, as almost always happens in that contingency, was lost. It was then the other's turn. From his open mouth there issued a succession of words slowly at first, and then, as hour after hour sped by, more and more rapidly until they became a veritable torrent. And ceaseless. There seemed to be and probably would never have been an end but for the surprise of the speaker at the sudden collapse of his victim. Then he stopped and, leaning over the prostrate body, quickly convinced himself of the truth. His face lit up with fiendish glee. He had performed a miracle. *He had talked Josephus Daniels to death.*

Two weeks later a canoe, propelled with the ease and skill of the forest-born, passed up the river Neuse to the Raleigh wharf, and the sole occupant, alighting nonchalantly, sought the office of the *State Chronicle.* There he found the proprietors awaiting the advent of their brilliant new editor. One of them offered him a hand, but he gave no sign in return, appearing, as was remarked subsequently, as one unfamiliar with that form of salutation. But he bowed with a grace that seemed a fit accompaniment of his wrinkled crash

trousers and, advancing with the utmost dignity and composure, placed upon the table many sheets of bark. The most venerable proprietor, selecting the topmost, adjusted his spectacles and read "On a Balmy Morn on the Contentnea." Sighing slightly as he noted the length of the essay, he turned, nevertheless, with dauntless mien to his associates and said:

"It is he who we feared was lost. It is Josephus Daniels. Welcome, sir, to our city."

And to this day—but why recount the familiar episodes that have marked the career of that famous one since that epoch-making day? Why, at any rate, recount them in this number?

But deep and mournful and unceasing is the soughing of the pines over the lonely grave on the left bank of the Contentnea, and even unsophisticated children draw away affrighted from the forks which signify the joining of the creek and the majestic river Neuse.

THE INTELLECTUAL GOLF CHAMPIONSHIP

It is a trite and true remark that the game or business of golf has received a marked impetus in our native land during the present year, chiefly as a consequence of the notable triumph at Brookline of the young man whose name seems to have been constructed to facilitate the exercise of punning. We ourselves, in common with a vast majority of our fellow-countrymen, have not been insensible to the added zest which has been the happy and inevitable consequence of that remarkable achievement. But our deeper interest lies in another and more subtle phase of the progress of the ancient and quite honorable pastime. It is the psychology rather than the practice of the game that grips our attention. Consequently we are ever on the lookout for those who possess not only clear understanding, but also that power of explicit expression which affords real enlightenment.

Now it may not be generally recognized from Portland to Portland and from Great Lakes to Gulf that, when one in this vicinity goes forth to seek the deeper intellectuality no less than the higher criticism, he turns instinctively to the aloof cloisters occupied by our able journalists. That, how-

ever, is the fact which enables us at this time to record the conclusion of a contest which thus far has escaped mention in the public prints. The story shall be brief.

It must be going on a dozen years now since signs began to appear in the determined columns of our neighbor, the *Times,* that Doctor-Editor Charles R. Miller was succumbing to the fascination of golf. We followed his career as indicated by his published meditations with avid hope of deriving both practical and theoretical benefit. His orthodoxy became our creed, and as long as we worshiped from afar our blind faith continued unshaken. But when once upon a time circumstances brought us to closer quarters and with our own ears we heard our distinguished mentor remark complacently as he walked from the eighteenth green that he "had him three up," the idol was shattered beyond hope of repair.

The next to loom upon our horizon was Doctor-Editor Edward P. Mitchell, whose matchless diction in our neighbor, the *Sun,* had long atoned for the perverse contrariety of his political judgments. That was a halcyon period. We can recall to this day the admiration we felt at frequent intervals of our own perspicacity in reading between Doctor Mitchell's exquisite lines the explanations which he was wont to adduce of his own failures and disappointments on the links. What, for example, could be more delicate than this:

"If Cicero had played golf the probability is that his *De Senectute* would never have been written and the modern schoolboy would have been spared many laborious hours, for the links would have claimed the leisure that he devoted to that dignified treatise. But had he in the evenings found time to philosophize concerning old age, the resulting pages, we may be sure, would have read very differently. We should have been sagely directed not to strive for distance unattainable by those in whose limbs the sap of life no longer runs fresh and vigorous, but to pit our wisdom and experience against the lustier sinews of youth; we should have been warned that by keeping straight down the middle of the course we might sapiently avoid those many pitfalls by the way into which reckless youth is apt to rush; finally, we should have been advised to devote ourselves above all else to the study of the short approach and the contemplation of the putt. There would have been encomiums on golf as the teacher of patience and resignation in adversity; there would have been severe reprobation for those whose virtue is not steeled against the temptation to forget a stroke, and the peroration would have been devoted to a panegyric of the game as the single occupation that never stales from the cradle to the grave, and that takes rank, along with friendship, as among the greatest of the graciously permitted consolations of old age.

"There is a golf course to-day on the Roman Campagna within sight of the old Appian Way. Cicero would have seen it as he passed that way into exile, and, we may be sure, would have lost no time in confiding to his correspondent Atticus his gloomy speculations as to whether good golf would be obtainable where he was going. It is certainly a misfortune for posterity that Cicero never, as the poet might have written,

'Drove a ball in furious guise
Along the Appian Way.'"

Even now we hold Doctor-Editor Mitchell, as a classical golfer, in reverence and awe.

But a greater has arisen—one whose proven intrepidity and splendid enthusiasm compel an admiration which makes his predecessors appear as one-franc-fifty each. It happened in the famous Seniors' Tournament at Apawamis after a fashion more sudden, surprising, and sensational to our mind than the widely heralded event at Brookline. It is an odd fact that we had never thought of Doctor-Editor Rollo Ogden as one of sufficient years to constitute eligibility in such a contest. The constant joy, the high optimism, the ebullient buoyancy invariably permeating his editorials in the *Evening Post* had effectually dissipated any thought or idea of association with maturity. Imagine, then, our surprise when we beheld his respected name among those of the sturdy 270 of fifty-five or over! What happened to him subsequently in a practical way we have no means of ascertaining. Nor would we, if we could, rend the veil. The important fact is that seemingly, after the first round, he found ample time in which to set down for publication in his aged but cheery journal the results of his calm reflections. It is to that illuminating exposition of the effect of golf not merely upon an ardent though somewhat austere temperament, but upon the very form of literary expression, that we would direct attention. But let us hasten onward.

What could more aptly depict the spirit of a true enthusiast than Doctor-Editor Ogden's exultant remark at the outset that "it marked the climax of the greatest golf year the world has ever known—*and the end is not yet*"? A climax, indeed! But to continue:

"Now comes the startling victory of Ouimet, another young man who has hardly graduated from his teens, and accomplishing with one fell swoop what sterling professionals the world over have been aching to do for years—take the measure of Vardon or Ray."

Note how simply and naturally, without pretense of any

kind, attention is here directed to the first fell swoop our beloved country has beheld since the earthquake struck the Golden Gate. And how true, how almost sadly true, is this:

"The amateur and open champions may go round courses in par figures, in the low seventies, but when they reach the age of eighty-one, which is that of the venerable Milne, it may be said that they will not duplicate his feat of handing in a 93 gross."

It may indeed be said not only that they will be venerable at eighty-one, but also that they will not duplicate the feat. In fact, it should be as it has been said, and well said, with conviction and without reservation. And yet—

"When it is considered, the Scarsdale veteran first played golf when he was twelve years old on the old Montrose links in Scotland, back in 1844, when the present-day type of clubs was scarcely more than in the embryo, and the feather ball was the one in general use, if the golfer was handy enough to be able to make his own, Milne's success now is all the more praiseworthy."

Here for the first time we learn that in golf experience is a handicap. It is a wholly new theory, as novel as the original suggestion that the world is round; yet who, we ask in full candor and sincerity, can demonstrate the contrary?

"Here was a man, second oldest of a notable gathering of 270 or more golfers, many of whom were men of fame, and still beating out in actual strokes the big field of younger players. It goes to show rather strikingly that golf is a universal game, so far as age is concerned, and that it can be played well by the aged as well as by the young."

The proof is conclusive. Defeating the youngsters of sixty and thereabouts was not so striking in itself, but when it is considered that they were "men of fame," the deduction of hope for the aged becomes irresistible. Looking forward, as our esteemed President would say:

"Golf is not a craze. It has come to stay. All 'doctors' agree on that point. Millions of dollars are invested in club properties and in establishments for the manufacture of equipment. Investments are not made hastily. The American young man of five tender summers is not taught golf. In England he is, especially if he happens to be one of the nobility or crowding close to the border of the line between democracy and aristocracy. There is, perhaps, the one place where Britain has been America's superior in golf. Over here the young man takes it up in his teens. He is bred with it over there."

Yes; like the poor and Roosevelt and Bryan, golf is to be with us always; but is there not a hint here worthy of serious consideration? We do not want the Britishers to

beat us in the future. Why, then, sacrifice those first five tender summers? Why not, as they do, breed with golf? That, we are confident, is the pregnant question to which Doctor Ogden seeks an answer. But—

"To return to the international phase of golf, there is still before us another international meeting in which it will be determined whether or not the women of America will be as successful in repelling the boarders as their compatriots of the sterner sex. It will be only three weeks more before the golfers of two continents will again have their ears to the ground longing for the results from Wilmington. Will it be Miss Margaret Curtis, of Essex County, Massachusetts, who will be successful; the new metropolitan champion, Miss Marion Hollins, of Westbrook, or some of those who have already made names for themselves in golf? Then, again, it may happen that some girl of tender years will step into the breach, as Ouimet has done. If this should happen, there would be no holding the enthusiasm of the Americans."

The suggestion that the young women mentioned have not already "made names for themselves" we regard as hardly warranted. Nor can we applaud the inference that they are not in years sufficiently tender to be able to step into an undivided garment. But the spectacle of two continents holding their longing ears to the ground is vivid and, we believe, not out of bounds. As to any putative attempts to hold the enthusiasm of Americans in the happy contingency foreseen, we vote as emphatically no as we would against a reactionary proposal at a Progressive primary. Let joy at least be unconfined!

In conclusion, Doctor Ogden heralds the prospective visit to these shores of Messrs. Taylor and Duncan as "a situation devoutly to be wished." Why he should have administered this inferential, though gentle, rebuke to the immortal bard for using or misusing, as one may prefer, the strong old word "consummation" we have no means of ascertaining; but we would not cavil upon an occasion such as this. Without further ado about nothing we now award the Intellectual Golf Championship to Doctor-Editor Rollo Ogden and firmly place the traditional laurel wreath upon a brow which towers nobly to a climax whose end is not yet.

COMMENT

THERE was little need for President Wilson to deny the story that he had abandoned the custom of holding Cabinet

meetings. There is no provision of law requiring him to do so; indeed, the Cabinet itself is a body unknown to the Constitution. Common counsel is, of course, an established tenet of the new dispensation, but there is nothing to prevent the President from making up his own mind before taking it. Mr. Bryan described the process rather neatly in one of his more recent speeches in these simple words:

"I am near enough to the President to be able to form an opinion of him, and I have never yet found a man who more completely has my confidence than has Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. I have an opportunity to hear his views expressed in private as well as in public. I have heard him discuss questions where there were no reporters to take down what he says, and I say to you I have never met a man with more singleness of purpose than, nor one whose ideals were higher or whose moral courage was greater than his; but to my mind the chief advantage with Woodrow Wilson is that he is in a position to make up his own mind. Nobody makes it up for him and no one assists him in judging what is right. The advisers selected by him may bring him information in regard to questions before their various departments, but it is a great advantage to have a President who is willing to think for himself, decide for himself."

If the kinetic Secretary of State feels that he is "near enough" to the President while in Biddeford, Maine, we fail to see why the static members of the Cabinet should complain.

Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer, one-time editor of the *English Review,* wrote in his Reminiscences that Mr. Arnold Bennett had quarreled with him over the price of a story. Whereupon Mr. Bennett writes to the *Outlook:*

"This is not so. I accepted without protest the sum which he paid to my agent. Soon afterwards he asked me to dinner. I replied in sorrow that I could not come to dinner, as I considered that he had done me in the eye over the price of the short story. He wrote to ask me by how much I considered he had done me in the eye. I answered, by at least ten pounds. He sent me a cheque for ten pounds. I attended his dinner. We have been excellent friends ever since."

Resumption of the *entente cordiale* upon a thoroughly English basis! But how much, we wonder, would Mr. Hueffer have had to pay Mr. Bennett if he had done him in the ear or, say, in the neck?

"An immigrant boy who became the greatest editor of his time," is the way our neighbor Mr. Samuel S. McClure is characterized, in connection with the publication of his

interesting autobiography. High praise, indeed! Greater than Greeley, Raymond, Dana, Bowles, Bennett, Medill, Halstead, Pulitzer, or Watterson. Greater than Alden, Howells, Aldrich, Holland, Gilder, or Curtis. To win undoubted pre-eminence in company such as that is surely an achievement worth recording in every phase and detail. In view of the fact, moreover, that the characterization appears upon the title-page of our discriminating contemporary, *McClure's Magazine*, it may safely be regarded as authoritative. We shall peruse Miss Willa Sibert Cather's *Autobiography of Mr. McClure* with zestful appreciation.

Oddly enough Mr. Harvey has little or nothing to say about Ireland, and discusses home rule in a single line as virtually an accomplished fact."—*The Evening Sun.*

We were writing about Mr. Asquith, not about Ireland. Even so, the seriousness of the Ulster situation has been grossly exaggerated for partisan purposes.

We respectfully suggest to Mr. Julian Hawthorne that he disguise himself as Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne and write A Convict's Impressions of the Life of a Country Gentleman.

The New Freedom in Congress! No recess for the second class; the first class will stay after school to complete its lesson.

We boldly predict the election of the Prohibition candidate for District Attorney of New York.

The impression seems to be growing that a publicist must be either a prude or a pervert.

A man must be pretty thin to hide behind a woman's skirts nowadays.

FIFTY YEARS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY PROFESSOR ERNST HAECKEL

A FOREWORD

The recent International Medical Congress in London, with its anthropological discussions, gives an added interest to the following brief paper by Professor Ernst Haeckel. In this pithy article the famous German scientist once more gives us a simple restatement of his scientific principles and of those philosophical doctrines which he has logically evolved from them. The man who has peered so deeply into the cryptic past and so far into the prophetic future, here recounts to us something of the beginnings of the great struggle for the theory of evolution—already so remote!—yet little more than half a century old. Once more he repeats to us the pregnant facts and details which are ever in danger of being obscured, misrepresented, or forgotten.

Every year new discoveries are made that confirm the fundamental accuracy of Haeckel's deductions. Here and there, to be sure, as is inevitable with all sciences, some stone must be discarded or some timber replaced, but the superb structure of scientific research and discovery which mankind owes to Haeckel remains as firmly established as ever. It will always be one of the noblest monuments of civilization, built up by the enormous, love-inspired labor, the holy passion for truth, and the untiring zeal for knowledge of this great hierarch of science.

In anticipation of that brighter epoch and race of clearer vision to which the great evolutionist alludes in his closing paragraph, we may well be heartened by the hopefulness of one whose long life stretches from an age when the past history of man was shrouded in darkness to an age when its future seems charted in light. Surely in days to come there will be international anniversaries not only of anthropology, but of the anthropologist who has devoted himself during the whole of his life to the service of man.—HERMAN SCHEFFAUER.

COUNTLESS jubilees and anniversaries of one sort or another have given the year 1913 a special distinction over its predecessors. These anniversaries, marking the flight of one hundred, or fifty, or twenty-five years since the birth of this or that significant idea or event, have all given occasion for some form of festival commemoration. In the midst

of these modest, or brilliant, and frequently clamorous festivals, the impulses of which extend through the entire structure of society, we ought not to overlook a golden jubilee which unpretentious science is quietly celebrating within her own restricted boundaries. This anniversary has to do with the science of man in its wider significance, with our knowledge of man in the making—in one word, with anthropology.

It was in 1863 that several epoch-making works were published almost simultaneously. In these the theory of descent promulgated by Charles Darwin, some five years before, was for the first time applied to mankind in general, thus giving a scientific basis to the most important deductions from that theory. The far-sighted Thomas Henry Huxley, in his book *Man's Place in Nature,* threw a world of light upon the close relationship existing between man and the lower animals. He succeeded in establishing his famous "Pithecometra Principle" as one of the indisputable facts of scientific discovery. This important Huxelian law declares that: "The differences in construction of any part of the body are less between man and the anthropoid apes than between the latter and the lower apes."

In the same year the gifted German zoologist Karl Vogt, in his *Lectures upon Man, his Place in the Universe and in the History of Earth,* proved that the historical evolution of the animal world and the earlier history of man led to the identical conclusion, namely, that the latter had developed from the former; 1863 was also the year in which I gave my public lecture at the Congress of Natural Historians at Stettin. My subject on that occasion was Darwin's theory of evolution. In this lecture I sought to indicate its general significance for our entire conception of the universe as well as its especial importance for the understanding of the human creature and his natural evolution. If man, instead of being "created" in a supernatural manner, has been developed through gradual differentiation from a series of the higher vertebrates, then, beyond all doubt, must anthropology be considered as a part of zoology. Later, in 1874, when I published my *Anthropogeny,* I established this principle which I had already postulated in the *General Morphology* in 1866. By means of the unmistakable evidence of the Biogenetic Law (which may be described by the phrase: The human embryo repeats in its growth the his-

tory of the human race), I revealed how harmonious a relationship exists between the facts in the history of human embryology, comparative anatomy, and palæontology, and how clear a conception of the fundamental traits of our racial history may be derived from them.

During the half-century which has since then elapsed, our views concerning this great problem of humanity—thanks to the enormous progress made in the foregoing branches of science—have been substantiated in the most satisfying manner. The general theory of descent as one of the foundation stones of our monistic principles of evolution, has been established most convincingly by innumerable advances, great and small, into the discussion of which it would be useless to enter in this brief anniversary article. But by means of extensive and thorough researches into the comparative natural history of the mammalia and of man, we have attained to so clear an understanding of all that relates to phylogeny, or the science of species, that we may now glance over the most important stages of our long racial history in all its ramifications. In the lecture which I delivered at Cambridge in 1898 on "Our Present Knowledge of the Origin of Man," and again, somewhat more thoroughly, in my commemoration essay entitled "Our Ancestral Line of Descent," I distinguished six great periods and thirty shorter stages in the prolonged gradations of the evolutionary forms. These lead us through more than a hundred million years from the primal cell up to man. So far as detailed facts are concerned I must refer the reader to the works mentioned above, especially to the later editions of the *Anthropogeny* and *The Natural History of Creation.* I shall therefore content myself with calling special attention to the peculiar accuracy of the knowledge we have been able to win and to its great significance for the advancement of our civilization.

So far as the accuracy of our phyletic hypotheses is concerned, there is a distinct difference between the two chief divisions of our racial or "stem" history, according as to whether they are directly supported by the tangible fossil records of the science of palæontology or not. In the earlier main division, that is to say from the Silurian age to the present day, there are found innumerable fossil remains of petrified vertebrates—fishes, amphibia, reptilia, and mammalia. Comparative anatomy having proved to us the unity

of the entire stem of vertebrates, it will be necessary here only to select those extinct form-groups which belong to the ancestral line of man and to arrange them in a phyletic order. This historical sequence of the group of vertebrates gives us so manifest and indisputable a series of empirical records that we may without hesitation proclaim them as natural historical facts.

In the upper Silurian strata we find, first of all, petrified fishes; in the Devonian, ganoid or plated fishes; in the Carboniferous, salamander-like amphibia; in the Permian lizard-like reptiles; in the Triassic the earlier mammalia; in the Tertiary and Cretaceous the later mammalia; and in the Pliocene the more highly developed Primates. All of these are distinct forms of which a great portion may certainly be classed as belonging to the ancestral line of man. In view of the well-known incompleteness of the fossil records of creation, it is, however, impossible to recognize certain forms of these classes as forming an indisputable part of the ancestry of man.

The most striking truth which these comprehensive investigations into the family-tree history of the vertebrates have disclosed to us, is *the unity of the entire stem of vertebrates,* and still further, the unity of that class of mammals which constitutes its latest and most highly developed branch. One cannot too often emphasize the fact that the organism of man corresponds in all its characteristic peculiarities of construction and of function with that of all other vertebrates, especially with that of all other mammals. The human race accordingly appears in the light of modern phylogeny as one of the most recent and most highly developed of this particular species. In comparison with this fundamental truth the much-disputed theory of the descent of man from the ape is, after all, only of secondary importance. The fact that man stands closer to the apes and anthropoid apes in all that relates to his own peculiar organization has been acknowledged ever since Linnæus combined these higher animals in the order of Primates or Anthropomorphia in his epoch-making system of natural history published in 1735.

Modern zoologists and anthropologists who recognize this truth draw from it the natural conclusion that man has been evolved from the Primates, or, more exactly, from a line of extinct higher animals, from apes—formerly lower apes or

ape-like creatures. The layman, however, who is but scantily acquainted with these zoological facts and therefore disposed to reject their logical conclusions, is but little influenced. For the prevailing idea of the common descent of all mammals—from one "primary mammal" and of all vertebrates from one "primary vertebrate," continues to persist in spite of everything.

In the first and older geological period, that of the pre-Silurian age, we encounter less definite evidence and are therefore enabled to move with far less certainty than in the second or more recent period. Here we find none of those fossil remains which in the shape of petrified parts of skeletons and scales and bones of the vertebrates furnish us with such invaluable nuclei for reconstruction. The lowest forms of vertebrates which antedated the fishes, such as the soft-skinned Cyclostoma or round-mouthed fishes, and the headless variety known as Acrania, were devoid of all solid bone structure and could not possibly have been preserved, even in a petrified condition. The same thing applies to all the spineless ancestors of the vertebrates. We are therefore forced to rely upon the original testimony offered by comparative anatomy and Ontogeny (the science which deals with the development of the individual) for our knowledge of the descent of these species. The experienced natural historian acquainted with these morphological and embryological facts will, of course, find in them a rich storehouse of the most significant and interesting knowledge. All authorities are now agreed as to the validity of the hypothesis which assumes that the ancestral vertebrates were preceded by a long line of pre-Silurian invertebrates, and that the earliest ancestral forms are to be sought for in the unicellular organisms, or Protozoa. There is, however, a great divergence of opinion among scientists on the question from which branch of the invertebrates the earliest forms of genuine vertebrates are descended. Earlier branches of this long and hypothetical line of ancestral forerunners will very likely be found among the order of worms, the Vermalia, or, in a wider sense, worm-like creatures.

The study of comparative embryology has thrown a most valuable light upon these obscure questions of our more distant racial history. It is this science which teaches us that the most primitive embryo forms which develop themselves from the fertilized eggs are essentially similar in all the

Metazoa, a term that comprises all multicellular and tissue-building animals. In the *Theory of the Gastræa,* published in 1872–1874, I was enabled to furnish most difficult proof to the effect that the same embryo form develops everywhere, even where apparently dissimilar, in the shape of a tiny bubble, the spherical "blastula." Its thin wall is the " blastoderm " and forms itself into two simple cell-layers. The simple hollow body-cavity is the primitive gut, its opening the primitive mouth. All the other organs of the Metazoa are evolved by manifold modifications from this common form of the " gastrula." Supported in my deductions by the Biogenetic Law, I came to the conclusion that this embryo-form was the true repetition or recapitulation of a corresponding long-extinct " stem-form," conditioned by heredity—that is to say, of a hypothetical gastræad, greatly modified as it may have been by adaptation. The manner in which the development of this universal " stem-form " of all Metazoa may be traced from a line of Protozoa or unicellular animals is made clear in the investigations which I have embodied in my *Theory of the Gastræa.*

Every clear and fearless thinker, especially the natural historian, who is able to survey as a whole the astonishing progress made in scientific anthropology during the last fifty years must concede to it achievements of the highest value to the whole realm of natural science. Even if the immediate result, attained by the experience of the senses, by observation, comparison, and experiment, should bring us only a deeper understanding of our physical organization and development, we are also, none the less, enlightened upon the spiritual side of our being—since both sides are indissolubly connected. The " soul " of man, like that of all other animals that possess a spine, is no mystical figment of fancy. It is no particular unnatural entity which inhabits a body temporarily and then quits it at death. On the contrary, we have now ascertained in the clearest, most indisputable manner that all which we term the " soul " is in a scientific sense nothing more than the total effect or function of the " soul-cells," of the neurons in the brain. It has absolutely nothing to do with the discovery of truth, which is and must always remain the goal of all uncorrupted science. It was the inspiration of such a motive which impelled me to write the *Riddle of the Universe,* and the belief that truth will prevail may, perhaps, find

some support in the almost universal acceptance of that work.

The marvelous advances made by monistic anthropology must sooner or later exert a tremendous influence upon philosophy, that queen of all the sciences. It is philosophy which is to unite the general conclusions of anthropology with a clear and harmonious conception of the universe. The influences which tend toward this great consummation are, however, proceeding in a very slow and gradual manner at present. We must not forget that the prevailing dualistic philosophy of the schools, or "paper philosophy," —to use the telling phrase of Professor William Ostwald— is still confined in the swaddling-bands of medieval traditions and of orthodox theology. It affects to ignore the most important achievements of our monistic philosophy of nature. It is especially hostile to the hated "monkey theory," and to the entire idea of man's descent from the vertebrates. But all such opposition is futile, for these things are no longer empty hypotheses, but well-proved and incontrovertible facts of natural history.

The realm of religion since earliest times has been intimately bound up with that of philosophy. The theoretical duty of both religion and philosophy was to establish a reasonable conception of the Universe, what the Germans call a "*Weltanschauung*"—their practical duty was to reconcile this with a corresponding system of morals suitable for the conduct of life. Twenty years have now flown since in a lecture at Altenburg I described Monism as "a bond between Religion and Science." Later, in the *Riddle of the Universe,* I emphasized the fact that our monistic philosophy (in the sense in which it was conceived by Spinoza and Goethe) did not lead to a destruction of religion, but only to a reasonable reform of it. The "God-Nature" of Goethe or the "Nature-God" of Spinoza, the so-called *Deus sive Natura,* is indissolubly related to the basic idea upon which we have founded our doctrine of evolution. The wider acceptance of this monistic Pantheism has already begun to bear fruit in all the contingencies and practical affairs of life, sociology, ethics, pedagogics, and so on. It is certain that sooner or later it will lead mankind to a higher, happier, and more consummate condition of life.

This glance backward at the splendid triumphs which monistic anthropology has achieved side by side with the

theory of evolution in the last fifty years justifies us in joyously celebrating what we might entitle "Fifty Years of Anthropology." The "question of questions"—to use a phrase coined by Huxley in 1863—the fundamental question of "Man's Place in Nature," has been happily solved in our day. The solid ground has fallen away from the feet of that superstition which sets up man as a being superior to Nature, and which, unfortunately, still holds so great a part of mankind under its ban. We may be pardoned, I trust, if we indulge ourselves in the hope that the continuous progress of science will enable that true civilization upon which the real happiness of humanity depends to attain a higher and higher degree of perfection.

ERNST HAECKEL.

THE PROBLEM OF ULSTER

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

THE spectacle of a portion of Ireland passionately proclaiming at once its loyalty to the British Crown and its determination to resist by force an Act of Parliament when it receives the Royal Assent has probably both mystified the world and intrigued it. I can well imagine that Americans especially, with their traditional interest in Irish affairs, have watched it with equal amusement and perplexity. What lies behind it all? What are the realities of the Ulster situation? Is it merely the froth and bluster of politicians bent on terrorizing their opponents and impressing them with the utmost possible show of power so as to be better placed for bargaining with them when the appropriate hour has struck? Or does it represent one of those elemental outbursts of feeling and conviction that no statesmanship can resist for long and from which anything and everything may be expected? Are we really destined in the twentieth century and in the United Kingdom to witness a convulsion that will be scarcely distinguishable from civil war? Is there any serious likelihood that Ulster will carry out its threat to establish a Provisional Government of its own, and, if it does, what are the chances of success in so unusual and desperate an enterprise? Such questions as these must, I suppose, have crossed the minds of all who have heard or read of the queer doings of which Ulster during the past eighteen months has been the scene—of the raising and drilling of volunteer troops, of the signing of solemn covenants, of the open preparations for an active resistance to Home Rule. In this article I shall hope to pass in review the chief elements, social, political, historical, and sectarian, that make up the complex and abnormal problem which is known as the Ulster Question.

It is well understood in Great Britain, but may not be

equally appreciated in the United States, that the title itself is a misnomer, and that the question is not one of Ulster as a whole, but only a part of it. What men mean when they talk of the problem of Ulster is the problem of the four counties of Antrim, Down, Derry, and Armagh, in which are situated the industrial centers of Belfast and Londonderry and in which the Protestants and Unionists outnumber the Catholics and Home-Rulers in the proportion, roughly speaking, of seven to three. Taking the Province from end to end, the population is pretty evenly divided between the members of the two faiths, while its representation in Parliament shows an actual majority of one in favor of Home Rule. Even in Armagh and Derry, two of the four Protestant counties, the Catholics form forty-five per cent. of the whole; and in Belfast they are a quarter of the inhabitants. These figures are worth bearing in mind because they indicate that if ever the Provisional Government were to be established it would be confronted on the spot by a considerable and exceedingly hostile Catholic minority. The four northeastern counties differ profoundly not only from the rest of Ulster, but from the rest of Ireland. In the first place, Protestants predominate in them; secondly, they return to the House of Commons over twice as many Unionists as Home Rulers; thirdly, they depend for their prosperity in the main upon industrial pursuits; fourthly, their Protestant citizens are the only more or less compact body in Ireland that can trace a partial descent to the colonists, who from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries were planted in the country in the interests of England; and fifthly, and this is a curious and illuminating fact, in them alone does one encounter any real apprehension that Home Rule would lead to the persecution of the Protestants by the Catholics. Outside of Ulster there are perhaps 250,000 Protestants scattered over Ireland. They are surrounded and vastly outnumbered by Catholics who have no particular reason for loving them and who have all the machinery of local government in their hands. Yet from these Protestants, isolated, defenseless, virtually disfranchised, there comes hardly a single complaint of Catholic bigotry or intolerance. It is only in the counties where the Protestants form a comparatively cohesive group and where they outnumber the Catholics, as I have said, in the ratio of seven to three, that the fear is expressed that an

Irish Parliament sitting in Dublin will inaugurate a régime of religious persecution. That is a paradox the significance of which will, I hope, become clear as we go along.

The inwardness of any movement can often best be gauged by studying it in its most extreme form, and Belfast, which is the headquarters of Ulsteria and its financial base, may be taken as a compendium of its spirit and aims. It is a city of inexhaustible industrial marvels. It claims to have the largest shipyard, the largest linen-mill, and the largest rope, tobacco, and mineral-water factories in the world. Perhaps nowhere on earth do 390,000 people produce so much wealth as in Belfast or produce it, since every ton of coal they use has to be imported, under greater disabilities. It is the Chicago of Ireland, and its industrial record constitutes one of the greatest and most inspiring achievements in the history of commerce. Any one who makes the tour of Ireland feels, on reaching Londonderry and Belfast, that he is for the first time in contact with the atmosphere and problems of a modern manufacturing city. These two towns, in tone and spirit, in their social structure, their instinctive ways of looking at things, and their economic formation, stand in a category of their own, and have little or no affinity with Limerick, Cork, Waterford, or even Dublin; while the gap that separates them from the smaller urban centers, that except in Ireland would not for a moment aspire to the name of towns, is the gap of the entire industrial revolution. Moreover, it so happens that their principal businesses are exporting businesses, that Ireland is rather their workshop than their market, that their commercial relations with it, while of course considerable, are small by comparison with their relations with the outside world, and that there has thus never been established between the industrial north and the agricultural south and west any deep communion either of interests or of sympathies.

It goes without saying, for any one who is acquainted with even the alphabet of Irish life, that all the Belfast industries are in the hands of Protestants, that practically every one one meets in the city of any commercial or social or public importance is of the same faith, and that the Catholics belong with hardly an exception to the employed and not the employing class. For tenacity, enterprise, and in all the qualities that make for commercial efficiency of

the highest order, one would instinctively match the Belfast manufacturers against any on earth. They are a rough-tongued, hard-headed, not particularly ingratiating or cultivated set of men or particularly humane or far-sighted in their treatment of labor, but with a clearness of business vision, a remorseless energy and fixity of purpose in pursuing their ends, and a general ruggedness of character that command one's instant respect. And these are characteristics that run with astonishing consistency through all the Ulster Protestants of whatever class and occupation. Taking them as a community, they are as dour, stubborn, self-willed, and self-reliant a body of men as one is ever likely to come across, taciturn of speech, fixed in all their ideas, obstinately faithful to the men who are capable of winning their reluctant trust, approximating much nearer to the Scottish than the English type, and absolutely differentiated from the ordinary Catholic Irishman of the south and west. They have a far stronger capacity for hate than for affection; they are narrow with something of the simplicity and earnestness of a Cromwellian Puritan; the rougher elements among them are as turbulent a mob as you will find in all Europe; and mingling with all these traits is an intense strain of emotionalism. They are the hardest workers, the best artisans, and the most provident farmers in Ireland.

History has left its stamp on them as on all Irishmen, but in their case it is like a disfiguring and even repulsive birthmark. They have inherited from the past memories and traditions of the bitterest antagonism toward their Catholic fellow-subjects. One must remember that the ancestors or at any rate the co-religionists of these Ulster stalwarts were settled in the north of Ireland to uphold Protestantism and establish a sphere of English influence; that time and again the two creeds clashed in murderous and devastating wars from which in the end the Protestants emerged victorious; that up almost to our own time their descendants lorded it over their Catholic neighbors with a high-handed ascendancy; and that they still import into their attitude toward the ancient faith and its adherents not only an almost Elizabethan fanaticism, but the unlovely truculence of "colonists" who regard "the natives" as an inferior species. Those are the two operative factors behind nine-tenths of Ulster's opposition to Home Rule—bigotry based on ignorance and a profound social contempt. The Belfast Orange-

man looks upon the idea of being governed by a Parliament in which Catholics and farmers will necessarily predominate much as a white planter in Texas would regard a proposal to hand over the administration of his State to the negroes. It is not merely an insult; it seems to him positively unnatural, something that involves him in a personal degradation, and that aims at lowering him to the level of an alien and abject civilization. And if one asks how such a view can still hold its own in the twentieth century and in a great commercial city like Belfast, the answer, or one of the answers, is to be found in that strain of emotionalism which, as I have said, runs through the Ulster Protestants. They still celebrate the Battle of the Boyne and the Siege of Derry and drink to the immortal memory of William III. as though the former were events of yesterday and the latter an active figure in present-day politics. They still speak of the Pope as though a new Armada were on the point of sailing. "Were I to retort the abuse with which my own creed is daily bespattered," says Mr. Kettle, "I should describe the Ulster Orangeman as the only victim of clerical obscurantism to be found in Ireland. Herded beyond the unbridged waters of the Boyne, he has been forced to live in a very Tibet of intellectual isolation." The favorite conventional objurgation of the true-blue Ulsterman is, "To Hell with the Pope!" One of his minor amusements is chalking up reflections on the Catholics and their religion on walls and public buildings. The tale is told of an old Orangeman who had been called as a witness to the peaceable disposition of a friend of his. "What sort of man," asked the counsel, "would you say Jamie Williamson is?" "A quiet, decent man." "Is he the sort of man that would be likely to be breaking windows?" "No man less likely." "Is he the sort of man that you would expect to find at the head of a mob shouting 'To Hell with the Pope?'" Witness, with great emphasis: "No, certainly not. Jamie was never any ways a *religious* man." The deliciousness of that single adjective is more revealing than a whole library of labored comment. It is all of a part with the Belfast manufacturer who vehemently exclaims, "No man shall call me a bigot; but if Home Rule comes I'll sack every damned Catholic in my shop"; and with the Orange reveller who after hurling a "To Hell with the Pope" at a couple of passing Catholics, turned round to a near-by Protestant clergyman and said,

apologetically, "Your riverence, there's nothin' like givin' these fellows a varse o' Scripthur now an' again."

The fact is that the terms Protestant and Catholic carry with them in the northeast corner of Ireland a significance and implication that they have long since lost everywhere else. To be an Ulster Protestant is not merely to subscribe to a certain creed, but to be the heir of a vivid and martial history and of rights and liberties fought for and won on the field of battle. It is to be a member of a colonizing caste, a superior race, a higher civilization; while to be a Catholic is to be branded with the mark of a conquered people. That literally is how thousands upon thousands of Orangemen look upon themselves and upon the "Papists." They have the unmixed, unsophisticated, unconscious arrogance of men who have never been told, and most certainly have never imagined, that they are not infinitely better than their neighbors. And everything they see around them tends to confirm them in their inherited prepossessions. They see their own co-religionists "on top," owning and managing all the big industries and all the public institutions, while the Catholics for the most part are their shiftless dependents. My personal observations when I was last in Belfast confirmed the impression that the Catholics there are not the equals of the Protestants; they have not the same toughness of fiber; they live in a squalor that no Protestant would tolerate for a moment; anybody who passes from the Catholic to the Protestant quarters in the city is conscious at once of a different social atmosphere; and local experts can usually tell by a mere glance at a man's clothes and appearance, or at his children, or at his farm, to which of the two rival communions he belongs. All this counts. It helps to confirm the Orangeman's conviction that "Papists" are a naturally lower order of people, with a debased standard of living, and that it is his divine right to keep them in a due state of subjection. That they should be put on an equality with him is monstrous; that they should be set above him is something very like sacrilege. One must remember, too, that the average Ulsterman knows as little of the rest of Ireland as the average American knows, say, of Mexico. He does not read anything except the Belfast newspapers; he does not travel through the south and west; if you were to tell him that it is not the factory but the farm that produces most of the

wealth of Ireland, that the ratable value of Leinster, excluding Dublin, is greater than that of Ulster, excluding Belfast, or that there are Catholic farmers who live as well as Belfast manufacturers and have as ample a bank account, he would be simply and unflatteringly incredulous. He lives in a little world of hallucinations that is all his own, and if he is a Belfast artisan or loafer there is nothing he likes better than a "mix-up" in the streets with a crowd of Catholics. "The Belfast Orangeman," Mr. Seumas MacManus, has written, "who always realizes that he is the bulwark of the Protestant faith, attends his church regularly thrice in a lifetime—at baptism, marriage, and burial. In the cause of that faith, which he leaves to the more leisured and less worthy to practise, he is willing to sacrifice anything, even life itself—his neighbor's life, of course. He is the man who, in workman's dress, in the gallery of a theater, passed down cabbages, curses, and aged eggs to the unfortunate fellow who played the Friar in one of Shakespeare's plays. He will unquestionably fight if Home Rule comes. He will fight if anything comes. Or he will fight if nothing comes. Nor will he use the antiquated arms imported from Italy, either. He is a man whose picture of Heaven is a pocketful of iron nuts, the shelter of a side street, and a 'Papist' procession passing by. The rebellion he launches will last as long as the supply of nuts, bolts, kidneys, and whiskey hold out."

I need hardly say that with such inflammable material to work upon there is no lack of hands willing to stoke the fire, and that the ministers of the gospel, especially among a given sect, are, as usual, doing what they can to raise passion to a white heat. There are pastors in Belfast to-day who are talking and acting like so many Mohammedan Mullahs preaching a Holy War. All the detestation of Rome that animated the England of the sixteenth century is nakedly, shamelessly alive and operative in the northeast of Ireland to-day. The Protestant pulpits resound with comparisons between the Israelites and the Ulstermen, the first relieved from the bondage of Egypt, the second from slavery to the "Papists"; and the devil's brew of sectarian bigotry is being handed out in the form of barely veiled incitements to the roughs of the city to attempt a massacre of their Catholic fellow-subjects. A correspondent of the *Times*, in the course of a pilgrimage through

Ulster in July, reported a conversation he had had with an Antrim farmer. "Let them do what they will," exclaimed this stalwart, "we will have no priest-ridden Ulster. Let the word be given, and there won't be a Papist left in Antrim." There you have the brutal fact that lies behind Ulsteria. It is a fact, I need hardly say, concealed from the British public as much as possible. It wears too ugly, too antiquated, too uncivilized a look for British consumption; and Sir Edward Carson, to do him justice, is probably in his heart of hearts as much revolted by it as any one. He is an Irishman, but not an Ulsterman; there is no trace of the *odium theologicum* in his disposition; he voted in Parliament for the setting-up of a Catholic University in Ireland and for the alteration in the Royal Coronation Oath—measures that the Ulster M. P.'s vehemently but vainly opposed; and he has refrained from pandering to the rabid zealotry of his followers. None the less there stands the unedifying and indisputable fact that it is this historic feud between Protestants and Catholics that furnishes the motive-power for most of the Anti-Home-Rule agitation. You will find in Belfast hundreds and thousands of men who veritably believe that Home Rule means Rome Rule, and that a Dublin Parliament will not only tax industrial Ulster out of existence, but will deprive Protestants of their farms, close their workshops, take away their schools, force them to attend Mass, and probably dissolve their marriages by Papal decree.

That is the way the baser mind of Belfast works. In the country districts matters, as a rule, are better. The Orange farmer, a sturdy, warm-hearted, thoroughly human fellow, does undoubtedly and sincerely fear and hate "the power of Rome"—which in Ireland, by the by, is almost wholly mythical—and the character and policy and organization of the Irish priesthood; but he lives peacefully enough side by side with his Catholic neighbors, despising them, of course, as "priest-ridden," and by no means relishing the prospect of having to "even himself down" to the level of his former subordinates, but still without the faintest intention of resisting Home Rule by force. Belfast, and the Belfast temper, are really the crux of the situation; and it would be a highly diverting enterprise to trace out the amazing consequences that have flowed from the domination of the masses by the sectarian controversy. For here we have a city

which, as I have said, bears no small resemblance on its industrial side to Chicago; it ought to be, and in time it undoubtedly will be, as democratic in its politics as it is in its essential spirit; it has many grave social, housing, and industrial problems on which it has neglected to vent its "religious" spleen; and the strongest passion that animates its workers is a medieval sentiment of ignorant bigotry. Any one who is used to the ways of politicians could probably forecast at once the resultant of these various forces. The great urban and rural landlords, the captains of industry, and the inevitable army of lawyers and politicians have turned the religious enthusiasm of the masses to their own ends—the landlords to keep up rents and stave off agrarian agitation, the manufacturers to divert attention from the sweating and the slums that disgrace Belfast, and the lawyers to get into Parliament and annex all the jobs in sight. By using the rawness of the Orange creed as a laughable stepping-stone to place and power and by trading on the passions that have made the "lower classes" the blind and witless dupes of their own prejudices, the "leaders" have so manipulated the course of affairs that a profoundly Radical community is represented in Parliament almost entirely by Tory merchants, lawyers, landlords, and their agents, and the illusion has been created that loyalty to the British Crown and the cause of Protestantism are bound up in voting for an endless array of reactionary barristers, property-owners, and wealthy manufacturers. Never, I suppose, in the history of politics was a greater confidence trick so easily and successfully played off on an unsuspecting electorate. Yet I am bound to add that in talking to the industrial "magnates" I found not a few of them just as bigoted and myopic as any "corner-boy" of them all, and just as much under the sway of a compound of fears, instincts, hatreds, and traditions in which facts had been metamorphosed out of all semblance to reality. There are business men in Belfast whose names are known all over the world with whom you can no more argue Irish questions than you can argue the race question with a Tennessee planter of the old school. Keen and unclouded reasoners in matters of business, they can only feel when it comes to a question of politics or religion. All that they ask of the rest of Ireland is to let them alone. They are prosperous, contented, and free; and they are profoundly convinced that an

Irish Parliament, mainly elected by rural votes, will use Ulster and its industries and its accumulated wealth as a milch-cow for the Treasury. That is, indeed, their only respectable argument—I might almost say their only argument at all; and it would not, I think, be difficult to show that there is very little in it and that a Nationalist Parliament could only tax Protestants by taxing Catholics at the same time and that any attempt to discriminate against Ulster would turn out to be impossible in practice. But undoubtedly this apprehension of being unduly taxed is a legitimate point to bring forward. Practically everything else in the Unionist case is mere wind and hysteria. Ulster indeed is most impressive when it follows its usual course, drops argument altogether, and baldly proclaims, "We will not have Home Rule!"

Sir Edward Carson's campaign and the preparations that have been made for resisting Home Rule by force have been thoroughly in keeping with the Ulster atmosphere and its mirages that confuse the vision and distort realities. The dummy cannon, the reviews and salutes the perpetual cameras and reporters, the signing of Covenants, the screeching and bellowings, the contingent threats of treason, the dress-suit Provisional Government, the indemnity fund to guarantee all "rebels" against personal loss, the slimy trail of the lawyer and the press-agent over a movement that professes to be a fight for religious and political freedom—all these phenomena are entirely in harmony with a city of innumerable Tartarins where nothing outside of business is seen quite straight. That many have thrown in their lot with Carsonism through compulsion and under protest and with a great many mental reservations and in order to avoid social or business ostracism, and that to keep the agitation going a good deal of "persuasion" has had to be employed, is no doubt the case. But that at bottom the movement is genuine and sincere is a point on which I am definitely convinced. People are wrong who think that Ulster is bluffing. Ulster never bluffs. Occasionally things do not happen as Ulster swears and takes solemn pledges that they will happen. But that does not prove that Ulster is bluffing; it merely proves that Ulster's judgment is sometimes at fault. If I am skeptical of Carsonism, it is not because I question the enthusiasm of its adherents, but because, so far as I can see, it is attempting an almost im-

possible task with third-rate leaders and inadequate resources. As a believer in the virtues of universal military service, it has been, indeed, a real pleasure to me to think of these young men in Ulster spending laborious days and nights in the open air at drill and camp and target practice and manœuvers. But I cannot bring myself to rate them very highly as a fighting force or to regard them, with their insurance policies in their pockets, as the stuff out of which successful rebellions are made. They are evidence of a temper and a state of mind, but not, in my judgment, an earnest of achievement; and the idea of pitting them against the British Army no longer holds its old place in the revolutionary councils. It has to all appearances been thrown overboard in favor of establishing a Provisional Government that will seize on all the machinery of administration in the four counties and hold them for the Protestant and Unionist cause.

But if I am dubious about Sir Edward Carson's "army," I am ten times more so about his scheme for superseding British authority in the name of loyalty to the British Crown. Just consider some of the more obvious aspects of the situation that would arise if the Provisional Government were ever to come into being. The first consequence of all would be a financial crisis and a panic run on the local banks. Lombard Street would raise its rates on the Belfast banks, the Belfast banks would raise theirs on the local manufacturers, many of whom do business on a conspicuously small margin, the Catholic depositors would make haste to withdraw their moneys, and loans would be called in right and left. By simply removing its staff from the Belfast post-offices the British Government could at a stroke deprive the city of letters, telephone, telegraph, and cable services. Industry would be brought to a standstill, the streets would be swarming with hungry and turbulent unemployed, and the "army" of the Provisional Government would find itself fully occupied in protecting Protestant shops against the inroads of starving Protestant workingmen. Besides policing the city in the interests of its own partisans, the Provisional Government would have to raise a gigantic sum of money for purposes of outdoor relief. All Imperial grants, such as those for education, local government, public works, and so on, would presumably be cut off; old-age pensions would cease to be paid; there would be nothing

with which to finance the Insurance Act; no Belfast merchant could sue for debt in any other part of the United Kingdom; no barrister under the Provisional Government could practise outside the four counties; there would be an absolute paralysis of all commercial and public life. The enterprise, in short, would speedily collapse of its own weight and without a single British soldier being moved; while as for Ulster's threat to resist Home Rule by the non-payment of taxes, the only way in which that resolution could be enforced would be by Ulster's refusing to import and to manufacture and to smoke and drink. The more the scheme is examined the more preposterously hopeless does it appear. It has failed to alarm the Nationalists in the least. They have heard more or less similar menaces before. "The fact is," said Mr. Redmond not long ago, "these threats about civil war impose upon nobody in Ireland and upon nobody outside of Ireland who is not invincibly ignorant or wilfully misled by bigotry and race hatred. We in Ireland have heard all these threats before, and we pay no more regard to them now than our fathers did when, in 1827, the Orangemen conspired to depose William IV., to put the Duke of Cumberland on the throne, and to deprive the Princess Victoria of her right of succession; or when, in 1869, they threatened, if the Church Disestablishment Act were passed, to discrown the Queen, and to kick her crown into the Boyne. We remember how, when the Princess Ena was married to the King of Spain, Orange orators insulted King Edward, and reminded him of the fate of James and Charles and Buckingham, and we know that the only outcome of the Orange braggadocio in 1886 was the murder of a poor Catholic youth on Queen's Island and the wrecking and plundering of Catholic houses in Belfast."

None the less if the Home Rule Bill becomes law in its present form, trouble of some kind in Belfast, and perhaps also in the adjacent counties, is inevitable, and it will probably take the form of an onslaught on the Catholic residents, that would leave behind it a bitter legacy of racial hatred. On every ground it would be infinitely preferable if the problem of Irish Government could be settled, as the far older and more contentious problem of Irish land-tenure was settled, by compromise and consent. Many steps to that end are being taken and many projects mooted as I write; but it

is impossible at present to say what, if anything, will come of them. There may be a Conference such as Lord Loreburn has proposed, between the leaders of all parties. There may be a General Election which will remove the very solid objection that the opinion of the country has never been taken on the Home Rule Bill. There may be an agreement to leave the four Protestant counties in Ulster outside the scope of the Irish Government. What I believe to be impossible is that the prejudices and opposition of Ulster will be allowed to kill the Bill or to stand in the way of that autonomy which four-fifths of the Irish people undoubtedly desire. Ireland is going to have Home Rule, and for myself I have never weakened in my confidence that when it has been granted and is in working order and experience has demonstrated the baselessness of their apprehensions, the Ulstermen will speedily become, as their fathers were in the eighteenth century, the stoutest and most thoroughgoing champions of Irish Nationality and of the rights and powers of the Irish Parliament.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

BULGARIA AND THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST

BY SVETOZAR TONJOROFF

THE opening lines of a new and bloody chapter in the history of the struggling civilization of the Balkan Peninsula were traced with the point of the bayonet when the Treaty of Bucharest was signed in the Rumanian capital on July 10th last. The alignment of forces on that impressive occasion was significant of the events and the issues that underlay the negotiations which had culminated summarily in the enforced assent of Bulgaria to the oppressive terms of an instrument designed to be her death-warrant. On one side of the green table were the delegates of Rumania, Greece, Servia, and Montenegro; on the other were the plenipotentiaries of Bulgaria. Behind the spokesmen of the quadruple alliance were the invisible forces of international intrigue, set in motion by designing chancelleries of great powers; the Bulgarians stood alone against a world seemingly federated to accomplish the destruction of their country. A brief glance at the extraordinary events that had preceded that sinister grouping of interests will serve to bring out in sharp relief the tragedy in which Bulgaria, only six months earlier the leader of a victorious alliance against Turkey as the common foe, was the chief protagonist and collective victim.

Ever since its liberation by Russian arms in 1877, Bulgaria had been the object of the jealous watchfulness of her neighbors—Servia to the northwest and Rumania to the north, not to mention Greece, with which Bulgaria had been at bitter feud for well-nigh a thousand years, since the days of the Emperor Vasilios, "the Bulgar-Slayer," whose name is written high on the roster of Byzantine distinction because of his destructive campaigns against Czar Samuel. The Russian army of occupation had hardly withdrawn from the newly liberated principality when Bulgaria's neighbors be-

gan to take sedulous note of the fact that the resurrected state, now in the relation of a self-governing vassal to Turkey, was showing unmistakable evidences of a sturdy purpose to conduct its affairs with a single view to the gradual unification of all the Bulgarians in the Peninsula, placed under a common flag of freedom by the victorious Russians within the boundaries of a Great Bulgaria, and dismembered at the Congress of Berlin by the restoration of Ottoman authority in Macedonia and Thrace. The rapid progress of the infant country in education, industry, and military and political efficiency gave point to the fears of the contiguous Christian states that the day might soon come when the balance of power in the Peninsula would be menaced gravely by the attainment of this dream of national unity.

The question of this mythical balance suddenly became a flaming issue in Balkan affairs in 1885, when Bulgaria, seizing her opportunity, declared the annexation of Eastern Rumelia, separated from it by the Treaty of Berlin, and added with the stroke of the pen a population of a million and a quarter Bulgarians to the two millions of the principality. While Bulgaria was massing its small army on the Turkish frontier in anticipation of a possible Turkish invasion, Servia declared war against the progressive kindred people in an attempt to prevent the accomplishment of the union. The rapidity with which the invasion was repulsed by the Bulgarian peasantry, summoned from the plow and the sheepfold, and led by young officers of no experience in the art of war, constitutes a bright page in the annals of the struggle of the Bulgarians for freedom. Thus the first endeavor to maintain the arbitrary balance of power by a recourse to arms ended in dismal failure for its self-constituted champion.

Once more the phantom of Bulgarian hegemony in the Balkan Peninsula reared itself before the eyes of Servia, Greece, and Rumania in 1908, when Prince Ferdinand broke another of the shackles which the Congress of Berlin had forged upon the wrists of his people by declaring the complete independence of his country from Turkey and assuming the title of King, significant of the new standing of Bulgaria in the family of nations. The progress of events at this juncture was observed with increasing uneasiness in Bucharest, Athens, and Belgrade as a further indication of the rise of an energetic people toward a realization of their

ideals, and incidentally toward a commanding position in Balkan affairs. These latest developments south of the Danube served to intensify the distrust with which the advancement of Bulgaria was regarded in the near-by countries, and especially in Rumania and Servia. That the activities of great powers, actuated by selfish motives, were exerted to promote the growing discord under the surface of things in the Peninsula may well be regarded as a certainty in view of the powerful aid which has been accorded to Rumania by the Triple Alliance in the deplorable events of yesterday, and by the disclosures of the intrigues of chancelleries that have been made since the ambassadorial conference began its sittings concurrently with the Balkan delegates in the late negotiations that ended with the Treaty of London.

Thus the years wore on—years of unremitting toil for race unity in Bulgaria—until the astounding *coup d'état* of the summer of 1912, when Europe awoke out of its dreams of a Roman peace to find itself confronted with a new and portentous international force, a Balkan Alliance in full and efficient operation, organized out of seemingly irreconcilable elements. For the first moments of bewilderment the combined statecraft of the powers appeared to be paralyzed into inactivity by the indisputable evidences of the existence of a combination of resources which had been confidently regarded as impossible. Then astonishing events crowded upon one another before the blinking gaze of Dame Europa. Chief among these was the collective declaration of war against Turkey by the allies—Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro. The utter collapse of Turkey quickly followed, before the impetuous assaults of the Bulgarian armies at Kirk-Kilisseh, at Lule-Bourgas, at Tchorlu, all the way from the old Bulgarian frontier to the grim barrier of the Tchatalja lines. When the military history of the war shall have been written by a dispassionate professional hand it will be found that the Turkish power in Europe was crushed, not at Uskub, not at Janina, not at Scutari, not even at Adrianople, great as was the Bulgarian achievement with the help of the Servians at that point, but at Lule-Bourgas, on the main road to Constantinople. This basic fact should be kept carefully in mind in any attempt to reach a fair judgment on the merits of the tragic controversy that has succeeded the early unity of the Balkan Alliance.

For a proper understanding of the motives that underlay the diplomatic and military activities of the Bulgarian people at the opening of the war of 1912 it is essential to remember that the undeviating aim of that nation since its erection into a political entity has been the liberation of the Bulgarians of Macedonia and their inclusion in a united country. To this passionate purpose the Bulgarians of the kingdom have sacrificed untold lives and treasure. The geographic situation of the belligerents was such, however, that in the conflict with Turkey, to Bulgaria fell the prime task of assailing the main strength of the common enemy in Thrace, while the other allies solved the secondary problem of crushing the power of isolated bodies of troops in Macedonia. Thus it happened that while Bulgaria at the moment of the signature of the treaty of peace with the Porte was in complete possession of Thrace, from the old frontier to the outposts of the Tchatalja lines, Servia and Greece were in actual occupation of the bulk of Macedonia. For an equitable partition of the Macedonian hinterland, however, Bulgaria had made explicit provisions in a treaty with Servia, whereby that country had bound itself to surrender to its ally the regions of Macedonia chiefly inhabited by Bulgarians, which the Servian government recognized as stretching as far west as Lake Ochrida and as far south as the suburbs of Salonica. If foreign influences had not injected themselves into the situation the stipulated division would have been carried out and there would have been no war of 1913.

During the deliberations of the conference of London, however, the seeds of discord had been sown among the Balkan allies by the malicious hand of European diplomacy. Responding to the inexorable demands of Austria-Hungary, backed by Germany and with modified enthusiasm by Italy, the ambassadorial conferees had created a new state out of a part of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire in Europe—the state of Albania. For this projected political organism the powers of the Triple Alliance reserved that stretch of the Adriatic littoral, with a generous strip of hinterland, which had been occupied by the Servians, the Greeks, and the Montenegrins. At this point in their operations the Balkan allies found themselves facing a stone wall of insuperable opposition. Yielding to the force of a united European veto, the victors retired from their untenable positions—Servia and Greece peacefully and Montenegro

under the guns of the European naval squadron in the roadstead of Antivari.

The birth of the state of Albania marked the death of the Balkan Alliance. Servia, balked of her legitimate aim toward an outlet on the Adriatic, turned to Bulgaria for compensating territorial gains. This demand roused peculiar resentment at Sofia, inasmuch as Bulgaria had been the only member of the alliance to sacrifice any of its original territory as an outcome of the victorious war. Bulgaria pointed out to her allies at this unexpected crisis that the cession to Rumania of a quadrilateral bordering on Dobrudja as the price of Rumanian neutrality in the conflict must constitute a common charge on all the allies, as it was the outcome of their common campaign. Confronted with the Servian demand for further sacrifices in another direction, Bulgaria indicated her unwillingness to make new concessions, and insisted upon the carrying-out of the ante-bellum treaty.

At this juncture Greece, ever watchful for a breach between her two Slavic neighbors, quickly seized the opportunity to advance her own pretensions for the possession of Salonica and the adjoining territory, which was in joint occupation by Greek and Bulgarian troops. No pains were spared at Athens to foment the quarrel between Sofia and Belgrade. It became the fixed aim of Greek diplomacy to separate the two Slavic states which, acting in conjunction, might menace non-Slavic interests on the Peninsula. To this campaign against Slavic unity Rumania lent her diplomatic and military resources with an ardor which indicated the profundity of her conviction that a close Slavic confederation would easily exert a dominating influence upon the destinies of southeastern Europe. Thus events wore on rapidly toward a fresh eruption in the war-ridden cockpit of the nations.

To prevent such a deplorable conflict, Russia bestirred herself at an early stage in the Bulgaro-Servian controversy. Czar Nicholas II., foreseeing clearly the disastrous effects of rupture upon the newly established Slavic harmony in the Balkans, offered his friendly offices as a mediator in an endeavor to adjudicate the conflicting claims. This benevolent proffer, however, was accompanied by indications of hostility to Bulgarian interests at St. Petersburg which aroused profound distrust at Sofia. It became apparent to the Bulgarian

foreign office that the case had been prejudged on the Neva and that the award would constitute a well-nigh complete denial of the Bulgarian claims. This conviction was based upon the discovery that Russian diplomacy was bent upon strengthening the Slavic state bordering on Austria-Hungary at the expense of the other Slavic state, which during its entire career had consistently demonstrated its purpose to conduct its affairs independently of Russian dictation. Thus at the very outset of Russia's ostensibly pacific activities in the unforeseen dispute, it became evident that the success of the projected scheme of mediation would be problematic, to say the least.

Even under these provocative conditions, however, Bulgaria was anxious to avoid an armed clash with her allies. Every effort was made at Sofia to induce Servia to live up to the terms of her ante-bellum agreement, with various modifications designed to conciliate the kindred nation. In the midst of the endeavors of diplomacy to avert a fresh recourse to arms, the first gun in the new and terrible conflict was fired. By which of the combatants this initial overt act was committed it is impossible to say; nor is it a circumstance of great importance; for both Rumania and Servia had assumed an aggressive attitude, designed to precipitate a conflict with the country which, exhausted by its struggle with Turkey at the point of its maximum resistance, was regarded as an easy prey to the spoiler. It is a matter of recent history that simultaneously with the advance of the Bulgarians upon Guevgheli, on the line of communication between the Greek and Servian armies in Macedonia, the small Bulgarian garrison in Salonica was destroyed or captured by the Greek army with which it was in joint occupation of the city, and the quarter inhabited by Bulgarians, first surrounded by a ring of bayonets, was subjected for two hours to a sweeping fire from Greek quick-firers mounted on the historic Kanli Koule—the "Bloody Tower"!

The war once begun, the danger which had menaced Bulgaria since the beginning of its existence as a nation—the danger of a collective attack by her distrustful neighbors—became an appalling reality. At the outset of the hostilities the Bulgarian forces found themselves opposed by an allied army, superior both in numbers and in its comparative immunity from heavy sacrifices during the preceding conflict. The first engagements, nevertheless, indicated that the

triumph of the Serbs, the Greeks, and the Montenegrins, would be purchased at a much higher cost in lives than their victories over the Turks. The stubborn defense conducted by the Bulgarian commanders had the double effect of furnishing time for the concentration of their scattered army from the Turkish frontier and of exhausting their combined enemies. A fortnight after the incident of Salonica it began to appear that the fortunes of war were on the point of turning. The Serbo-Greek advance had been checked on the Bregalnitsa and in the passes north of Istib, and a successful forward movement by the Bulgarian forces became a prospect of the immediate future.

At this critical stage of the conflict, Rumania injected herself into the situation with a fresh and well-equipped army of half a million men. As if the intervention of Rumania had not been sufficient to decide the issue, Turkey took advantage of the international confusion to begin a forward movement into Bulgarian territory, in the hope of being able to violate with impunity the decree imposed upon her by the powers at the conference of London in the establishment of the Enos-Midia line as the boundary between the Ottoman Empire and its former vassal.

It is easy to understand the aggression undertaken by Turkey in view of the ardent desire of the Ottomans for the recovery of Adrianople, their holy city, surrendered to the Bulgarians only after an exceptionally gallant resistance of nearly eight months. The motives that prompted Rumania to declare war upon its neighbors after Bulgaria had shown a desire to placate Rumanian susceptibilities by the peaceful cession of a strip of territory from the Danube to the Black Sea requires a few words of explanation.

The Rumanian demand for "compensation" from Bulgaria, which was advanced by Bucharest in menacing terms at the outbreak of the war with Turkey, was based partly upon the territorial loss which Rumania sustained as the victorious ally of Russia in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, and partly upon the frank declaration that if any partition of territory were impending in the Balkan Peninsula, Rumania should have its share of the spoils, regardless of its participation or non-participation in the military successes which would make these spoils available. This latter principle presented an unprecedented contribution to the code of international ethics.

Rumania's losses after the Russo-Turkish war, in which a Rumanian army gave effective aid to Russia in the memorable siege of Pleven, are represented by the inclusion in the frontiers of the Russian Empire of the province of Bessarabia, to the northwest of Rumania. In compensation for the absorption of this rich territory at the expense of her ally, Russia handed over to Rumania that far less desirable strip of Bulgaria, south of the Danube, known as the Dobrudja. To this inequitable exchange Rumania gave her assent under the stress of superior force, and bided her time for further compensation. The opportunity came when Bulgaria found herself preoccupied with the life-and-death struggle of the war of 1912. But back of this quasi-legal pretension, vigorously advanced by the foreign office at Bucharest, was the fear, openly expressed by King Carol in his proclamation at the beginning of the invasion of Bulgaria, that Bulgaria's aim was the establishment of a mastery over her late allies. The consummation of such a *coup d'état*, the Rumanian sovereign intimated, his country was prepared to resist to the utmost.

With the interjection of Rumania into the conflict, the outcome of the pending struggle became an inexorable certainty. The utter helplessness of Bulgaria in the final phase of the war was demonstrated dramatically in the last days of the sittings of the peace conference at Bucharest, when the hesitation of the Bulgarian delegates to affix their signatures to the terms of a rapacious treaty was quickly terminated by the announcement by the Rumanian premier, M. Majoresco, of the alternative determination of Rumania to march an army of a hundred thousand men to the immediate occupation of Sofia. Under the pressing menace of this ultimate disaster Bulgaria withdrew her last objection to the instrument which was designed to put an effective check upon Bulgarian aspirations for a century to come. The ardor of the *Te Deums* with which Bucharest, Belgrade, Athens, and Cettigne marked the signing of the treaty was the spectacular expression of the conviction of the allies that they had succeeded in laying the ghost of Bulgarian ascendancy in the Peninsula and in driving the stake through its heart.

In its provisions the Treaty of Bucharest, though not quite so harsh as the Greeks and the Servians would have liked to make it, delivered an effective blow at the future of Bul-

garia. It debarred that country practically from any participation in Macedonia, the primary object of Bulgaria's aims in the preceding war. It deprived Bulgarian commerce of its natural outlet at Salonica and Kavalla. It promoted the aggrandizement of Rumania by a substantial addition to the territory already ceded by Bulgaria between the Danube and the Black Sea. It partitioned the Bulgarian race by subjecting a million and a half of Bulgarians to Servian, Greek, and Rumanian rule. It exposed Bulgaria, greatly weakened by its second conflict, to the rapacity of the Ottomans in Thrace. It placed upon the backs of the Bulgarian people a burden of indebtedness which might well cause any nation of twice their resources to stagger.

The agreement of Bucharest accomplished much more than these results, momentous as they are. Unable to agree upon a further division of the spoils, or perhaps restrained at the last moment by belated external influences, the authors of that oppressive instrument failed in their purpose to create a second Poland by the partition of Bulgaria itself; but they succeeded in creating a second Alsace-Lorraine by the annexation of 35,000 square miles of territory which, ethnically considered, is as much a part of Bulgaria as is Eastern Rumelia itself—a region inhabited chiefly by Bulgarians. Thus the plenipotentiaries of Rumania, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro added a menacing problem to the world's sum total of injustice and unrest. In an epoch when the resentment of oppressed minorities everywhere is offering grave menace to internal and international peace, they created a new oppressed minority—the Bulgarian minority in Greece, Servia, and Rumania.

The portent of the future is to be seen plainly in the fact that the Bulgarian people, before the ink is fairly dry upon the sinister pages of the Treaty of Bucharest, have begun their preparations for the struggle of to-morrow, which is to right the wrong that has been imposed upon them by superior force at the moment of their greatest weakness. Czar Ferdinand gave faithful expression to the passionate sentiments of his country when, in his proclamation announcing the termination of the second Balkan war, he declared that the nation was exhausted but not beaten, and called upon his soldiers to pass on to their children and their grandchildren the story of their achievements against the

historic Asiatic foe, and to bequeath to the coming generation the task of uniting the ravaged Bulgarian race.

It would be a grave error to regard the appeal of that proclamation as a mere rhetorical utterance. The indomitable spirit of the Bulgarian people—the spirit that enabled them to survive the five centuries of Turkish domination, greatly aggravated by the ecclesiastical oppression of the Greek hierarchy—will enable them to rehabilitate themselves in a lifetime. Indeed, there are not lacking prophets of discernment who predict that the third Balkan war—the logical outcome of the second—will be fought in the next half-century. Although the present alignment of forces on the Balkan Peninsula would make such a contingency appear unlikely, it must be remembered that it is always the unexpected, if not the highly improbable, that is certain to happen in the bewildering course of Balkan politics. The nation which, in 1885, annexed a Turkish province without a blow; and which, in 1908, tore up the Treaty of Berlin and achieved its independence without discharging a gun, has shown an astonishing capacity for accomplishing the impossible.

Bulgaria rests her cause upon its essential justice. She appeals to the sympathies of the world on the broad ground of legitimate aspirations. It is not land-greed that governs Bulgarian policy; it is not a vainglorious desire for a fantastic hegemony; it is not a sentimental harking-back to long-vanished achievements in remote history. The entire Bulgarian nation, from the palace to the lowliest herdsman's hut, is animated by a grim, plodding, irresistible determination to achieve its national unity. The disaster of 1913 will only delay the day of the attainment of this ideal. The allies who imposed their arbitrary will upon Bulgaria at the conference of Bucharest have sown a crop of injustice which is destined to ripen into a harvest of dragon's teeth.

SVETOZAR TONJOROFF.

PROFESSOR ROYCE AND THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY

BY THE REV. JOHN T. DRISCOLL

In a recent work, *The Problem of Christianity,* Professor Royce makes an attempt to set forth a philosophy of Christianity which is based upon human experience and is in essential harmony with the teaching of philosophical idealism developed in his Gifford Lectures, *The World and the Individual.* In the Preface he states that these views have been gradually maturing since 1908, when he published *The Philosophy of Loyalty* and find expression in the Bross Lectures of 1912 on *The Sources of Religious Thought.* A review of his philosophical idealism expounded in *The World and the Individual* is contained in a former treatise on "Christian Philosophy." My purpose now is to criticize his attempt to apply this idealism to the Problem of Christianity wherein he discusses the Christian Doctrine of Life with the avowed purpose of setting forth the Essence of the Christian Religion.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY

To Professor Royce the Problem of Christianity arises from the relation of Christianity to the mind of to-day. The question he proposes to discuss is "in what way, if in any, can the modern man consistently be, in creed, a Christian?" The two terms of the comparison are clearly stated —viz., Christianity and the modern man. The means of the comparison are twofold: to state in empirical terms certain aspects of Christian Social experience and to defend these aspects in the light of a re-examination of certain fundamental metaphysical ideas. Thus three terms enter into the discussion: the modern man, a metaphysical theory, Christianity.

To Professor Royce the modern man is a postulate and is " one who is supposed to teach what the education of the human race has taught him." " This postulate," he continues, " includes a doctrine that the human race, taken as a whole, has some genuine and significant spiritual unity, so that its life includes a growth in genuine insight," and adds that this doctrine contains " the implication that in light of common insight gradually attained by the whole race, our creed should be tested and, if needs be, revised." The inference drawn from these words is that the teaching of the modern man is true. Yet in fact we inherit the follies as well as the wisdom of the ages. What criterion is here presented to guide me between the truth and error of the past? Or to guide Professor Royce in disagreeing with traditional Christianity? Why should it be taken for granted that a discussion of the Problem of Christianity means the revision of Christianity up to the mental state of the modern man? Does not a suspicion enter the mind that the modern man might be revised up to the teaching of Christianity? The term, modern man, therefore is a fiction. Or it may be a modest way by which Professor Royce designates himself. Yet we are told that the test of a scientific discovery is the consensus of opinion, and that philosophers of to-day " do not agree regarding any one philosophical opinion." Even Professor Royce explains that these volumes are the exclusive result of his own study, that they contain a new interpretation of Christianity, and is at pains to point out how he differs from Hegel, James, Bergson, Professors MacIntosh and Sanday. May not the claim be made that they have inherited the wisdom of the ages? In truth, Professor Royce's doctrine is based on a postulate or assumption which can be maintained only by one who accepts his system of philosophical idealism.

Professor Royce admits that he faces the study of Christianity from the view-point of metaphysical idealism and that he applies the spirit of this idealism to the problems arising from the study. In this idealism are found no terms as " soul " or " mind." He admits " the self " or person and holds that it is constituted by conscious memory. The active element in the self is the " idea," which is a " volitional process " and is defined as " a plan of action." The ordinary Pragmatist—*i. e.*, Professor James—is concerned with the direct and immediate effect of the " idea-striv-

ing." Professor Royce regards the ultimate purpose or "goal" of the idea and terms himself an "absolute Pragmatist."

Professor Royce denies immediate perception of the self or other selves. He deprecates the controversy about "precept" and "concept," calls these "sterile," and bases his whole system on a new and integrating cognitive process which he calls interpretation—that is, the mediating between two ideas or processes by means of a third. Only by interpretation do we know the self, for self is not "a datum," but a life or process containing three elements: past, present, and future. Interpretation sums up past experience into present experience, sets for us our future task, and thus brings us into touch with the real world. The Real World is therefore the interpretation of our present experience, namely, Appearance, and the idea of the goal of experience, namely, Reality. By interpretation only do we know other selves and things. For they are only "appearances" of reality, "embodiments" of the idea, "signs" with a meaning. The reality, the idea, the meaning are attained by interpretation, and our interpretations are "signs" to be further interpreted. Thus experience shows that our life is a realm of signs and is made up of interpretations of signs. Metaphysics generalizes this doctrine and applies it to the world at large. Hence the world is a process of interpretation not in its wholeness at any one moment, but through an infinite series of acts whereby the present progressively interprets the past to the future, thus constituting the temporal order. Thus the universe is one vast cosmic process of humanity moving on to its goal where is attained an all-embracing unity of consciousness. "The absolute, the sole and supreme Reality," is the entire process which is essentially social as made up of many individual selves. The aim and result of the process is the Absolute Self, which Professor Royce calls "the ideal community (common self) of all mankind."

Between the individual self on its way to the goal are various "spiritual communities," that is, common or social selves, through which man has closest relations to the immeasurably vast cosmic process, which is conceived as a process of coherent social evolution. Unity of consciousness constitutes the individual self. In like manner a unity of consciousness—a common consciousness among many indi-

viduals—constitutes a community, namely, a common self. This unity of consciousness is based upon a common memory and a common ideal or hope among many individuals. As a social being, man lives in communities. The community has a sort of organic unity, a mind of its own, and behaves like a conscious unit or a " suprasensible being." The notion of the community suggests to Professor Royce a solution of the philosophical problem of the Many and the One, and also gives occasion to unfold his fundamental religious doctrine of the Two Levels, that is, man the individual and man the community.

Assuming the principle that religion is the product of certain human needs, Professor Royce seeks the origin and teaching of Christianity in Christian experience, not in the individual religious experience of Professor James, but in " that form of social religious experience which, in ideal, the Apostle Paul viewed as the experience of the Church." For religion is essentially social, in Professor Royce's view, because of man's essential relation to the social evolutive process of the cosmos. He holds that the human individual Jesus is not the founder of Christianity and denies that the problem of Christianity can be solved by views respecting the person of Jesus. For Christianity preaches salvation and salvation cannot come from an individual, but only from loyalty to a community of ideal purpose. Besides, historical evidence as to Christ's teaching is insufficient. " Humanly speaking," Jesus gave " the impetus " to the movement in preaching the Kingdom of Heaven, and humanly speaking this can be explained by " genius." Hence the modern man can be a Christian without holding any definite views about the person of Christ. Nor can the Apostle Paul be considered the founder, for what he taught he learned from the religious experience of the Christian Church. Professor Royce holds that the Christian community was the human founder of Christianity, but has no hypothesis about the origin of the community through lack of historical evidence. Yet he maintains that we have " priceless information about the essence of Christianity of the Pauline Churches and their actual life." The interpretation of the social religious experience of these churches reveals three ideas most characteristic of primitive Christianity—viz., the Community, the Lost State of the natural man, Atonement and Grace The discussion of these ideas are Professor Royce's

contribution to the Problem of Christianity on the basis of a Social Study of Christian Origins.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF LIFE

Professor Royce holds that the problem of Christianity is the Christian Doctrine of Life. He says that this can be considered in a twofold light; as the product of human evolution and the outcome of a long history, and as the product of the social experience of the Pauline Churches. In the former view it is "the problem of humanity"; in the latter "it has features distinctively Christian." Therefore, he maintains that the doctrine should be analyzed in its relation to the whole lesson of human history and in the light of a philosophical study of this history, in order to know what Christianity is and means in the religious history of the race.

The Christian Doctrine of Life is constituted by the Three Ideas. Professor Royce teaches that these ideas have "a basis in human nature," are "the expressions of universal human needs, independent of Christianity," are "the verifiable results of the higher social religious experience of mankind," "can be estimated and put into practice without presupposing any one view of God or of revelation," and are "religious, for they relate to the salvation of mankind." This aspect is their "human and empirical aspect," for they furnish "a purely human philosophy of loyalty" and yet "are based upon metaphysical truths whose significance is more than human" (Lect. VIII).

To Professor Royce the natural condition of man is a state of social chaos. Man is an animal living in communities. These communities exist in human history in countless different forms and grades "of which the visible and historical Church is one instance." From the communities he derives religion, language, civilization, and all his natural powers. Constant tension and conflicts exist between self, his fellows, and the social will, which produce consciousness of self; that is, conscience. The standard of the social will, namely, the *law* of St. Paul, is an attempt to bring about social harmony, but in reality creates new and more complex tensions by the application of social discipline. Through this social training our self-will is developed and ideals arise. The more cultivated the training, the stronger grows the self-will. The evil increases and the burden grows

heavier. The individual may obey (conduct), but he inwardly revolts (consciousness of conduct). As culture advances, the revolt (distraction of will) increases; for high social cultivation trains Individualism. Thus the individual is by nature subject to an overwhelming moral burden which springs from the *original sin* of social contentiousness, and is increased by social training and by personal guilt. His natural condition is one of sin, for the sinfulness belongs to the race in its corporate capacity and the social order breeds conscious sinners. No act of his can save him. Escape is not from this type of cultivation—that is, the *law.* Help (salvation, which is winning the true goal of life) must come from a source above his level—that is, the *spirit,* which rescues him and lifts him from his fallen state.

The higher source, whence salvation comes, is, according to Professor Royce, the Community. For communities tend to be organized into more composite communities of still higher grade, of vaster conscious unity. Through the community the individual is most closely related to the world process, shares its spirit and lives its life, a life of ever-increasing conscious unity. Apart from the spirit and life of the community, the individual is viewed as "morally detached" and in "a lost state." Hence we read that the doctrine of the Community is "a doctrine about the being, nature, and manifestation of God."

Here is unfolded Professor Royce's doctrine about the two levels of human existence: man, the individual, on the level of *the flesh* and *the law,* and man, the community, on the level of the *spirit.* He holds that they are levels of mental human beings and differ as two grades of human life. The individual regards the community as higher, nobler, more powerful, more enduring than himself, and shows this practical faith by devoted loyalty to its interests. He no longer loves according to the *flesh*—that is, as a mere individual loves a mere individual—but according to the *spirit,* and this love is loyalty. To him loyalty becomes the solution of the problem of personal life. The loyal "are, in ideal, essentially kin," in them all is "a spirit essentially one," and as loyalty begets loyalty, the logical development of the loyal spirit is "the rise of the consciousness of the ideal of a universal community of the loyal." Hence the higher of the two levels is essentially, endlessly, and divinely above the individual level, and to act as a member of such a

community is to win what religion calls salvation. This loyalty, namely, thorough-going devotion to a cause which unites many selves in one, appeals to the individual by fixing attention on a life incomparably vaster than his own, and belongs to no one time, country, or people. Hence experience shows that salvation for man lies in the purely human philosophy of loyalty and loyalty is a religion, for it creates a new type of consciousness—love for the Community—and thus effects a spiritual transformation in the individual.

The "Lost State" includes not only the "morally detached" individual—that is, one who has not found his ideal community, but also the individual who, having found it, has lost it by proving false to the ideal—a traitor. Is there any reconciliation between him and his community, his moral world? Not on the part of the traitor; his deed cannot be undone and by it he belongs to the "Hell of the Irrevocable." But atonement can be given the community through heroic deeds performed on his behalf by some faithful servant in whom the very spirit of the community is incarnated. Treason's lost causes have proved to be opportunities for humanity's most triumphant loyalty. It is a human triumph of the creative spirit of humanity that could not undo the treason, but, through skill and ingenuity, effected the heroic act which transformed the meaning of the treason and made the world better by a transfiguration of loss into gain. In illustration, Professor Royce cites the story of Joseph and his brethren, where Joseph is the symbol for the spirit of the family and the result of the atoning act is a more perfect family unity. Through atonement the traitor enters into a saving union with the community, for his act of treason, now transfigured, is part of the community life. Hence atonement is the function in which the life of the community culminates. It teaches that in due time loyal love will oppose its atoning deeds to treason's sin. Professor Royce holds that Christianity expressed this teaching in the symbolic form of a report concerning the supernatural work of Christ, and humanity must express it through the devotion, genius, skill, labor of its loyal servants in whom its spirit is incarnated. The teaching and the symbol, he adds, "are two sides of the same life—at once human and divine."

The doctrine of the two levels arising from the study of human experience is, according to Professor Royce, the

doctrine out of which the whole of Christianity grows. For Christianity, he tells us, was founded on the idea of a Community, whose spirit or life was the spirit or life of its risen Lord, held as a present possession by an ideal common memory of a past event, " the rising of Jesus to the realm of the spirit," and by an ideal common hope of a future event, when, according to the Apostle, " we should rise with him " to the spirit, with love enlivening and completing both memory and hope. This belief, he says, grew out of the Master's teaching about the Kingdom of Heaven. Professor Royce holds that, historically speaking, Christianity never appeared as the religion taught by the Master, but as an interpretation of his teaching, going beyond it, and this was due to the presence of the founder's spirit. The enlargement of doctrine is shown especially, he says, in the fact that the Master, like other religious leaders in the world's history, emphasized God and our neighbor only. Whereas the Apostle Paul introduced a third being, a corporate Entity, " the Body of Christ," which he claims to be " a new revelation " discovered in his experience of an Apostle as the product of the life of the Christian Community itself and due to " the spirit of his Lord." To Paul the Church was " the very presence of his Lord," at once " a fact of present experience and a divine creation," hence " a mystery," " whose origin was wholly miraculous." Professor Royce holds that this belief " constitutes a new beginning in the evolution of Christianity. The Master had laid stress on the value of individual life, but St. Paul, as also Professor Royce, holds individuality to be the source of all our sin and woe. Only by ceasing to be a mere individual, through love for the Body of Christ, can one be saved. Thus the neighbor is transfigured as a member of the Beloved Community. We love him not as an individual—this the Master taught, but as a member of this Divine Community which, in ideal, is one conscious unity of all mankind. The spirit of the " risen Lord," which is the life of the Body, through love becomes our own. Hence love is loyalty and loyalty is Christian faith and Christian faith is grace and grace is the mystery of the incarnation in another form. Thus salvation comes through loyalty, for loyalty involves " an essentially new type of consciousness "—that is, " the consciousness of one who loves the community as a person."

Professor Royce holds that the Master's teaching concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, which the Apostle presented in a new revelation as the Body of Christ, "developed into the conception which the historic Church formed of its own mission, but says that the true Church is "one endlessly and conscious human spirit, whose life is to be lived on its own level"; hence invisible and still to be created by a process of evolution.

Therefore, according to Professor Royce, an examination into the Christian Doctrine of Life shows (1) how the Spirit, the Community, the process of Salvation, are genuine realities transcending any of their human embodiments; (2) that Christianity is the most effective expression of religious loyalty which the human race has, in its corporate capacity, expressed; (3) that the rock upon which the true and ideal church is built is the doctrine that the Community, wherein dwells the divine redeeming spirit, is, through loyalty, the source of salvation.

THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

The aim and result of the work under discussion is to point out what is vital in Christianity, so that the modern man may know what to hold and be a Christian. Professor Royce gives the solution of the problem by way of an illustration. Let us suppose the case of a young, highly educated, Greek philosopher who became a convert of the Pauline Church and, after living the life of an earnest Christian, at length dies. He comes to life in due time, is carefully instructed in our art, history, philosophy, and then is brought face to face with Christianity as it now exists. How, asks the Professor, can he, astonished and saddened at the essential changes which have taken place, retain his Christian faith? And answers:

> "The one thing he must hold fast is the Pauline Doctrine of the presence of the redeeming divine spirit in the living church. This is the essence of Christianity in the Pauline Churches and in all the subsequent ages of Christian development. Thus he will keep in touch with historical Christianity—His church will neither be the official church nor the sect—His test of the church will be simply this, that it actually unifies all mankind and makes them one in the divine spirit. All else in Paul's teaching he may come to regard as symbol or as legend. This is the essence of the faith of the Apostles."

This solution sounds strange coming from such a source.

Professor Royce's volumes are a treatise in religious Social Psychology. A fundamental principle of this Psychology is " that religion springs from our conscious needs " and he expressly states that " the religious needs of the modern man are different from any ever before experienced and still greater changes will come in the near future " (I. 387). Why not then give the redivivus young Greek a course in religious Social Psychology and prepare him not only to accept a changed Christianity, but to *look with suspicion* upon a Christianity that has not changed? Again Professor Royce teaches that the " person " or " self " is not " a datum," but a " life " or " a process " and implies the description to the individual self, the social self, and the absolute self, of which the world-process is the expression. The social or common self—that is, the Community—is the basic idea in his treatise and has a marvelous richness of possible expansion without any limitation or interruption so far as the nature of the common self is concerned. Now both experience and science tell that growth or development is a law of life. On this doctrine of the self, I ask why does Professor Royce think that his young friend should be surprised or that he should regard the Pauline community as " a datum " or a fixture and not as " a life " or " a process "? In the emergency the simple and consistent course for the author is, not to forget his own philosophy, but to give a clear exposition of his theory of knowledge and of metaphysical idealism to his perplexed friend. Moreover, Professor Royce holds that interpretation is the ruling category of mental life and of the world-process, and that it is of the nature of interpretation to create something new. Hence our mental life, our code of morality, everything about us, change at each succeeding moment, as also does the conscious time-stream change. He applies this principle to the Pauline community and says that this being, the Body of Christ, first discovered the three ideas constituting the Christian Doctrine of Life in the effort to interpret the Master's teaching, that these ideas were a " new revelation " and " a new beginning in the evolution of Christianity," and that, furthermore, the dogmas of the Trinity and of the Incarnation were only symbols whereby the Pauline consciousness attempted to set forth the relation between the Absolute, the Spirit of the Pauline community, and the human founder Jesus. Now the young man should be aware

of this. The reader will be forced to conclude that the Greek was totally ignorant both of Professor Royce's philosophy and of the evolutive life of the Pauline Churches as he has described this life.

In presenting a symbolic interpretation of Christianity, Professor Royce is influenced by his theory of knowledge, which exhibits the " idea " as a conscious ideal-striving and by his metaphysical idealism which considers the universe as an ideal evolution of one endlessly creative and conscious human spirit. This evolutive spirit he calls the Universal or the Beloved Community, namely, the whole common consciousness of mankind. This is the one reality; all else are figures or symbols—partial embodiments of the reality. Hence God is a symbol for the community as a whole. The historical Church is a partial embodiment and the ideal Church is another name for the community. The ideas making up the Christian Doctrine of Life, the parables of Jesus, the dogmas of the Church are symbols of the evolution process in whole or in part. The human individual Jesus is the incarnation of the Spirit or life of humanity, just as the Christian Church is the incarnation of the Spirit of Jesus, and as we ourselves are the incarnations of humanity's spirit or life, when, through loyalty, we become one with this life or, through heroic deeds, we atone for humanity's wrongs. Hence Professor Royce questions the historical truth of the Gospels and holds that the life of Jesus was " the object of many legendary reports so framed that they include a symbolism whereby a portion of the *true faith* is expressed."

This explanation is not new. He proposes for our acceptance the mythical theory of Strauss written not as a historian nor as a theologian, but as a disciple of Hegel's Idealism. Strauss viewed the Hegelian process in its subjective aspect, sought the basic truths of Christianity in the early Christian consciousness, regarded Christ of the New Testament as the outcome of this consciousness, and held that legendary reports and embellishments were merely symbols for spiritual ideas. But the theory was too fanciful, could not withstand the comparison of the truthful matter-of-fact character of the New Testament writings with the Apocrypha and was rejected by scholars. In *Old and New Faith* 1870 Strauss confessed to disappointment at the outcome of his labors.

CRITICISM

Professor Royce writes that he has "approached this study" not as a historian, nor as a theologian, but as a philosopher." Therefore the criticism regards him as a philosopher only.

To him the Community is the fundamental notion in the religious history of the race and in Christianity. The community is the *common* self and, he says, is constituted by a common consciousness. Thus the definition of the community is based upon the definition of the Self. He holds that the Self is constituted by conscious memory. Hence the individual is a self because he possesses a present unity of conscious memory ideally extended to the future. But the teaching that consciousness constitutes the Self is an error in philosophy coming down from Locke and Kant. Conscious memory *makes me aware of* my personal identity and *presupposes* it. Memory or loss of memory does not change *me* or what *I* did. Forgetfulness, aphasia, dementia, delirium, sleep, do not change the person or self, but produce different *states* of the same Self. Hence a distinction should be made between *Self* and the *states* of the Self. Hence the notion of Professor Royce's Community is radically erroneous.

Again, in describing the natural state of man, he adopts the teaching of Hobbes and Spencer. But in fact this teaching is only a *philosophical theory* and *not proved.* Rousseau and his followers hold the peaceful state of the natural man. This opinion is a *philosophical theory* also, and *not proved.* Therefore upon a philosophical theory not proved and not universally accepted by anthropologists he bases his doctrine of the origin of the community. What becomes of his criterion that the consensus of opinion is necessary for a scientific hypothesis?

From the notion of the Community springs Professor Royce's doctrine of the Two Levels, which he claims to be the fundamental principle in religious history and in Christianity. Now in fact the careful reader distinguishes *three* levels—viz., the individual, the community actually existing, and the ideal community, namely, of ideal purpose, He draws on some current Sociological Psychology to show that actual communities have a mental and ethical unity of their own which makes them appear to the individual as "Suprapersonal beings." He leaves the reader to imply

that all this applies to *ideal* communities. But this implication is not at all clear. True, actual communities may not be made up of soul-mates or affinities, but they have a moral unity, or, to use the author's thought, a unity constituted by the spirit. Why then could not the individual find " his fulfilment and moral destiny " in devoted loyalty to actual communities? Furthermore, this current Sociological Psychology is based on the definition of the Self, which was shown to be erroneous, and regards man as an animal progressively evolving a human nature—another philosophical theory not by any means proved.

The fundamental error of Professor Royce is his teaching concerning the nature of man and of mental life. In denying immediate perception he falls into phenomenal idealism which develops into a metaphysical idealism where *idea, spirit, humanity* are regarded as the only realities. But as a matter of fact these are only *Personifications.* He does not seem to be aware that notion, judgment, and reasoning are fundamental elements in our mental life. Finally he defines the " idea " in terms of will. But this is contrary to the testimony of consciousness. That intellect and will are different is an elemental fact of conscious experience. The intellect is the cognitive mode or form of our conscious life; whereas the will is the source of motive power. A psychologist would be no more justified in combining intellect and will than would be a physiologist in blending the afferent and efferent nerves in one act. Moreover, these faculties are unequal in the individual. Intellect and will are called modes in which our soul-life is manifested. Hence, though distinct from each other, they are not separated in the sense that they are two entities, but unite in a unity by virtue of the spiritual principle—viz., the soul, whose modes of activity they are.

This is the aim of the present article: to point out that the most noteworthy publication of the year on the Philosophy of Religion, carefully constructed and written in beautiful language with a wealth of illustration, is, in the last analysis, based upon an erroneous definition of the " idea "—the most fundamental and apparently the simplest element in mental life.

JOHN T. DRISCOLL.

THE VISION OF GETTYSBURG

(1863–1913)

BY ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON

I

WHAT if, that day, when on those tawny slopes,
Made as by Mars for battle, but till then
Still happily unhistoric, steeped in peace,
Two foes, of age-long enmity, drew near—
(Foes of torn forest and of trampled field,
Not in the smart apparel of parade
But long bedraggled with the toil of war,
Will matched with will, courage to courage set,
In tremulous expectancy of fate,
Each with the hopes of millions in reserve);—

What if, while strong men nearer to their hearts
Pressed their worn amulets: a wisp of hair;
A woman's tear-stained letters; some small toy;
The penciled tracing of a baby's hand;
Likeness of child by father never seen,
To whom that father was to be a myth
Told by a lonely fireside through the years;—

What if, at that weak moment of the brave,
Before the sign of serried death was given,
The Angel of the Future, in a white dream
Of morning mist that blotted out the scene,
Had swept in solemn beauty down the lines,
Trailing a scroll of visioned prophecy,
Till all had seen that field with second sight,
And all had heard her words:

"O warriors, stay!
Unshotted be the cannon, sheathed the sword.
Look on this picture, half a century hence,
When ye, the tottering remnants who shall live
To mourn the comrades who to-day shall die,
Shall be again the brothers ye are now
But seem not now to be. Look close!
Who are those old who mimic the assault
Ye face to-day, crossing this very ground
To meet not Death but Love? See, clasped in peace,
Not clenched, your hands. Those heads of gray are yours.
Time has outwept the colors of your flags,
The strife forgiven, all the hate forgot.
Sires of the not-yet-orphaned, will ye die?"

With such a vision, slowly fading back
From dream to dread, from dread to dream again,
Could one have given the awful word of death,
Or human hearts obeyed it?

Yes, ah yes!
In all great enterprises of the soul
The immediate duty is the strongest lure.
Not lightly did these follow the red trail,
Not for adventure, not for murderous sport,
Nor glory, oft more sordid than grosser gain;
But for the stark necessity of Man
To heed his conscience' trumpet, lest he die
And live on, dead! So,—that the God within,
Who haunts our coward days, might be appeased,—
With war's momentum in their heated veins,
And with a Hebrew prophet's certainty,
Each called on Heaven for justice, and rushed on!

II

We say they fought each for the Right he saw.
There is but one good greater than the Right—
The imperishable Love of Right. That stays,
The needle of our destiny, howe'er
Its sensient tremblings momently may swerve.
God of the storm, the fog, the sinking sea,
Be praised for that deliverance!

And yet—
What if that strife, which all men said must be,
Solvent of error, touchstone of respect,
New bond of strength, *need never to have been?*
We doubt, but what shall ermined History say?
Somewhere in every devastating storm
Of hungry flame that sweeps the night with fear
Once lurked a primal spark not hard to quench;
Perchance it smoldered long in soft neglect,
Till came a breeze, gentle as infant's breath,
And piled on peril ruin and dismay—
Ashes for beauty, as though patient years
Had been withdrawn from Time, to be consumed.
Of our dire conflagration who shall name
The careless passer, or the sleeping guard,
Or those who left the danger to their sons,
Trusting the futile trench of compromise?
I name them boldly: the revered, the great,
Firstlings of fame in every patriot's thought,
The sculptured saints about the nation's fane,
Their faults forgotten in a people's pride.

Men of that elder day, who gave us life,
Honor for what you did, but not, alas!
For what you left undone. For, when you built
The nation's temple, hallowing every stone
With sacrifice, you knew a serpent dwelt
'Neath its foundations, yet you took your ease
And left the poison of its brood to spread.
On you, on you the blood of Gettysburg!

III

For whom these fables? Are they not for us?
Are there not other serpents that demand
The firm Herculean grasp? And other fires
Mad with destructive spirit half subdued?
Must Wisdom's torch consume a hundred hills
That it may give us light to see our path
Into peace-haunted valleys?

Land of ours!
Not less they love thee who must chide the faults

Of those that serve thee. Be thou wise as strong—
Justice to-day thy fortress of to-morrow;
Better than battleships thine own Good Will;
The bond of all thy children Equal Laws,
Their pride thine Honor. Not unto thyself
Alone thou livest but to Space and Time!
Lead thou thy leaders, lead they not aright,
That, seeing clearly where our fathers failed,
We leave no legacy of wanton strife
As bones of prey to tempt the beast in Man,
Lest, surfeited with carnage, sadder days
Shall scorn our ashes, and impute to us
The squandered blood of Gettysburgs to come.

ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON.

A HIGH-MINDED PUBLIC MAN

BY W. D. HOWELLS

THE introduction to Mr. Horace White's biography of Lyman Trumbull[1] is such an excellent piece of writing, such an admirable synthesis of the motives and actions of the drama following, such a clear forecasting of the scene on which it lifts the curtain, that it will be the disadvantage, almost the misfortune, of any one who allows his prejudice or habit against every manner of preface, to influence him in leaving it unread.

The ground reached through it has been traversed so much that scarcely any part is free from the footprints of those who have passed over it; yet, here it seems new country, and the tale already told so often gathers freshness from the unimpassioned conscience and the unbroken self-control of a narrator who was also a spectator of so large a part of his story. If one regrets, while one recurs to this introduction from the ensuing chapters, that the whole book could not have been written in the same strain, one must recognize that the same conscience and self-control demanded and resulted in a different method. Men's lives are lived in episodes; it is only when they have long been lived and are compressed in the foreshortening which history permits and perhaps requires, that their events can be treated as the color and texture of man's life. I do not know whether it was with the sense of this that the biographer changed his method when he came to his task in detail, but it is certain that he then ceases to generalize, that he forbids himself conjecture, and handles each fact in turn upon its own merits, relating it afterward to the other human events, and sparingly examining it at last as to its moral significance. It is a method which, as often as you note it, must persuade

[1] *The Life of Lyman Trumbull.* By Horace White. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

you of the peculiar fitness of such a man as Mr. White to write the life of such a man as Lyman Trumbull. His own long career as journalist, merging definitely in that of economist, began with the young newspaper man's experience in reporting the debates of Lincoln and Douglas. He learned to know the politics of the nation from thoroughly knowing the politics of Illinois; and he speaks of history from witness, if not experience, parallel with that of the man whose life he writes. No other sort of man could have done that sort of man such entire justice with such constant perception that the strictest justice in his case was the largest generosity. This is saying, I suppose, that the two men, the man who lived the life and the man who has written it, seem temperamentally of one make; and having said this I may safely leave the point to the reader's opinion; but I will allow myself further the pleasure of imagining the biographer's satisfaction in completing the story of his hero (as he would be loath to call him) on the conditions of simple verity which the hero himself would have chosen. I think that ought to be a very great satisfaction, and I think it must be a satisfaction almost as great to the author when he recurs to his characterization of this man or that to find that he has treated no man as a friend or a foe, but has used all alike with the same even justice as he has used his hero.

Hero and heroic are terms which I would not choose myself if I could readily put my pen on their analogues; but after all, they are, perhaps, not so much out of proportion; and the figure which is here posed against the background of that great time when the soul of the nation was gathering force to disown the national crime of slavery, does not lose grandeur as the background is lighted more and more by the common noon and commoner afternoon of mixed motives through which that soul redeemed itself. As wholly as Lincoln himself, Trumbull kept his actions free of these mixed motives; he was even less a politician, with less of political ambition than the man over whom, at the beginning of their joint national careers, he won the Illinois Senatorship. Lincoln had been the Anti-Slavery Whig Representative of his district in Congress, and Trumbull had been the Democratic lawyer who fought slavery in the Illinois Courts; but the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the formation of the Anti-Nebraska party brought them together in the political

and personal amity which lasted through Lincoln's life and prolonged itself after his death in Trumbull's fidelity to his policy of reconstruction. It was by Lincoln's favor that Trumbull was first chosen Senator, but the favor was not bestowed till there was no longer any hope of his own success. These two great men were friends from that time on, but friends who respected without sentimentalizing or romancing each other. Very likely each had his reservations as to the other; there is no record, apparently, of Lincoln's reservation concerning Trumbull, but in the very important letter of Trumbull to his son, written long after the popular estimate of Lincoln was fixed, and here printed for the first time, he analyzes the nature of his friend with a frankness which is as unsparing as the spirit of the study is unenvious. He does justice to Lincoln's extraordinary qualities as a citizen, a lawyer, an orator, a statesman, but he seems not to realize the greatness of that mystical combination of tender humanity, poetic sensibility, and essential humility which could consist with towering ambition and plenary power. Yet in the end Trumbull portrays Lincoln in terms which recognize the nature of the man, and which, while they limit the exaggerations of the popular ideal, leave his grandeur almost unimpeached. "To sum up his character it may be said that as a man he was honest, pure, kind-hearted, and sympathetic; as a lawyer, clear-headed, astute, and successful; as a politician, ambitious, shrewd, and far-seeing; as a public speaker, incisive, clear, and convincing, often eloquent, clothing his thoughts in the most beautiful and attractive language, a logical reasoner, and yet most unmethodical in all his ways; as President during a great civil war he lacked executive ability, and that resolution and prompt action essential to bring it to a speedy and successful close; but he was a philanthropist and a patriot, ardently devoted to the Union and the equality and freedom of all men."

It would have been very desirable to have Mr. White's comment on this passage, but he makes none, and probably he feels that it is sufficiently the analysis of the man who wrote it as well as the man whom it analyzes. Taken in its circumstances and its relation to the political and personal friendship of the two men, it is very interesting, and the whole letter is a document of surpassing value, amid so many documents which will render this biography one of the most valuable contributions to our history. Psychologically

it is scarcely less interesting, for it is the expression of a man who, after all, was compelled to the utterance of the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, whenever he was summoned to bear witness of the actions and motives of others. It is as such a man that his biographer wishes him always to be seen, and he blinks no fact of his career which could judge him adversely; though mostly he lets the facts alone judge him. Probably Mr. White would rather Trumbull had not so fully identified himself late in his long public life with the free-silver heresy as to have written the platform of the People's Party; but he contents himself with recording that at Trumbull's house, where he met Mr. Bryan, whose talk ran eagerly on free silver, " Trumbull was inclined to the same belief," and then merely adds " we had an animated but friendly discussion on that question." As for the bold stand taken by Trumbull against " judicial usurpation," and the excesses of federal judges in " issuing blanket injunctions and punishing people for contempt of their assumed authority " his biographer notes merely that his position " was not, on the whole, more radical than the so-called Progressive platform of the present day."

It is not clear how much or little he approves of Trumbull's offer of his services in the case of Debs, or whether he finds Trumbull's position overstated in Mr. Clarence Darrow's saying that " the socialistic trend of the venerable statesman's opinions in his later years sprang from his deep sympathies with all unfortunates; that sympathy made him an anti-slavery Democrat in his early years, and afterward a Republican. He became convinced that the poor who toil for a living in this world were not getting a fair chance. His heart was with them." But it is Mr. White's habit throughout to let the reader make up his own mind and not to make it up for him. The biographer's opinions have long been known as at least conservative on points of political economy, and if he has preferred not to test the opinions of his hero (again the word which does not exactly fit) by them, that is an effect both of good taste and good sense, which his reader will hardly quarrel with.

As Trumbull moves through the story, his figure is peculiarly impressive from the changes which his mind and conduct seem to undergo. There are two kinds of men who are common enough in public life; the men who start liberal and end conservative, and the men who start conservative

and end liberal. Here, however, is a man who began his political life as a member of the reactionary party called Democratic, but had not gone far when he found himself averse to its cherished pro-slavery principles, and promptly took a leading part in the revolution against the slave-holders and their usurpation which followed the threatened repeal of the Missouri Compromise. His election to the United States Senate was one of the first triumphs of the Anti-Nebraska party, as it was called until it was called Republican. There at once he made a prominent stand against the reactionary party of his earliest affiliation. When Lincoln was elected and the war came, he was among the foremost in urging the administration to quick and vigorous dealing with the threatened and threatening rebellion. He thought the patient and temporizing Lincoln inadequate to the vital occasion, but he upheld him against the friends and against the foes who would have forced or fettered his wavering hand. When the war was over and the wisdom of Lincoln's plan for reconstruction appealed to men's desire for mercy as well as justice, he lent it the support of his whole strength, which was not withdrawn from the hapless man in whose hands the plan finally fell to pieces. He opposed whatever was craziest in the plans of reconstruction pressed upon the situation by Johnson's self-righteous as well as righteous enemies, and he fought the President's impeachment. When the errors and scandals of Grant's administration seemed to become a greater danger than they perhaps were, the ardent Republican of the party's better days helped organize the tragical disaster of the Greeley campaign, and ended his political career with it. After that he underwent some political defeats, but he had no more political successes, and it was in the practice of his profession at the bar that he developed the tendencies to what one must call the humaner side of our civic life, and wanted the poor, who earned the bread of all, to have their share of it. He feared the accumulation of money in a few hands, and apparently he hoped that something might be done by turning the gold there to silver. A man whose earlier and later life was spent in Courts of Law mistrusted the arrogance of judges, and nearly twenty years before the Progressive Party was, stopped short only of its ideal of the Recall. By this long way about, which includes in its circuit nearly the whole history of the nation and its most eminent events, he returned to "the dream of his

youth " to something of the indignant passion which burns in the letter telling his father of the murder of Lovejoy at Alton.

But I shall not be surprised if the reader who has followed my rehearsal of the apparently inconsistent events of Trumbull's public life shall deny that they are even apparently inconsistent. He may very well say that the variations are the effects of a temperamental fidelity to one continuous purpose; of the man's will, at all costs, to be true to himself in order that he may not be false to any man. Those great days through which he lived were very difficult days; the aviators have found " pits of air " in the atmosphere of our globe, and the empyrean is not always plain sailing; but few have laid a course and kept it with such constancy as the virtuous, the courageous, the veracious statesman whose story his biographer has seen as an important part of our national history.

His name, of course, was already a part of our history, for he was of that famous Connecticut family which in seven generations had been known for qualities which culminated in his American greatness. In our first stirrings of national consciousness the young Commonwealth became known to itself as " Brother Jonathan," as Washington liked to call that Jonathan Trumbull for whose seasoned judgments he waited in many moments of doubt with trust and affection; and our earliest achievements in art were the masterly paintings of that other Trumbull who made himself more definitely remembered. How much of his greatness Lyman Trumbull derived from his ancestry his biographer does not inquire, but we must imagine that it was no little. It wants many Lincolns to persuade mankind that a man may be efficiently and sufficiently his own ancestor, and we still look to the past for assurance of the future. It appears, however, that Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, had no need of drawing upon the Trumbulls of Connecticut for the power to make his way nobly and beneficiently in his generation, to be a great statesman, an eloquent orator, a patriotic citizen whose love of country did not finally fail to embrace the hardest-worked and the poorest-paid of his fellow-citizens. It is not for public men to wear their hearts upon their sleeves; they are not expected to do it; but it is somehow consoling to know that this public man, whom most men thought cold and many found aloof, was a man of warm and

tender affections. But why then has this man whom we have such reason, and so many reasons, to remember as one of the foremost of his time, held only a secondary place in the popular remembrance, while other men of cheaper make have held a primary place? Lincoln forever justifies his supremacy in our memory, but after him why Seward, why Sumner, why Chase, why not immediately Trumbull? It is evident that with all his fine and noble qualities he was not a leader of men. One of the most convincing of orators was not the most moving of advocates. One of the most sagacious of statesmen was not the most influential of politicians. A man whom his fellow-men had every cause to love and honor lacked the magic to dazzle them; his goodness and greatness were not obvious to those who could not come near him. His mind was judicial, not constructive; he was the fearless and upright judge of other men as well as of himself, and no party willingly bears unsparing scrutiny of its nature, or wishes to be made better or happier by the wisdom that convicts it of evil or folly; we always desire the Last Day put off as long as possible. If, as it might seem, Lyman Trumbull eventually found out that he was most the friend of those who most needed friends, of the industrial as well as the chattel slaves, but found it out so late that he had no longer the strength of his prime to give them, that would be pathetic. But no man creates his circumstances, or groups the events that form the opportunity of his highest powers. After all, there seems to be an over-ruling Providence, though its ways are dark.

W. D. Howells.

THE ENGLISH GIRL IN FICTION

BY MRS. W. L. COURTNEY.

A LOVER of London and a lover of nature once maintained that you could not walk down the whole length of even the worst of its slum streets without catching some glimpse up a side alley or along a distant vista of a green and growing tree. It is probably just as true to say that no novel since Fielding and Richardson down to the present day is without its portrait of an English girl. Fielding put her upon a pedestal as Sophia Western, Richardson sentimentalized her in Clarissa. Thackeray, following Fielding rather than Richardson, but a little influenced by both, gave us insipid goodness in Amelia Sedley, and the Madonna-goddess type in Laura Pendennis. However, he atoned for these rather undiscriminating presentments by his real flesh-and-blood, early Victorian young woman with a character, Ethel Newcome, and his still more real Regency young woman without a character, Becky Sharp. Dickens's girls carried sentimental insipidity even further than Thackeray's, and his novels are unredeemed by any girl portrait which can stand beside Ethel or Becky. Lord Lytton's young women were as unreal as his romantic heroes; and it was left to the women novelists of the nineteenth century, with perhaps Anthony Trollope as their one male competitor, to paint the English girl as she has come to be known by the generation now old enough to judge her.

The truth is that anything like an accurate portrait of the normal English girl of the upper classes does not date back much before 1850. And not without good reason. A good portrait, though preserving the type, must also individualize it, and before 1850 no well-brought-up young Englishwoman had any individuality worth mentioning, or, if she had, she took very good care to conceal it. The only exception which I can call to mind, and one must have one excep-

tion to prove the rule, is Miss Austen's Elizabeth in *Pride and Prejudice*. She is the solitary instance of a young, unmarried girl of strong individuality as the chief and most interesting figure in a novel, which does really represent the life of what early Victorian England called the gentry. In the mid-Victorian period girls begin to come to their own, partly, no doubt, because of the exceptional and independent position of the two great women novelists of the period, Charlotte Brontë and George Eliot. Neither of these could create colorless types. George Eliot out of her own bitter experience drew Maggie Tulliver, Charlotte Brontë in her moorland solitude imagined Jane Eyre and Shirley and Lucy Snowe. But somewhere about 1850, following close upon *Jane Eyre* and anticipating *The Mill on the Floss* by ten years, Charlotte Mary Yonge, a normal Englishwoman leading an ordinary life and with no exceptional experience to develop her powers, began that long series of domestic novels on which young English womanhood was reared for nearly half a century; and before the pen had quite dropped from her fingers it was taken up—with a difference—by Mrs. Humphry Ward.

A comparison between the two writers, who covered so long a period in English letters, is in itself interesting. Mrs. Ward was born two years before Miss Yonge published *The Heir of Redclyffe*, the first novel which made her famous; the younger writer, who had herself in early life been among Miss Yonge's disciples, published her own first important novel, *Robert Elsmere*, in 1888. Though Miss Yonge had not then ceased writing—indeed her last story, *Modern Broods*, did not appear until 1900, the year before her death—all her work, which will survive, was by that date long behind her; but her successor is happily still giving us girl portraits, witness *The Mating of Lydia*, only published this year. Between them, therefore, these two distinguished novelists have covered more than the lifetime of two generations. And what generations! For it would be no exaggeration to say that the six decades between 1850 and 1910 have meant more for English womanhood, and indeed for womanhood throughout the Western world, than any previous six centuries.

Just contrast for a moment the position of women in 1850, when higher education was still a dream of the future, with their position in 1910, when most of the learned professions

are open to them and they are already far on the way toward political enfranchisement. When Miss Yonge began writing a family council was held to decide whether the career of an author was proper for a young woman, and it was decided that it could only be countenanced, if she gave all her profits to some deserving object. The Census figures for 1911 show an astonishing variety of trades and professions pursued by women as a livelihood, and the list would be even longer, but for the mistaken zeal of the more advanced spirits, who signalized that year by a determined protest against being enumerated by a Government which refused to grant them citizenship. From shrinking authorship to militant suffragism is a far cry indeed; but it marks with sufficient emphasis the number of milestones passed by women, whilst Miss Yonge and Mrs. Ward were chronicling their progress.

The qualifications of the two writers for their task were not dissimilar. Both were in the best sense of the word cultured, both were the product of the best kind of English home; from neither would ever come a page or a sentence which could possibly bring a blush to the cheek of the most sensitive young person, and yet both did describe real life, the guarded life of English domesticity among the upper middle classes. Mrs. Humphry Ward and Miss Charlotte Yonge have as much claim to be called realists as Mr. H. G. Wells and Mr. Arnold Bennett, in the sense that they are close observers and faithful recorders. That they chose to limit their observations for the most part to these so-called "upper classes" is their business; after all, those classes may conceivably be just as well worth observing as Mr. Wells's shopmen and Mr. Arnold Bennett's Midland manufacturers. That they particularly observed the English girl will be an unmixed gain to future students of the feminist movement. Miss Yonge, as befitted her date, observed her in submission, Mrs. Ward observed her on the threshold of revolt. The older writer, who belonged to the ecclesiastical traditions of Keble and Pusey, could never get far away from the English vicarage; the later novelist, brought up in the critical Arnold tradition, felt, as Matthew Arnold had felt, the "sick fatigue, the languid doubt" of a generation which had ceased to be more than "light half-believers of their casual creeds." Consequently she deserted the vicarage for the larger world of society, and she

concerned herself with the political, industrial, and social problems of the later nineteenth century. But in spite of this marked difference in the pictures presented, the historian of the future, desirous to see what the English girl was like in the six decades before militant suffragism was thought of, could not do better than begin with Miss Yonge and follow on with Mrs. Ward.

Miss Yonge is probably not so well known now across the Atlantic as her successor. Reared in a quiet English village, and taught by a clever father Greek and Latin, mathematics and all the subjects which belong to a university education, but which were not then as a rule included in a young lady's curriculum, she preferred all her life to hide her light under a bushel. She was an only child, with a longing for childish companionship which finds rather pathetic expression in the pictures of family life in full nurseries and school-rooms so frequent in her novels. *The Daisy Chain,* with its sequel *The Trial, The Pillars of the House,* and *Magnum Bonum* are the best instances; but almost every one of her modern stories—she was also a prolific writer of historical novels—gives a group of carefully differentiated portraits of growing boys and girls—witness *The Young Stepmother, Heartsease, The Clever Woman of the Family, Countess Kate, The Stokesley Secret,* and others too numerous to mention. *The Heir of Redclyffe* made her fame. Mid-Victorian sentimentality sobbed over its consumptive hero; its successor, *Heartsease,* drew tears from the emotional Charles Kingsley, and for long made Violet a leading favorite among feminine Christian names. But I venture to think that both these novels are more characteristic of their period than of their creator. Dickens had taught the public to wallow in emotion; Oliver Twist, Little Nell, and Tiny Tim, not to mention Paul Dombey and "What are the wild waves saying," all belong to the 'forties. Thackeray's robuster genius had not yet had time to produce its full effect, and the sterner and soberer fiction of George Eliot was still in the future. Miss Yonge was almost bound to give her readers consumptive heroes and pathetically forgiving wives until success gave her courage to follow her individual bent. Then she wrote *The Daisy Chain.* It begins indeed with a carriage accident causing the death of the mother and the hopeless disablement of the eldest daughter, but, having made this sacrifice

to the prevailing taste, goes on in a wholesomer vein to describe the life of a healthy and singularly lively and enterprising family of boys and girls. Its real heroine is not poor pathetic, crippled Margaret, but Ethel, the clever, ugly duckling of the school-room, whose sterling worth makes her in the long run the mainstay of the family and the chosen companion of her father, Dr. May. As an excellent foil to her we have pretty, worldly Flora, with her head as full of balls and parties as Ethel's is of Latin grammar and helping her brothers, and so anxious to make a good match that she is ready to take up with an idiot because he happens to be a member of Parliament. It is characteristic of all Miss Yonge's clever women that their ideal is the helpmeet, and they are therefore always ready to subordinate their own gifts to those of their masculine relatives. Ethel only keeps up with Norman and teaches little Tom until household duties and the claims of her elder brother's parish assert themselves, when her Greek and Latin go cheerfully by the board. Rosamund in *The Three Brides* declares that any woman worth thinking of would rather help her husband to shine than shine herself, and Bessie Merrifield in *Beechcroft at Rockstone,* a sequel to *The Stokesley Secret,* readily abandons London and authorship to be the prop and comfort of her parents' declining years in the country. It is clear that Miss Yonge's views were formed before living your own life had become a popular creed, though she lived to see suburban Noras' slamming doors behind them, and an Ibsenite ideal of independence in the ascendant.

Indeed, she has put much of herself into Ethel May, the plain, spectacled, clever girl whom her brothers' school-boy friends call "the Doctor in petticoats." Ethel is not without her own little romance; there is a visit to Oxford to hear her brother recite his prize poem which might have been the first chapter of a love-story, had not a stern sense of family duty made her promptly turn the page. And later on, in *The Trial,* she becomes the object of a school-boy's devotion; but the real romance of her life is the building of a church for the neglected district of Cocksmoor, just as the romance of Miss Yonge's life was centered in missionary enterprise. Her profits from *The Heir of Redclyffe* went to build a schooner for the Melanesian mission, and *The Daisy Chain* provided a missionary college in New Zealand. In-

deed, in all her work burns the flame of enthusiasm for the Church, which characterized Tractarian England. Felix, the hero of *The Pillars of the House,* lives to give back to the Church the lands which his forefathers had gained at the Reformation; Albinia in *The Young Stepmother* is mainly concerned to win her adopted family back to orthodoxy and the High Church tradition; and many other instances could be quoted.

But to dwell on this side of her work is to belittle Miss Yonge's position as a literary artist. It is not the message, which she conceived it her duty to give to her generation, that will preserve her memory in English literature; it is the intense reality of her characters. She lived with them as though they were her own familiar friends; they were the companions of years, and she was as intimate with their little peculiarities as any member of a large family could be with his or her brothers and sisters. Her favorites go on through several books, and each time they reappear have always grown to the right age and reached the right stage of development. It is the astonishing truth of her portraiture which deserves the attention of the literary critic; and it is a little surprising that whilst we are all acclaiming the successes of our later realists of the potteries and elsewhere, we neglect the quiet, detailed *genre* work of this little old-world, observant lady, whose novels, as Mr. Henry James once said of them, are as restful after some modern fiction as "stroking a cat after nursing a squirrel." But the creator of Daisy Miller and Isabel Archer and Miriam might well recognize a kindred spirit in the painter of the Mays and the Underwoods and the Merrifields and many another batch of English girls.

Taking her girls as a whole, we must confess that they have not the subtlety of Mr. James's own portraits, but then they are English, not American. That is to say, they belong to an old and settled civilization and have nothing cosmopolitan about them. A trip to France, Switzerland, or Italy in the company of their parents would be their wildest idea of Continental adventure; anything like Miss Daisy Miller's tragic little effort at independence would be utterly impossible. But just because they do of necessity move along the safe and ordered ways of a life in which nothing ever "happens," meaning nothing sensational or unconventional, makes it the more surprising that their

histories should be so interesting, and only proves what can be done with the great facts of birth and love and death by a genuine artist. Still Miss Yonge does not despise more startling events and shows remarkable skill in handling them. The whole episode of the murder, and the wrongful condemnation of Leonard Ward in *The Trial* is admirably handled, and produces as vivid an impression as Mr. Galsworthy produced in his *Justice*. We shall go back to Miss Yonge, as the twentieth century progresses and a generation grows up to whom mid-Victorian England is as much a matter of history as the Regency is to us; but in the mean time fashion turned away from her somewhere in the 'eighties and acclaimed Mrs. Humphry Ward.

Probably no novelist now living had as immediate and striking a success as Mrs. Ward achieved with *Robert Elsmere*. Mr. Gladstone devoted an article to it in *The Nineteenth Century*, discussing solemnly its theory of miracles, and the doubts, which drove its hero from out the pale of orthodoxy. Mr. Andrew Lang in his own delightful way took up the parable in the *Contemporary Review*—"Well, if miracles don't happen, it's a miracle that they don't. As Joab said to Saul, '*C'est là le miracle.*'" All Oxford and half London spent their time spotting the originals of its characters, something of an injustice to the originality of their creator. Sermons were preached for and against, and the book soon became the Bible of all the more daring spirits of the suburbs who liked to feel that they were coquetting with the Higher Criticism. The author of the little-noticed *Miss Bretherton* had indeed waked to find herself famous. But we are here concerned less with Mrs. Ward, the high-priestess of culture, than with Mrs. Ward, the painter of the first of her delightful girl portraits, pretty, wilful, gifted Rose, sister to the sober Catherine, the much-enduring, orthodox, puzzled, and protesting wife of the doubting hero.

Rose represents a type to which Mrs. Ward seems as irresistibly drawn as Miss Yonge was to the delineation of large families, and perhaps for the same reason The serious Arnold tradition can hardly have left room for anything so gay and frivolous and light-hearted as the little violinist whom hesitating, philosophic Langham so far wrongs as to propose to tie down as his wife: yet it is just this very reverse of an Arnoldian figure which repeats itself again and again, with a difference, in Mrs. Ward's novels.

We have her as Laura Fountain in *Helbeck of Bannisdale.* A historical version of her reappears in *The Marriage of William Ashe.* She is vulgarized as Letty Tressady, wife of Sir George of that name, and in both Mrs. Ward's last two novels she figures as Richard Meynell's ward, Hester, and as Lydia's rival, Felicia Melrose. It is the masculine element in Mrs. Ward, I think, mixed with the maternal which creates this charming variant of the English girl, pretty, wilful, impulsive, rebellious, just the type that a man wants to take into his arms and subdue by kisses, and that an older woman may deprecate, but in her heart of hearts cannot help spoiling. For it is an entire delusion, created and fostered by the conventionalities of the theater and the caricatures of the comic artists, that a woman is necessarily always jealous of this type. On the contrary, its kittenish grace appeals to her with the charm of all young life—witness George Eliot's sympathetic delineation of Hetty Sorrel.

Mrs. Ward's serious and deliberate self prefers a different sort of heroine, the girl conscious of a high purpose and beginning to take up an independent position toward her world. Marcella is the leading instance, the heroine of the novel so-called, and the guide, philosopher, and friend of Sir George Tressady in *Marcella's* sequel. But we have this independent type again as Julie in *Lady Rose's Daughter,* as little Puritan Lucy in *Eleanor,* as Mary Elsmere, the second edition of Catherine, in *The Case of Richard Meynell,* as the heroine of *Diana Mallory,* and lastly as the Lydia of whose "mating" Mrs. Ward has so much to say. But though Mrs. Ward may bend all her energies toward depicting this girl of the period, the other wilful fairy type will keep reasserting herself, and usurping an undue share of reality, just because she is a type as old as Eve, whilst the Marcellas of this later age date about the 'eighties.

Indeed, a study of Mrs. Ward's girl portraits is an unconscious education in disentangling the essential from the accidental in feminine psychology, and that on lines perhaps not altogether foreseen by their delineator. To begin with, it is amusing to observe how careful Mrs. Ward is to keep even her wilful type within strictly conventional limits. Even poor little Lady Caroline Lamb—we should say Kitty Ashe—is only allowed a much Bowdlerized version of her original's adventure with Lord Byron, and Hester, the next most daring of Mrs. Ward's impulsive sinners, has her pro-

pensities explained by her sinister heritage. It would be impossible for any right-thinking English girl of "the upper classes" to emulate Hetty Sorrel. These things are "not done" in such circles, or, if done, are not delineated. Consequently, at the right moment the savior steps in, in the guise of husband or guardian, and all is for the best again in the best of all possible worlds. But it is instructive to see that Mrs. Ward has come to admit the possibilities, though she hastens to supply the necessary safeguards. As to the independent type, a generation which has grown used to Ann Veronica's cannot but smile a little at the very restricted independence which Mrs. Ward allows them. It was all very well in the days of Marcella, somewhere in the early 'nineties, to limit their aspirations to a little coquetting with Socialism and a subversive interest in the fortunes of poachers. But so much water has flowed under the bridges since then, everywhere except in the novels of Mrs. Humphry Ward. It is perhaps inevitable that it should be so. With every novelist, as the portrait gallery grows and lengthens, there is an obvious tendency to repeat effects, to draw more from memory than from the living model, with the result that that living model recedes further and further into the distance, and the discrepancy between the girl of Mrs. Ward's drawing and the girl of the period becomes sufficiently startling to attract attention.

It is not so much Mrs. Ward's fault as the fault of the woman movement. Women in the last fifteen years have progressed at so rapid a rate that younger observers than Mrs. Ward might be pardoned for falling behind. But just because Mrs. Ward has not succeeded in keeping abreast of the movement, just because the Lydia of 1913 is still the Marcella of 1893, she is forfeiting her claim to be called a realist, and, what is worse for her art, is being driven to pose her unreal, because out-of-date, figures against a somewhat conventional background. Probably she is herself not aware of it; she still sees England and English life, and the English girl at the center of it, as she saw them twenty years ago. But to a generation face to face with feminism as an active force to be reckoned with, Lydia's somewhat timid speculations as to the right relations between love and friendship, and her half-hearted determination to be free, will provoke a smile. They will recognize how right Mrs. Ward was to choose a remote, North-country back-

ground for so *arrièrée* a heroine, and will even acquiesce in the very simple, if somewhat melodramatic formula upon which the story is constructed.

For what is that formula? Only the old one of the two young men contending for the lady's hand, Lord Tatham with every gift of fortune to help him, and Claude Faversham, the adventurer, needing Lydia's love to redeem him. In the background we have the wicked ogre in his castle, gloating over his countless treasures, the terror and the tyrant of the countryside. And incidentally we have the reappearance of the long-lost heiress and the will-motif, so familiar to all students of melodrama. In other words Mr. Melrose, a bad and cruel landlord, a misogynist whose wife ran away from him with their child twenty years before, a great collector of objects of art and rich beyond the dreams of avarice, makes Claude Faversham his agent and proposes to make him his heir, provided that he will do his bidding and in addition permit him to become the purchaser of some magnificent gems which Faversham happens to have inherited. Faversham for a time sells his soul in this way to the devil. Even when Melrose's wife and daughter reappear, and their cause is espoused not only by the whole countryside but by Lord Tatham and his mother, he does not waver. It is only when Lydia rejects him and his prospective fortune, though owning her love, that his determination is shaken. And when Melrose meets his end by an act of wild justice and is shot by the half-witted son of one of his victims, Faversham, heir in spite of himself, restores to Felicia Melrose her rightful heritage. Felicia thereupon, the child of nature and impulse, bestows her hand and her fortune upon Lord Tatham, whom Lydia had previously rejected, and we finish with the *partie carrée* so dear to old-fashioned playwrights.

Of course Mrs. Ward does not give us the story quite in this mechanical fashion; she is too good an artist for that. But what she does not see, and what we, who have had our eyes opened to the real trend of twentieth-century movements, cannot help seeing, is that she is looking backward, not forward, that her Lydia belongs to 1890, not 1910, and that consequently her values are wrong, and her periods have got unconsciously mixed up, and the result is melodrama, not life. If she had frankly put it all twenty years back and begun with that phrase so dear to old-fashioned novelists,

"In the year 1890 a girl," etcetera, the result might have been different. Her true instinct for psychology would have had free play, and we should have had more scenes of such genuine feeling and simplicity as the love scene between Lydia and Tatham. There Mrs. Ward strikes the true note of an experience which can never be touched by time, the young, fresh love of youth for maiden in the very morning of life. For that scene, and for her pictures of the Cumbrian hills and dales, we can forgive her pages of melodrama. But when all is said that can be said in favor of *The Mating of Lydia,* it remains true that a talent, which blossomed as early as Mrs. Ward's and received so full a recognition, is apt to let itself crystallize. She remains a nineteenth-century novelist, and during this first decade of the twentieth century the art of fiction has made notable progress. We may, or may not, like the pictures of life presented to us by our later realists; we cannot ignore them. Mr. Wells is a novelist who arouses much controversy; but since he wrote *Tono-Bungay,* somehow any analysis of life which is less searching has a trick of looking old-fashioned. An old fashion is not necessarily a bad fashion; but once the springs of the human heart have been laid bare and the secrets of the intellectual movements of our time have been disclosed, there can be no more playing on the surface. And it is just because Mrs. Ward does keep to the surface, because, like most of the Victorians, she is afraid of all the passions which stir humanity, except just that "maiden passion for a maid" of Tennysonian memory, that she can give us readable stories, but cannot give us great novels.

For the English girl of the twentieth century, therefore, we must look elsewhere. Perhaps her delineator has yet to be born. He is not Mr. H. G. Wells; I refuse to regard Ann Veronica, or even the Isabel of *The New Machiavelli,* as true to type. Indeed, I believe that this delineator must be born a woman, if she is to take her proper place in the succession—Miss Yonge for the mid-Victorians, Mrs. Ward for the later Victorians, and some novelist still in the making for the Edwardians and the neo-Georgians. And I can wish this novelist no better gift from the fairy godmother of fiction than a knowledge of girlhood as intimate as Miss Yonge had through life and Mrs. Ward had through most of it, and as patient and faithful a method of observation and record as belonged to them both. MRS. W. L. COURTNEY.

JOHN EGLINTON

BY ERNEST A. BOYD

THE following letter from the distinguished English scholar, the late Professor Dowden, to the writer of this essay, was written just before his death, in fact, the last letter he wrote.—THE EDITOR.

"DUBLIN, *March 28, 1913.*

"DEAR MR. BOYD,—I have read your article on 'John Eglinton' with much interest. I have always regarded John Eglinton as a writer of exceptional originality, and as one whose thoughts are of great value not to Ireland only, but to readers everywhere who care for things of the mind. To make him more widely known is to do good service to what is spiritual in modern life, and just now, when there is a movement (of which the influence of Eucken and Bergson is an indication) toward what one may call a more idealistic way of looking at things, his time may have arrived. When R. le Gallienne gave him enthusiastic praise, the time was less favorable. Your article is saturated with John Eglinton's thought, and sets it forth with great fidelity. Perhaps in America your "Irish Emerson" would be welcomed, partly because of the interest there in the Irish literary movement, and partly because there is in the American intellect a sympathy with such older writers as Emerson and Thoreau. I don't know that 'J. E.' is not as much a 'spiritual Thoreau' as an 'Irish Emerson.'

"Very truly yours,

"E. DOWDEN."

Mr. John Eglinton is probably the least known of the group of writers associated with the Irish literary revival. Younger men, in reality his successors, have achieved a certain degree of fame or popularity, while he remains a figure apart, known only to the few who appreciate the charm of his beautiful prose. He is "a sort of lonely thorn-tree," as George Moore described him in *Ave*, but "the thorn breaks into flower" and then we get, sometimes the luxuriance of *Two Essays on the Remnant*, sometimes the less riotous bloom of *Pebbles from a Brook*. These two volumes together with *Bards and Saints*, constitute Mr. Eglinton's

slender contribution to permanent literature. For the rest, his work is scattered throughout the pages of various reviews and esoteric magazines, from whence it has not yet been rescued, although vain attempts have been made to persuade the author to do so. In the last two volumes, as also in *Literary Ideals in Ireland,* some of these essays have been saved from the dusty oblivion of the files of periodical literature, those mines of hidden wealth, the joy of the literary explorer and the despair of librarians. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has escaped the attention of the majority of critics, who have identified Anglo-Irish literature with the work of its poets and dramatists. Although he has written some verse, Mr. Eglinton has never come forward as a dramatist, and his claim to consideration must be based solely upon his distinction as an essayist.

It is not only in his failure to attain popularity that Mr. Eglinton is an isolated figure in contemporary literature. A certain ironical detachment and skepticism indicate a mentality not usually associated with the writers of the Irish literary movement. The illusory, shadowy world to which Mr. Yeats has accustomed his readers, and the flamboyant rhetorical energy of Synge's peasantry find no counterpart in the writings of John Eglinton. Those who have identified the two phases of the Irish mind with the " Celtic Twilight " of the Yeats school, and the verbal magnificence of Synge's drama, will find in him a very different aspect of the Irish mind. It is popularly supposed that Mr. Eglinton is a mystic, but the term has only been applied to him in public as one of abuse, by unfriendly critics, of whom he has many. His mysticism does not express itself in terms of pantheistic rapture as in the works of " AE," whose name is most intimately associated with the cult of the inner life in Ireland. Like the poet, he has felt the touch of the " earth-breath " upon him, but the voice of Nature called to him rather as to Wordsworth, inviting him to flee from " the dull banausic murmur " of city life. In the green trees and the open country, Mr. Eglinton sees as it were a protest against the ugliness of civilization which has forced us to "coagulate into cities." He rejoices to see our cities submit to " the green invasion of the passive trees " representing the return of all that we have suppressed from our lives. He does not seek solitude like "AE," that he may be in communion with the Divine Spirit

of the Universe, but rather as a step in the direction of the mystical wilderness whither he has called upon the idealists to follow him. That, indeed, was the message by which he first revealed himself some twenty years ago in *Two Essays on the Remnant.*

It is hardly possible to analyze this wonderful little book with its enigmatic title suggestive of Hebrew prophecy. It is an appeal to what Isaiah called " the remnant that are left," the band of artists and thinkers who have not been assimilated by modern civilization. They must, as the Chosen People, betake themselves once again to the wilderness and withdraw from a life in which they can take no part, and which is in fact hostile to them. In the presence within the state of the unemployed idealist Mr. Eglinton sees the cause of all social upheavals and discontents. " Once a man is glamoured with the thought of the wilderness he becomes indifferent." " He is no longer a good citizen, and he infects with his indifference those who should be so." If the Chosen People had only retired from a system of things in which they have no concern "there would have been no oppression in store for them and no uneasy dreams for the Pharaoh of civilization. The French Revolution was only the first of the great plagues." Civilization seems to have no work for the " lapsed masses " of idealism. " We declare," cries Mr. Eglinton, " that civilization is advancing, in so far as it is doing so, with a velocity acquired before it had begun to discard the services of such persons as ourselves," and he warns us of the danger to the community of these supernumerary citizens. Some of them can subsist for a time " on the fag ends of wages and patrimonies " and have much time for " sharpening their wits in reflection and reading," and they are not all so harmless as Mr. Eglinton, who, if " armed not with bombs but with generalizations," explains that it is only because he can handle these " with less risk to himself because he has more confidence in them."

Few of the generalizations are sounder than that upon which he bases his criticism of modern social conditions. " The test of the state of civilization is therefore quite simple—whether in assisting it the individual is astride of his proper instincts." But Mr. Eglinton holds that, instead of being superior to each of its units the state is " centuries behindhand." Nowadays development is in-

dividual, hence the formation of a remnant which must go apart and dwell in the wilderness and "live the great life beneath the sun and moon." Removed from progress, to which they no longer contribute, leaving their ideas to fructify in the soil they have fertilized, the idealists will derive a new inspiration and prepare themselves for future sowings. If they remain they are obliged to profane their minds and to submit to slavery, which Mr. Eglinton admirably defines as the condition in which " the mind consents to labor for the body." As the Chosen People of old made bricks, so the bondage of their successors is bookmaking, a task for which they are peculiarly fitted. " The pen indeed seems to grow to the hand of an idealist, to carry his slender finger like an Arab horseman over the silent plains of foolscap." In their capacity as " thought-artisans " employment has been found for the remnant, though they remain, as they started, " a class subservient to alien interests." Their function is reduced to " ministering intellectual interests in all kinds of ingenious ways to an unbelieving public," they have been betrayed by their very " dexterity " in the manipulation of ideas.

In Goethe, Mr. Eglinton sees the Joseph who has, by reason of his prosperity, become the cause of the captivity of his brethren. It was Goethe who discovered "the vast capacities of art as an absorbent medium," when the atmosphere of Europe was " unduly charged with ideas and threatened to enter the life of each man with disastrous consequences to society." Nevertheless, Mr. Eglinton recognizes Goethe as one of the glories of idealism, whatever disservice his prosperity may have rendered those who followed him. He describes a pilgrimage to the little room at Weimar whither came " the restless and swarming ideas which had lately seemed to cloud all the plains of Europe under their wings, and minister ecliptic darkness to the performance of evil deeds." With Schiller as *Zauberlehrling*, Weimar became the " chief emporium of ideas in Europe," in which Goethe carried on a brisk business, discharging his surplus " in the form of epigrams " on those less fortunate. This procedure is likened by the essayist to that of young men who " fling hot pennies to the rabble." On the death of Goethe it seemed as if the idealists were to come into their own and that " the consummation of the promised land would not exclude the flesh-

pots of Egypt." Soon, however, civilization turned its attention to its own concerns, leaving the idealists "where the flood tide had raised them." The choice before the idealist is therefore to perpetuate the onward impulse in his life, or to resign himself to " ministering with an ever-dwindling imaginative reason to the requirements of civilization." Such is the fate in store for the remnant; for they have no Moses to lead them forth into the wilderness. They have not harkened to the voices—Rousseau, Whitman, Tolstoy—calling upon them to abandon " the doomed hulk of modern civilization." Mr. Eglinton concludes:

"Civilization has been too much for them—circumstances over which they had no control. The gods, at least, have not loved them. And at length, some dry-eyed poet, glancing sidelong and half in fear at the watching heavens, once so blue and fortunate to his early vision, pens a last blasphemy of them, and leaving his tablets behind him and covering his eyes, hurries down into the way of death."

There is a beautiful description of Wordsworth, " the tall North-country youth " walking up and down in London, trying " to catch on as a citizen." Wordsworth, whom he regards as the "first and greatest of the unemployed," is Mr. Eglinton's constant companion. His name which was " a far-fluttering unattainable carol " to the author in the beginning has since seldom been absent from his thoughts. He pictures the poet as he walks in Cheapside and hears the song of a thrush. It is the time of the "ruddy sunsets of the French Revolution " when men were suspicious of foreigners, yet they do not see in Wordsworth what Mr. Eglinton had perceived, when he cried:

"Seize him, ye Londoners! It is a treachery! He is no Gallic emissary, but worse! He is in league with the green hosts of trees, whose barbaric siege ye have put back so long from year to year, and of the countless horde of grass that springs in the breaches of ruins and in the interstices of depopulate pavements!"

Like Socrates, Wordsworth may be accused of corrupting the youths by " indisposing them for civic action." The temptation to quote is great, but this final picture of the Chosen People at work must suffice:

"Civilized man is once more a savage, but he is not as if civilization had never been. He is no longer what he was when the failure within him of his ruder instincts left him social and stationary. He has now left his barbaric ennui behind him, and with a full heart turns once more to nature, his home and his mother. . . . He is as one who

goes forth into the morning woods, in whose brain yet flaunt the pomps and processions of his dreams."

Mr. Eglinton has been described by some as "an Irish Emerson," and in *Pebbles from a Brook* he has substantiated this claim on his behalf. Such subjects as "Knowledge," "Apostolic Succession," or "The Three Qualities in Poetry" immediately suggest the great American essayist. Like Emerson, whom he has evidently thoroughly absorbed, Mr. Eglinton is a transcendentalist. "It is religion," he writes, "which has made the daring attempt to give a meaning to life," but we have broken with past beliefs, without having found a substitute. We have pinned our faith to science, but scientists admit "that something is wanting in the Universe to answer to the moral element in experience." So long as we direct our lives from without inward, rather than from within outward, Mr. Eglinton sees little hope of our supplying this deficiency. Mankind has become enamoured of the mere acquisition of knowledge, "big brains have been in requisition rather than great natures," but in the plethora of facts the meaning of life has become obscured. "The age of omniscience is the age of agnosticism." We must turn to ourselves, to our own experiences, which embody facts outside the range of scientific speculation. "We ourselves are the center from which radiate all the paths of speculation," let us therefore be less concerned with the discoveries of science. "It is the function of philosophy to launch a generalization into human consciousness," there the cold truths of the laboratory may become forces, provided they enlist human sympathy. What we need is that transcendental certainty which resides in the inmost being of man, and which the poet and thinker alone can give us. "The serried ranks of science and common sense" have failed in this task, for they have sought without what is only forthcoming from within. Science, however is suspicious of visionaries "as being thaumaturgist in tendency" and he must be "a clever thaumaturgus who will do anything with the eyes of the evolutionary philosophers upon him." Evolution does not take account of the exceptional, but of the normal. "It knows only of householders and shareholders who ride the central flood of evolutionary tendency, blown along by the soft gales of natural selection." Sometimes, however, nature

sends men into the world to test the value of society, not in the light of acquired knowledge, but by the touchstone of feeling and intuition. The voices of our poets and idealists recall us to a sense of our own worth, "we realize that man himself is the test of all things and are conscious of the reality of the inward life." But we are inclined to view art and religion as objective values without any relation to what is essential in us. Hence the effort of literature to become divorced from life and to aspire to live for art's sake, a proceeding which Mr. Eglinton likens to "the declaration of a beauty past her prime that she will have nothing more to do with men."

In "Heroic Literature" Mr. Eglinton confesses the difficulties which await the poet who once more attempts to find his theme in man. He regards as signs of the absence of poetic inspiration in modern life, the revival of the heroic literature of Ireland, and the experiments of Morris with the Norse and Teutonic legends. With regret he recalls the heroic period when we carried latent within ourselves all the arts, sciences, and inventions, all the joys and virtues which have since proceeded from us, taking shape outside ourselves. Then man, "a great somber fellow, shouting his pedigree at you, when he spoke to you, knew all that he owned and clearly marked the frontiers outside which he owed homage to the visible powers." His deeds were great and he was a fitting subject for heroic song. But what is the figure which now offers itself to the eyes of the modern poet? Not Finn, nor Ajax, nor Cuchulain, but Livingstone, Gordon, or Burton, who suggest "a pathological rather than a poetic treatment on the side of their intercourse with the gods." Mr. Eglinton sorrowfully traces this process of decay in man until

> "At last he rolls bankrupt on the ground, a shell, his power gone from him, civilization like a robe whirled down the stream out of his reach in eddies of London and Paris, the truth no longer the ichor of his being, but a cloudy evaporated mass of problems above his head....that is he, *homo sapiens,* poor, naked, neurotic, undeceived ribless wretch, make what you can of him, ye bards!"

It is to Wordsworth that Mr. Eglinton would have the poet turn his steps. In the *Lyrical Ballads* he sees what we may get from the man who sings his own joys and experiences, casting the poetic light upon the "turbid and dull

world of civic action." If it has happened to poetry, as to philosophy and religion, that they must be sought in the individual, why should he despair? "It is from the poet's soul that the poetic light is cast upon the world and not from the world upon the poet's soul"; the changed conditions are an advantage, for they throw the poet back upon himself, to the great world of his own imagination. The warrior is no longer the hero of an age which demands the realization of the ideal. "The poem that is to justify the modern world must, in the first place, be a man." It must be a song of victory, of the virtue of man, which will restore to him a sense of his own identity and his own greatness.

Politics, so long the sole manifestation of vitality in Ireland, is the touchstone with which every Irishman is tested. Mr. Eglinton has had to answer the inevitable challenge and to declare his political views, which are summed up in the Essay on "Regenerate Patriotism." In a country which refuses to recognize all finer shades of opinion and where political labels are distributed on the most elementary principle, Mr. Eglinton is an anomaly. His attitude is highly disconcerting, inasmuch as it interferes with the popular system of classification. There seems to be a tacit understanding that all criticism of national aspirations must come from the side of the enemy, for whom a reply is usually ready. But when the critic cannot be stigmatized as hostile to national ideals, the problem of silencing him becomes more difficult. The stereotyped reproaches are ineffective and consternation reigns until some one remembers a well-known device, and the offender is reviled as a wretch who dares to "calumny" his native land. Mr. Eglinton's failure to reach a becomingly lyrical note in his expression of nationality and patriotism has secured for him the unqualified hostility of vociferous patriots. As he says, "popular patriotism submits with no better grace than popular religion to the criticism of philosophy." Undismayed, however, he has submitted the idea of patriotism to an analysis by no means usual in Ireland, where sentiment reaches a religious fervor and holds undisputed sway. In his attitude towards "unregenerate patriotism" Mr. Eglinton reveals himself as still holding the view of the individual in society which he put forward in *Two Essays on the Remnant*. As civilization seemed to

him to have no use for the "lapsed masses of idealism," so, too, he argues, patriotism suffers as culture and civilization develop. Culture gives men resources within themselves, civilization diminishes "the external factors of patriotism," as wars become fewer and states grow so unwieldy that the individual can no longer be identified with them. The nation is no longer an organic whole in which each has his work and "all inequalities are compensated in the unifying sense of nationality." A man can no longer say "this is my own, my native land," for "it has come to belong to a small number of the sons and daughters of privilege." As for historical memories, a country's past is not necessarily more creditable than the past of any individual, while "all the battles that were ever fought and resulted in victory to the rights of man, were fought on the same side." Mr. Eglinton concludes:

"Patriotism, in fact, in the old sense, is only possible when the whole life interest of the individual is comprised within that of the patria. When individuality is hatched and has become independent of the community, the relation of the individual to it must suffer a change. Instead of a receiver he becomes a giver."

The regenerate patriotism which Mr. Eglinton would substitute, is based upon the relation of a man with his fellowmen and with nature, rather than upon his relation to the state. This is the theme of the poetry which the essayist admires, the poetry of Wordsworth, in whom "that love of country is once again blended, as traditional patriotism traditionally is, with religion." Here the veil which separates us from nature is torn aside, we see her beauty, holiness, and wisdom, she is no longer Maya or illusion, but "an extension of ourselves, our guide, support, and teacher." Our native land is but a part of nature, and as such we should love it. How remote is this ideal from the actual conditions of patriotism in Ireland, which Mr. Eglinton describes as "querulously claiming our errant affections!" The poet must obey the law of individual freedom if he is to attain unto himself, for to him, if he be true to his nature, is intrusted the soul of the nation. His country may protest, but it will ultimately recognize that such as he can alone confer true glory upon the patria. In conclusion, he apostrophizes his country in a passage for which the unregenerate patriots have never forgiven him:

"No, no! my patria! I will persist in seeing thee a virgin mother made of the nearest thing to God that we know, the magnetic and teeming soil, and will still behold thee beautiful and unprofaned, no palsied beldam with whiskey on thy breath and a crucifix in thy hand—two things I have never loved."

To Gaelic chauvinists Mr. Eglinton's literary criticism is no less suspect than his patriotism. His attitude towards and his judgments in Irish literature have usually been unfavorable to popular illusion. The essays which have been reprinted in *Literary Ideals in Ireland* represent Mr. Eglinton's part in the controversy which was carried on in the Dublin *Daily Express* when Standish O'Grady, "AE," W. B. Yeats, and others were preparing the way for the Irish Dramatic Movement. Mr. Eglinton argued that while Irish legends lent themselves to poetic or dramatic treatment no less than those of ancient Greece, it was doubtful if anything greater than belles-lettres could come from a determined preoccupation with them. National literature he defined as "the outcome and expression of a strong interest in life itself," whereas "belles-lettres seek a subject outside experience." If our poets look away from themselves and their age, if they see in the past merely an escape from the present, their art is not the expression of the life around them and cannot therefore be either representative or national. The poetry which has been most a fact of life in England is the Wordsworthian, so Mr. Eglinton warns Mr. Yeats of the danger of the latter's contempt of popular poetry. Art for the sake of art may achieve "the occult triumphs of the symbolist school," but in time "humanity will return its indifference in kind, and leave it to the dignity and consolation of unpopularity." Mr. Eglinton criticizes the attitude common to both poets and politicians, who imagine that, because Ireland is the scene of a heroic past, Irishmen thereby become endowed with special virtues. He urges us to prove our worth and to feel that "we have as good a right to exist on this soil and on our own merits as Finn or Cuchulain."

Nobody desires more ardently than John Eglinton to see Ireland possessed of a national literature, but his definition of the term places him in opposition to the means popularly employed to achieve that end. In *Bards and Saints* will be found the essence of his criticism of the Gaelic revival, particularly in the Essay on "The De-

Davisization of Irish Literature." In Davis he sees the root of all the confusion which lies at the bottom of the Irish Language Movement.

> "What the Irish Nationalist, as instructed by Davis, means by 'National literature' is not the interpretation of the soul of a people, still less the emancipation of the national mind by means of individual utterance, but . . . the expression of such sentiments as help to exalt an Irishman's notion of the excellence and importance of the race to which he belongs."

Such is the keynote of all that Mr. Eglinton has written of recent years upon the question of Irish literature. He has pointed out the fatal effect upon the intellectual life of Ireland of banishing from literature those fundamental ideas of religion and morality whose discussion has everywhere led to some broad agreement as a basis of national existence. In *Dana,* the review of which he was editor, Mr. Eglinton once welcomed the recrudescence of religious bigotry as "one of the most genuine signs of the new awakening in Irish life." The fact that Irishmen sedulously avoid religious and other topics upon which they have "agreed to differ," simply means that in certain respects Ireland is just emerging from the seventeenth century. We make a mistake in recommending tolerance prematurely, as was suggested once in *Dana,* instead of insisting upon an understanding at whatever cost, as was the case in all the countries where national literature is not wholly divorced from the main problems of life. Political independence, the revival of the Irish language, what can they be but the hollow forms of nationality, when all the vital factors in national life are banished from literature and conversation? Ireland has never made up her mind definitely upon the religious question. Her Catholicism is peculiarly Protestant in spirit, and, as Mr. Eglinton suggests, may possibly be the unnaturally developed offspring of what at one time bid fair to be the Celtic, as distinct from the Greek and Roman, Church. The Irish language itself is the utterance of youthful paganism, and is by no means the expression of the piety with which some would associate it. In view of the intellectual paralysis which this avoidance of essentials has engendered in Irish life, it is not surprising that Mr. Eglinton should be a consistent critic of all the forces which make for the continuation of this state of affairs. This morbid anxiety on the subject of patriotism, this con-

stant preoccupation with a heroic past, cannot give birth to a genuinely national literature, which will reflect the mind and soul of a people. "It is by a thought movement, rather than by a language movement, that Ireland will have to show that it holds the germs of true nationality."

Detachment is the dominant note of Mr. John Eglinton's philosophy. He moves serenely in the din of party cries, uttering a word of quiet criticism or exhortation, to the discomfiture of the factions, whose mechanical vociferations pass for manifestations of Irish political life. He writes but rarely, and each of his essays is a perfect gem of scintillating thought whose flashes illuminate some obscure corner of popular belief. At one time we find him fighting on behalf of the Anglo-Irishman and his literature, at others he is engaged in a damaging original criticism of the Irish language. As might be expected, the author of *Two Essays on the Remnant* does not accuse the Gael of being "impractical." All the more effective, therefore, is his contention that Irish "retains a rude flavor as of a language which has never properly been to school." It is not, however, only the popular idols of language and patriotism which Mr. Eglinton regards with the eye of critical skepticism. In the short-lived *Shanachie* he treated St. Patrick in a spirit which indicated complete freedom from the associations that have rendered this subject peculiarly sacrosanct. Speaking of our inability to portray saints and our tendency to make heroes of malefactors, he indulges in some characteristic *boutades* at Milton's expense. Thanks to the author of "Paradise Lost," having learned to know Satan, we rather like him, and we feel that when he fell, "all that was the least interesting in heaven fell with him." Finally Mr. Eglinton warns us that "we must cease to treat celestial matters until we can state Jehovah's case with more sympathetic insight." It will be seen that the intellectual tradition to which his countrymen Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw belong can also claim a representative in John Eglinton. It is not, however, that he is prone to paradox. George Moore probably summed him up when he said that he was a doubter, "he doubts even of his own beautiful prose."

Skepticism is at the root of Mr. Eglinton's criticism of art and life. The *Two Essays* are the exasperated outburst of a young idealist at the first contact of disillusion-

ment. Since then he has lost many of the enthusiasms which still inspire his contemporaries. *Pebbles from a Brook* contains the same fundamental ideas as that early plea on behalf of the "unemployed idealist," but there is more restraint, and that restraint is reflected in the style. The essays in *Dana* and the little volume *Bards and Saints* everywhere reveal the same attitude of inquiry towards the aim and value of progress as understood in modern civilization. Mr. Eglinton is ever in search of a "new spiritual initiative." He turns from "the continual tabulation of facts," which is science but not knowledge, to the poet who alone can give us trouble and wisdom. He sees that the men who have most profoundly affected human thought have been the Rousseaus, Wordsworths, Thoreaus, and Tolstoys, those who have preached a gospel resolutely opposed to that which governs modern "progress." In this direction, therefore, he conceives our hopes of development to lie. In a recent essay in the *Irish Review,* Mr. Eglinton returns to his first profession of faith in the "Chosen People," "the intellectuals," as he now calls them. "It is amongst these," he writes, "that a new idea might conceivably arise which might even lead ultimately to a new form of civilization." It is easy to understand his dissatisfaction with what is the only approach to a stirring of the national soul in Ireland. But political and linguistic independence cannot give Ireland that real personality which comes from the existence of an inner life. The work of "AE" and his disciples has made this fact a point of departure, and it was, no doubt, with that in mind that Mr. Eglinton penned the phrase quoted above. Here he sees an effort towards effecting a thought revival in which the outworn shibboleths of intellectual stagnation will be cast into the melting-pot, whence will emerge a new and living creed. This creed must not harden into dogma, it must be flexible, the ever-changing expression of the human soul. As Mr. Eglinton once expressed it, "to embrace a dogma is the acknowledgment of intellectual failure." It is the dogmatism of Irish life which is responsible for his own skepticism. It has forced into a negative, purely critical, position one who might have been a great transcendental teacher. As it is, he remains one of the most beautiful prose-writers in modern English.

Ernest A. Boyd.

WHY GOLDWIN SMITH CAME TO AMERICA

BY ARNOLD HAULTAIN

I do not think it is presumptuous to say that this is the first full and trustworthy attempt to explain the reasons of Goldwin Smith's expatriation; because for eighteen years I was at his elbow helping him in all he undertook, and to me he opened his heart—if ever he opened his heart—more perhaps than to any one else. Since his death in June, 1910, also, I have had the opportunity of reading countless letters written by him, as well as of receiving letters about him from friends and relatives.

And the question why so eminent a man, in the prime of life, and with large and varied fields of ambition before him—an ex-Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, an acknowledged expert in the subject of Education, a man who had sat on two important Commissions, who had virtually single-handed transformed the University of Oxford, the friend of Cobden and Bright and Mill, and one of the leaders of a great section of the Liberal Party in England—why such a man should suddenly forsake England and spend more than forty years expatriated in America, . . . this is a question that has puzzled Goldwin Smith's most intimate friends.

Perhaps the fullest and most elaborate explanation ever given by himself of his own self-enforced exile was contained in an "interview" supplied to the Toronto daily *Mail and Empire* in the spring of 1899. In the beginning of February (or the end of January) of that year, there had appeared in the little daily journal called *The World*, published at Toronto, in Canada, the following paragraph:

"Criticism of Goldwin Smith

"the 'saturday review' gives a dig at the professor who lives at 'the grange.'

"London, *Saturday Review:* Lord Beaconsfield described Mr. Goldwin Smith in *Lothair* as 'the Professor who was not satisfied with his

home career, and like many men of his order of mind, had dreams of wild vanity, which the New World, they think, can alone realize.' Well, Mr. Goldwin Smith has certainly not realized his dream of uniting Canada with the United States; and now he writes from Toronto to tell us that the party system has been weighed and found wanting, and must inevitably disappear. For a professor of history this is a very superficial judgment, and discovers an entire forgetfulness of the eighteenth century."

This aroused Goldwin Smith's keenest resentment. He debated long with himself and with me what steps he should take to answer it—whether he should write to the *Saturday*, whether he should write to the *Times* (his letter in which on the Liberal Leadership was the peg upon which the *Saturday* hung its remarks),[1] or what he should do. I suggested stating his case in his Reminiscences and passing it over at present in silence. But evidently it cut him to the quick, and he was bound to express himself at once. At last he made up his mind to use the Toronto *Mail* as his channel. He drove down to the office, saw one of the editors, and obtained permission to insert a paragraph in the form of an interview. After all sorts of corrections and re-corrections, this was what appeared:

"Mr. Goldwin Smith's notice was yesterday called to a paragraph in a contemporary alluding to an offensive account given by a London journal of his motives for settling on this side of the water; and he was asked, as other injurious accounts of the same matter had appeared before, whether he would object to giving the true account. His answer was:

"'My settling on this side of the water has before been ascribed to discreditable motives. The real account is simply this: I held the Professorship of Modern History at Oxford, the chair held before by Arnold, and since by Freeman and Stubbs, which was the summit of my limited ambition. I resigned it because family reasons obliged me to leave Oxford, requiring my presence at home. On my father's death, having independent means and no profession, I was rather at a loss for an object in life. I was offered a nomination to Parliament, and for a sure seat; but I knew that I had neither strength for the work nor any gifts that way. I had visited America, and had formed the interest in American history and politics which has since led to my writing a little history of the United States.[2] My thoughts were turned that way when I fell in with Andrew D. White, now American Ambassador at Berlin, then President of the Cornell University, which was being founded

[1] "The Liberal Leadership." The London *Times*, January 17, 1899.

[2] *The United States, An Outline of Political History, 1492-1871.* By Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1893.

under his own and other very noble auspices, for the special benefit of poor students. White invited me to take part as a historical lecturer in the enterprise. I consented, feeling that I should thus combine an object of practical interest with the fullest facilities for my American studies. Two very happy and, I hope, not unfruitful years I spent at Cornell, with which I maintain a more than friendly connection. Then I took up my abode with members of my family who had settled before me here,[1] and presently I married and became permanently resident in Canada. I may say that while living here I have received offers, both political and academical, from the Old Country, which showed that I had still most kindly relations both with political and academical friends. This disposes of another set of reports. Since I have settled in Toronto I have allowed a series of these fictions to pass with the disdain due to those who cannot discuss public questions without assailing private character and feelings. I do not even know whether I ought to say what I am saying to you now. But I hope it will be taken less as an answer to my enemies than as a tribute to the opinion of my friends.'"

That is the Professor's own account of his resignation of the Regius Professorship of History at Oxford. What took him to Cornell he has explained. What took him to Canada and kept him there, he told me quite simply, was that he had relatives there, that he married there, and that his wife and her friends kept him there.

But his own ostensible reasons for settling in America he had given long before this. His first public explanation was probably in the New York *Tribune* in 1868, when he said:

"I am going to devote myself to the study, and if after due study I feel equal to the task, to the composition of American history. With this view I shall probably take up my abode in the United States in the course of the summer."[2]

And yet in spite of these explanations, why Goldwin Smith left England and buried himself in the Western hemisphere nobody really knows. Nor did he divulge his secret to anybody.

With great self-abnegation, he resigned the Regius Professorship of Modern History at his own University in order to be with his afflicted father. This he himself told me.[3] He also told it to his friend Charles Eliot Norton in a

[1] That is, in Canada.

[2] Quoted in the London *Times*, February 11, 1868.

[3] Since writing this, I have found out that Goldwin Smith had entertained thoughts of resigning his professorship some years before his father's unfortunate illness. Writing in September, 1865, to his Oxford

letter dated February 23d, 1867, which I am permitted to use. He writes thus:

"MORTIMER, READING, *Feb. 23, 1867.*

"MY DEAR NORTON,—

"I write this in a sad house. My father's malady, as was feared from the beginning, has affected his brain and he is now in a state of intermittent insanity at once most disturbing to the patient and most trying and embarrassing to his relations. I have taken up my abode here to see what can be done.

. . . "I am struck by the very narrow limits within which the science of Medicine is still confined. The disease is certainly physical, though it has at last affected the mind, and, one should say, of a very marked character. Yet the physicians are utterly unable to give any account of it. They have seen similar, or nearly similar, cases, and that is all they can say. Their remedies are applied in the dark, and, as I believe, have done mischief.

"Of course, this state of things at home suspends all hopes of coming to America. But you may be sure that, as soon as domestic duty permits, my thought will be turned again in that direction. Among you I passed the happiest months of my life."

Indeed, Goldwin Smith often told me himself that his father needed supervision and control, and that he, the only surviving son, was the only person who had influence over him. In his *Reminiscences* also he relates that, after his father's unfortunate death, being without occupation, and yet having independent means; being also, as he hints, distraught with all that he had gone through, by a happy chance he was asked by Andrew White to accept a chair at Cornell. He accepted.

But the acceptance was doubtless reinforced by other motives.

Lady St. Helier, an intimate friend, in her *Memories,* published in 1909, discusses Goldwin Smith's expatriation. "He left England," she writes, "because he found it unsympathetic, and it did not meet his particular views of life. . . . He still entertains his stern Republicanism and his objection to monarchical and hereditary institutions."[1]

Very early in his career did this antipathy between himself and his own country, and a sympathy between himself

friend George Waring, he says: "My constitution, which was always weak, has shown decided symptoms of giving way of late; and as I wish, if possible, to complete some literary work while I have strength left for it, I shall probably give up my professorship next summer."

[1] *Memories of Fifty Years.* By Lady St. Helier (Mary Jeune). Pages 289, 290.

and his afterward adopted country, reveal themselves. Even before he had seen the New World, he wrote to his friend Charles Eliot Norton in America thus—the letter, I think, is worth giving in full:

"OXFORD, *May 24th, 1864.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—

"Accept my best thanks for your letter, which has given me, I assure you, very great pleasure.

"I rejoice to hear from you that my pamphlet[1] is likely to do good in America. The appreciation of American institutions which you observe in it arises perhaps from my being 'an American citizen,' in sympathy, more decidedly than you suppose. I am as far as possible from desiring to see any violent revolution in this country. But, for my own part, I have fairly thought my way out of social and political Feudalism, and out of the State Church which is its religious complement; and my intellect and heart are entirely with those who are endeavoring to found a great community on the sounder as well as happier basis of social justice and free religious convictions. In my sentiments, at least in the definiteness of my sentiments, on these subjects I probably stand nearly alone among people of my own class. So that my writings, I fear, have little value as an index of English opinion. Most likely I shall be more in my element, in some respects, at Boston than I am at Oxford.

"However, as I said before, you have the mass of the intelligent working-classes here upon your side; and if an attempt were made to use the power of England against you, they would I have no doubt do all that, without the franchise and without powerful leaders, they could do for a cause which they now clearly see to be their own.

"The religion of the country is also mainly on your side; though the clergy of the Establishment are of course by position hostile to a community which is the great representative of the Voluntary system.

"As to the upper classes, who are mainly against you, they are at this moment full of wealth, which is little shared by the mass of the people, and destitute of faith, owing to the disintegration of dogmatic systems and the pestilential decay of the State Church. These causes do not fail to produce their natural effects,—sensualism and political cowardice, the latter aggravated by a latent feeling that the arrangements of society among us are not just, and that whatever public men may say in after-dinner speeches of the loyalty of the people, the indigent and unenfranchised masses regard the constitution with apathy, and the more active-minded of them with sullen disaffection. The ruling spirit of the hour is embodied in Palmerston,[2] a sensualist, a religious and political infidel, the fit minister of a selfish and cynical reaction. The prevalence of all that is worst among us from skepticism to prize-fighting marks the mood which has given birth to this burst of malignant exaltation over the misfortunes of the American Republic. Perhaps the most repulsive feature of the whole is the alliance which has been formed

[1] Either *Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery* (Oxford: Parker, 1863), or *A Letter to a Whig Member of the Southern Independence Association* (London: Macmillan, 1864); probably the latter.

[2] Who was at this time at the head of the Government.

between infidelity personified in Palmerston and the worst spirit of fanaticism personified in the Puseyites and the party of the 'Record' for the joint purposes of political and ecclesiastical Reaction. Unless some great shock reawakens the better spirit of the nation we may before long have reason to wish that your lot, which is pointed at as so miserable, were ours.

"Gladstone's speech in favor of the extension of the suffrage has somewhat revived the Liberal party from the state of asphyxia into which it has been thrown by the treachery of Palmerston. But the oligarchy is deeply rooted, even the middle classes having to a great extent joined the conspiracy to exclude the working-classes from the franchise. I suspect the disintegration of the present system is likely to commence in the ecclesiastical rather than in the political sphere.

"One sentence in your letter was most welcome—that in which you told me that the news from Grant was on the whole thought encouraging. The telegrams produced the impression of a great disaster. I assure you that I did a very bad morning's work after reading the news yesterday.[1] My only comfort was my confidence in Grant. The characters of history are not, any more than its scenes, repeated; and it would be absurd to expect the reappearance of the great Puritan chief[2] in the America of the present day. But this man seems to me of all that have come forward in the war to be the most like Cromwell in the qualities which command confidence, sustain hope amidst difficulties and misfortunes, and lead on through all trials to victory. From Cromwell's ambition (if Cromwell was ambitious) he seems, happily for himself and his country, to be nobly free. Of his military merits of course I can form no judgment. But his character, so far as I can discern it at this distance, makes a great impression on me: and I feel that in him there is embodied at last the best spirit of your nation.

"I shall be glad to see you safe through the crisis of the Presidential Election.[3] The feeling of your friends here is, I think, universally in favor of Lincoln, both because he seems to them on the whole to have done his part well and because it would be a proof of constancy on the part of the 'fickle democracy' of America. His recent letter, explaining the principles of his conduct on the question of Slavery, appeared to all of us an admirable document. No State paper equal to it in sterling qualities has been produced on this side of the water for many a year.

"I hope to sail for Boston about the end of August. I shall not sail till then, among other reasons, because it is possible that in the mean time there may be a use for my pen. We are not so strong as we ought to be among the literary class or in the more powerful part of the Press. I think of coming in a sailing-vessel, in order that (when my seasickness is over) I may be among real sailors and really enjoy the sea. But this depends on my finding a good ship willing to take a cabin passenger, which I believe is not easy. Any information or advice you can give

[1] Lee and Longstreet, the Southern generals, advanced rapidly early in this month (May); and the severe and indecisive battle near Chancellorsville in the Wilderness was fought on the fifth and sixth of the month.

[2] Cromwell—whom he has elsewhere styled "The Great Puritan."

[3] The contest was between Lincoln and McClellan.

me will of course be most welcome, and I need hardly say that one of the greatest pleasures and advantages to which I shall look forward in my visit will be that of making acquaintance with you. As to the 'burdensome expressions of grateful feeling,' I trust that by that time they will be effectually diverted to worthier objects by the return of your victorious army; a sight which I would give not a little to behold.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours very faithfully,

"GOLDWIN SMITH.

"C. E. NORTON, Esquire."

And this is what he himself, after coming to America, told his American friends seated round the table at the breakfast given in his honor as a welcome by the citizens of New York in 1864:

"Till I came here I was—not a revolutionist, for no man can more heartily abhor violent evolutions—but somewhat impatient of political evils, and anxious for vehement effort and for immediate change."

As early as 1864, three years before his father's death, six years after his appointment to the chair of Modern History at Oxford, he wrote to Charles Eliot Norton, on the eve of his first visit to America thus:

"The Cunard which leaves Liverpool on the 20th August will, I hope, bring me to Boston. I shall come with feelings very different from those of a mere tourist to a land which, since you have irrevocably broken your connection with Slavery, I have learnt to regard almost as my own. For, with all loyalty to the land of my birth, the heart of a political student cannot fail to be, in some measure, with the nation which in spite of all the calamities which beset and all which (it is to be feared) still await it, bears, more than any other, in the bark of its fortunes the political (and, as I believe, the religious) hopes of man. I am sure no American can have watched with more intense interest or deeper anxiety than I have the terrible crisis through which all that you and I most value is now passing."

The fact is that in his visit to the United States in 1864 (largely as the mouthpiece of those who so strenuously took the part of the North in the American Civil War) he was received on every hand with unlimited adulation. And this was but natural. He was an eminent Oxford Professor. He came representing eminent men. He came bringing an expression of the sympathy of these eminent men with the North. His culture, his refinement, his earnestness, his dignity of bearing, all no doubt shone out and deeply impressed all American citizens. No wonder they made much

of him. No wonder also that this their adulation left their impress upon one who, in his own country, in some quarters, perhaps in his own University, was looked upon rather askance. The Americans never forgot the services he had rendered them; and he on his part never forgot their kindly reception of him. Even when afterward he had to chide his pet nation, his "second nation" as he calls it, as, at the time of the Spanish-American war and the Annexation of the Philippines, he considered himself called upon to do, he did it in a most fatherly way, and not often did Goldwin Smith chide in a fatherly way.

By this time too (I am speaking of 1867 and 1868) his Liberal political colleagues were either dead or had lost their prestige. Peel, his idol, had fallen from power in 1846, and died in 1850. Sidney Herbert (afterward Lord Herbert of Lea), Secretary of State for War in 1859, died in 1861; and in the same year died that other political friend both of Goldwin Smith and of Herbert, Sir James Graham. His close friend and confidant, the fifth Duke of Newcastle, Irish Secretary, Colonial Secretary, and Secretary for War, died in 1864. Cobden died in 1865.

Goldwin Smith's political opponent, Disraeli, was in the ascendant, having become Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1866, and Prime Minister in 1868 and again in 1874. (It was in 1868 that Goldwin Smith left England.) Some people think that it was Disraeli's satire in *Lothair* that drove the Professor into exile. This is a mistake: *Lothair* did not appear until 1870. But there was no doubt a covert allusion to the Professor in that sentence in Benjamin Disraeli's speech on the cession of the Ionian Isles in which he said, "Professors and rhetoricians find a system for every contingency, and a principle for every chance; but you are not going, I hope, to leave the destinies of the British Empire to prigs and pedants."

The "Imperialism" against which he had so strenuously fought was gaining ground, and the Colonies, the retention of which he so powerfully opposed, year by year were growing, both in importance and in influence. (The Dominion of Canada was consolidated in 1867.)

America opened a new field. There, the republican and democratic North had conquered. Perhaps the stern Republican thought that in that republican and democratic North there was a scope for his ambition.

And that he was ambitious, despite his own asseverations to the contrary, we must believe. The proofs of this are overwhelming. His politico-journalistic energy was intense: he wrote for many papers; he spoke on many platforms; the Dean of Winchester (the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens) says that "he came forward as a candidate for various chairs, both in Oxford and elsewhere.[1]

Lastly, and chiefly, from the innumerable conversations I had with my revered Chief during the eighteen years I was at his elbow, I gradually came to think that, although the great man never, himself, openly avowed such an ambition, yet in his inmost heart he really thought that he might, before his death, be acclaimed as the successful apostle of what he always called and never ceased to preach, the "reunion of the English-speaking peoples on this continent." All his energies during all the best part of his life were directed toward that consummation; and innumerable—and most optimistic—were his references to such consummation in his letters to his American friends.

From many not too-cryptic utterances I gathered that he hoped also to be the means of mollifying the somewhat harsh sentiments with which, during and after the War of Secession, the people of Great Britain and the people of the Northern States of America regarded each other; and so to be a harbinger of a "moral reunion" (the phrase is his own) greater even than that of the political coalescence of the two races already upon this northern continent. Every reader of Goldwin Smith's works will know how strenuously, yet tactfully, he spoke of England in American magazines, and spoke of America in English magazines.

Out of sympathy with England, then; in entire sympathy with North America; lauded by all North America; holding high hopes for the future of the North American continent; willing to devote his life to such hopes; himself a University Professor, being offered a professorship in a new North American University—the die was cast: he accepted. That is my solution of the enigma.

Besides, there is another reason for the continued expatriation of Goldwin Smith.

After two or more years at Cornell, he went to Canada. There, in 1873, he married Mrs. Boulton, a widow with ample means and a comfortable mansion. In that mansion

[1] *Life of E. A. Freeman,* vol. i., p. 219.

he settled and built himself an annexed study-library and—wrote. He was offered the Mastership of University College, Oxford; people begged him to come back to England—they offered him uncontested Liberal constituencies if he would stand for Parliament; the Radical party, for a time bereft of its leaders, sought him; the Liberal-Unionist party, wanting a strong anti-Home-Rule advocate, sought him. But Mrs. Goldwin Smith's interests and predilections were perhaps hardly such as would enable her to adapt herself readily to the duties which would devolve upon the wife of a Head of an Oxford College or of a leader of a political party. Besides, all her relations, friends, and social and domestic ties were American or Canadian. Therefore Goldwin Smith declined. Indeed, he told me that, although his wife had consented to accompany him to England, he felt that such a step would have been an "uprooting" of her whole life and interests.

In a manner, therefore, it may be said that the whole of Goldwin Smith's life was shaped by two great acts of self-abnegation: the resignation of the Oxford professorship on account of his father's health, and the resignation of all opportunities of academical or political distinction at home on account of his wife's social and domestic ties. That he sometimes looked back longingly toward England I am sure; more especially when it began to dawn upon him that the annexation of Canada to the United States was a thing becoming more and more remote as time went on, and when perhaps it began to dawn upon him also that a single pen fitfully contributing to ephemeral journals did not bring the two mighty nations which inhabit the opposing shores of the Atlantic very much nearer the one to the other. Yet never once did he allow a syllable of regret to leave his lips.

Often have I wondered what was passing in the great man's mind as he sat pensively at his desk gazing out of the window onto his quiet lawn, a black skull-cap on his head, his pen held idly in his hand. Did his memory go back to the sward of Oxford, and in his mind's eye did he see Magdalen's "cloistered and ivy-mantled quadrangle"?

To his lasting honor be it said he never turned aside from the work he had set himself to do, or allowed either criticism or contumely to cause him to relinquish the great ideals he had created.

Arnold Haultain.

HOW TO AMEND THE CURRENCY BILL

BY FRANK A. VANDERLIP

I AM asked by the editor to summarize the testimony given at a hearing before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, October 8th and 9th, in regard to pending financial legislation.

Of much more interest than anything I may have said is the attitude of the Committee itself toward the subject of financial legislation, as revealed by their conduct of the hearing and the view which was given of their trend of mind and state of information by the questions asked.

This group of twelve Senators will be most influential in determining the final form of the law and particularly will the seven Democrats on that Committee have great power in writing the final words. My own views, therefore, as expressed to the Committee, are of small interest compared to any revelation which the hearing gave of the views of the Committee.

I was told by members of the Committee before the questioning formally began that they had already heard more than was profitable; that they had had many people before them who obviously neither understood the subject nor had made themselves familiar with the bill; that nearly all bankers spoke from a prejudiced point of view, and the Committee was already so familiar with the arguments presented that they knew what a banker's answer would be to a question before he started to give it. There seemed to be a general feeling that further hearings would be fruitless. For my part, I had some preconceived notions that the final shaping of the most important legislation which we have had in fifty years was in the hands of men who knew little of economics, less of technical banking, and much of politics. I faced, however, a group of gentlemen who were earnestly endeavoring to add to their knowledge; to submit their ideas

to the test of practical experience, and even to discuss patiently and without closed minds fundamental conceptions in regard to the extent of political power that should rightly be wielded over the business of banking. The contrast between the attitude and methods of this Committee and the attitude and methods of the famous Pujo Committee was absolute. The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency is earnestly endeavoring to bring out all the facts, and not to develop such facts only as will conform to their political purposes. They give evidence of a feeling of high responsibility, and they individually show a knowledge of the subject which may be recently acquired in some cases, but is certainly already very extensive.

The Chairman has been an Oklahoma banker, and the very name of Oklahoma is anathema in the minds of many conservative bankers who have watched the bank-deposit-guarantee law of that State work disaster. After more than eight full hours of questioning covering the two days' hearing, I carried away the impression that Chairman Owen understands the economic principles and the banking technique of the problem as thoroughly as the well-informed banker. The only differences that would arise between him and the well-informed banker would be in regard to political conceptions concerning control and the proper function of the Government in issuing currency.

Senator O'Gorman voices what is undoubtedly the true attitude of mind of the Committee when he said that not a single member of the Committee is in favor of the passage of the bill as it stands. The Committee is open-minded, and will unquestionably improve the bill. To draw a conclusion from questions asked, it would seem that Senator O'Gorman and Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, who are given credit for being among the Democratic members most strongly opposed to the bill in its present form, would prefer one central bank owned and entirely controlled by the Government. The Nebraska Senator is one of the most active-minded men on the Committee and is acute in his questioning. His questions show a fine comprehension of the subject, but indicate, perhaps, a lack, as yet, of crystallization of his views.

Senator Reed, of Missouri, gives evidence in his questions of a trained legal mind. He made his inquiries with precision and often stated his questions in a way that was quite

as illuminating as could any answer to the question itself have been. He modestly disclaims having had practical knowledge of the subject when the inquiry began, but he appeared to give evidence of a deep feeling of responsibility, of a desire honestly to master the problem, and of a wish not to be hurried to conclusions.

Senator Pomerene was an intent listener, but did not reveal much of his own views in regard to the final form of legislation by the questions that he asked. He appeared more concerned with the political aspects of control, and he gave evidence of his earnest belief in the value and right of Government control.

The character of the questioning of Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, indicated that his mind is pursuing the subject from original and independent points of view, which were not fully revealed.

The Republicans will evidently have much more influence in the Senate Committee than they had in the House, where they were excluded from committee sessions and the legislation made strictly a party measure. Every member of the Committee is influenced by the sound common sense of Knute Nelson. He has a mind that gets at the essential kernel, and an occasional question from him, couched in homely language, would have in it so much of obvious common sense as to be illuminating.

Senator Bristow, of Kansas, impressed me as most sincere and earnestly interested in formulating a measure that will benefit the whole country. He has a deep suspicion of the so-called "moneyed interests"—and prejudices that made him quick to see that a loan on stock-exchange collateral had about it none of the self-liquidating character of an ideal bank loan, but that prevented his understanding why a Kansas farm mortgage was even more unliquid in character and should by the same reasoning be excluded from rediscounts.

The man who has had the best opportunity for gaining a thorough and broad understanding of the whole subject is Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts. Added to a lifetime of active financial business, he has had the experience of membership in the National Monetary Commission which collected the information that was the basis for the Aldrich Bill. He seems to know the subject thoroughly, and his intelligent questions were valuable.

Senator Hollis was quiet and earnest, a good listener, and

one who will no doubt have influence in the final deliberations.

I have simply given my impressions of those Senators who found it possible to be constantly in attendance and who were taking active part in the hearing.

I left the Committee with a feeling of confidence that the measure which they will report out to the Senate will be a great improvement on the bill which passed the House. My belief is (although the truth and correctness of that conclusion could not be demonstrated) that if it were not for political exigencies practically every member of the Committee would favor the creation of one central reserve reservoir, whether it be called a central bank or not; also that the party declarations in regard to the Government's sovereign right to issue all currency may prevent the Committee from exercising its true judgment in the way of making the new notes the obligations of the Federal reserve banks, rather than the obligations of the Government.

So much for my observance of the Committee, and, as I have said, the interest and open-mindedness of its members, combined with their grasp of the subject, impressed me as highly important and prophetic of desirable results. I cannot undertake to cover in the limits of so brief an article the testimony of a two days' hearing, and will content myself with epitomizing the principal objections to the bill in its present form.

Prefacing a statement of these objections, some of which I deem vital to the successful working of the measure, I want to say that on the whole the bill seems to me to have been drawn with great intelligence. It is by no means the work of amateurs in finance. It shows a thorough grasp of the main principles that must be embodied in correct legislation, but it stops short of fully incorporating those principles, and in doing so has left the measure where it must be amended if it is successfully to accomplish what its framers desire.

The main defect, so far as the immediate working of the bill is concerned, is in the provision which establishes at least twelve regional reserve banks, and thus fails to create the central reservoir for reserves which is essential. The necessity of such a central reservoir has been clearly recognized, and the power to compel loans from one reserve

bank to another has been given to the Federal Reserve Board, but that power has been so hedged about that it would not be effective. If more than one central reservoir is established, true mobilization of reserves can thereafter be attained only by giving to a superior body the power to compel loans. The objection to doing that is deep-seated in the minds of bankers, whose whole training makes them rebel from a provision which would compel a bank to make a loan against the judgment of the directors of that bank. If Congress insists upon more than one reserve center, however, it must also grant an effective power to the Federal Reserve Board so they can pipe together the several reserve reservoirs and thus, in effect, make a single central reserve center.

There are other most impressive reasons why there should not be twelve reserve bank districts. The theory of mobilization of reserves rests on the principle of utilizing the surplus of one community to meet the deficiency in another. It is, therefore, necessary to have the district embraced in each regional reserve center so large that there will be a variety of banking conditions; so large that if there is a crop-moving demand in one part of the district, that demand shall not be universal in the district, but shall in some measure, at least, be counteracted by coming at a period when there is a plethora of funds in another portion of the district. A community would be far better served by a branch of a reserve bank which covered a district made to embrace a large territory of dissimilar geographical and climatic conditions than it could possibly be by having its own reserve bank surrounded by a small region in which, because of similar climatic and other conditions, there would be no variety to the demand. If all of the banks within a region feel at the same time a similar demand, most of the advantage of mobilization of reserves disappears. It seems to me that nothing could be clearer than that there should be one reserve reservoir, and not twelve or more. If that is found politically impossible, then under no circumstances should there be more than four. With four there could be established a relationship between the management of the four banks and a mutual understanding and spirit of co-operation developed that would permit the plan to work with a success approximating the correct method of a single reserve center. With more than

four, I regard it as extremely doubtful, if not impossible, to do that, and with twelve I am sure it is impossible.

On the subject of the composition of the Federal Reserve Board, I am less fearful of a baneful influence of politics than I am of the results that would follow a lack of training, a lack of financial wisdom, and the certainty, which the form of the measure provides, of a lack of continuity in the management. It must be remembered that the Federal reserve banks are operated under the direction of a board of nine directors, six of whom are selected by the bankers. When that is kept clearly in mind, when it is not lost sight of that the bankers themselves are responsible for the management of the Federal reserve banks, the fear of political domination by the Federal Reserve Board is robbed of much of its force. I believe it is more just and will be wiser to give the banks direct representation on the Federal Reserve Board. In any event, the present composition of that Board, as provided in the law, is unwise. Three of the seven members are ex-officio officers, fully engaged with the duties of their own offices, changing with the change of administration, and often more frequently, and none of them necessarily experienced in banking. There are some reasons why the Secretary of the Treasury is entitled to a seat on the Federal Reserve Board, and perhaps they outweigh the very good reasons why he should not have such a seat. However, I can conceive of no adequate reason for putting the Comptroller of the Currency, who is made a subordinate of the Secretary of the Treasury by the Act, and the Secretary of Agriculture upon the Board. This Federal Reserve Board should be a great independent body, comparable, it has been well said, with the Supreme Court. Surely we would not put the Attorney-General, changing with the administration, upon the Supreme Court. I would advocate large salaries, long terms, and the devotion of complete service to the work of the Board. I would oppose appointments being made as political rewards. I object to a provision which creates a bi-partisan board, as does the present bill, instead of insuring a non-partisan one.

If bankers are to have no direct representation on the Federal Reserve Board, the importance of the Federal Advisory Council should be emphasized. This Council should have the right to sit in full membership with the Federal Reserve Board, taking part in all discussions, having access

to all information, receiving proper compensation, now prohibited by the bill. Under this plan, while they would have no vote in determining the decisions of the Federal Reserve Board, they would have the fullest opportunity to give that Board the benefit of their practical experience and the advantage of direct contact with the actual banking situation. I think the objection to a Federal Reserve Board composed entirely of political appointees would largely disappear if bankers knew that their own representatives would have such opportunity to submit their views to the Federal Reserve Board. As Senator Nelson said, the position of the members of such a Federal Advisory Council would be similar to the position in the House of Representatives of territorial Delegates.

A fundamental error in the bill as it now stands is the provision which makes the new note issue the obligation of the Government and makes the Government responsible for its redemption. I can conceive no good reason for involving the credit of the Government in this issue of what should be purely bank notes. They are essentially bank notes, secured by a segregation of commercial paper and a maintained reserve of thirty-three and one-third per cent. of gold or lawful money. That reserve should be in gold, and the notes redeemable in gold, and the banks should be the makers of the notes and solely responsible for their redemption. The plan proposed would for a time work much the same as if the notes were correctly made the obligations of the banks, but there would always be the possibility of the credit of the Government becoming involved quite unnecessarily. At a time of great drain upon the Government, in the event of an expensive war or the paralysis of the Government's receipts through an extreme trade depression, these notes might be the means of absolutely breaking down the Government's solvency. The guarantee of the Government is as unnecessary on the notes as it is on the deposits of the Federal reserve banks. Bankers certainly should be absolved from any charge of selfishness when they ask that the banks they create take all the responsibility for redeeming the notes, and that the Government's credit be not involved.

The division of earnings of the bank is unwise. All the earnings, after paying a proper rate of dividend on the stock, should go to the Government. There should be no

possibility that the managers of the Federal reserve banks run them for profit, as they would be tempted to do if forty per cent. of the earnings are to be paid over in the form of interest on deposit balances, as the measure now provides.

The Federal reserve banks should not be penalized by having to pay interest to the Government on circulating notes taken out, if their customers happen to require credit in the form of circulating notes instead of deposit balances. An issuing bank ought to have perfect freedom so far as any penalizing of earnings is concerned on issuing credit, either in the form of a deposit balance or a circulating note.

The new note issue will not fulfil expectations in providing a truly elastic currency. We already have, except under the special demand of the crop-moving, or some abnormal condition, an ample supply of circulation. There will, therefore, be no room for the new notes. Two-per-cent. bonds bearing the circulation privilege will be worth more than the three-per-cent. bonds without the circulation privilege, by which the Government proposes to retire them. They will, therefore, not retire, and the volume of present bond-secured national bank-note circulation will not materially decrease. It must be materially cut down if there is to be room for the new notes to operate as a truly elastic currency, and thus make the total volume of their circulation conform to business needs. My recommendation is that half of the two-per-cent. bonds now under circulation be purchased by the Federal reserve banks, to be paid for in the new notes. This would retire over $300,000,000 of the existing bond-secured notes. The Government should then exchange for the $300,000,000 thus in the hands of the Federal reserve banks an equal amount of one-year three-per-cent. notes, which the Federal reserve banks would agree to renew at each maturity for twenty years. The $300,000,000 new notes which the Federal reserve banks would thus take out should be subject to a tax of one and one-half per cent., which would compensate the Government for the loss of the one-half of one per cent. tax on the national bank notes retired and the one-per-cent. increase in the interest paid on the one-year notes over the interest heretofore paid on the two-per-cent. bonds. The advantage of this course would be twofold: it would retire a sufficient amount of the present bond-secured circulation to make room for the new elastic notes, and the total volume of cir-

culation will thereafter approximately conform to business needs. Of as great importance, it would give to the Federal reserve banks the means to command, in some measure, the discount market and secure them an effective instrument for use in the international financial markets, and thus give them power in a measure to control a threatened export movement of gold. The point is that a Government one-year note is a bankable instrument, whereas a twenty-year bond is an obligation that can only find an investment market. With these one-year notes, the Federal reserve banks could sell them in the reserve market when it was wise to take reserves from the member banks and to strengthen their own reserve position, thus checking a tendency toward too free expansion of the member banks; or they could sell or pledge them to banks in any of the world's financial markets for foreign exchange, which would check an overflow of gold, or, if conditions permitted, enable them directly to buy or borrow gold for importation to strengthen their own reserves.

I have reached the limit which the editor has permitted me to fill, and, as I have said, I cannot summarize two days' testimony within that limit. There are many other important points. Such a summary of my opinion as the foregoing is to me unsatisfactory, however, because it would seem to indicate only objections to the bill in its present form. There is in it far more to commend than to deprecate. I believe that with such amendments as I have indicated a measure would be created which would be of incalculable benefit to our commerce and to our international financial position. This benefit would be felt through the entire breadth of society. Banks would no longer have to devote large resources to stock-exchange call loans as they are now forced to do, and there would be hundreds of millions of dollars of new funds at the disposal of sound commercial enterprise. Commercial paper would in time become as liquid as stock-exchange loans now normally are, and not subject to the danger that we experience from the non-self-liquidating character of these loans, when we discover in a crisis that the only way they can be paid is to be shifted, and there is no place to which effectively to shift them. The measure so amended would tend to create a discount market which would not only make available for commercial borrowers in one community any plethora of bank funds that might

exist in another, but would make available here a plethora of European bank funds in the same way. The extreme danger that we are always facing from our twenty-five thousand individual bank reserves would be eliminated. The disadvantage of the present pyramiding of bank reserves would be done away with. A note issue would be created which would expand and contract in accordance with commercial needs. Our present locking up of reserve money is uneconomic, in that banks carry a larger reserve so locked up than would be necessary under a proper banking system. The new plan would permit a generous expansion, based on our existing reserves, but I believe would carry with it sufficient powers of control to prevent it running to dangerous limits.

One can hardly state the advantages which would flow from truly sound banking and currency legislation. If I were to attempt to state what I truly believe would be the measure of those advantages, I would run into what would seem great extravagance of language. On the other hand, a poverty of words prevents depicting the disaster that would result from unwise legislation. The responsibility that rests on Congress has never been exceeded, I believe, in my lifetime, and I am hopeful that that responsibility is to be discharged in a patriotic, wise, and nonpartisan manner.

FRANK A. VANDERLIP.

OUR SUPERVISED MORALS

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX

Who is to supervise the morals of a people? The time is past when parents supervised the morals of their children, and the government in a large and liberal spirit took charge of such mature persons as obstructed the public welfare. With the growth of the world and the multiplication of complexities and the swift spread of evil communications this matter of supervising morals has passed into the control of censors, librarians, critics, and that huge and alarming leviathanic specter, Public Opinion.

Now morals, like any other defined science, should have a creed and a body of doctrine. But where to-day should serious students, librarians who must accept and exclude books for general circulation, censors who are to judge the value and virtue of plays, legislators who must choose subjects fit for public discussion—where are all these to go to school and prepare themselves for their great public function? Where are our schools of morals and ethics to set beside our law and divinity schools—and our new schools of journalism? This, the most serious subject in the world—how so to live as to do no harm to ourselves or to others—is left to the mere erratic tendencies of private, unaided, and unschooled opinion. Perhaps the churches are considered the schools of morals, and if this is admitted the statistics of the church attendance of all our legislators, librarians, purveyors of amusement, art censors, etc., should be taken. But no; the churches are schools of theological dogma, a matter totally unrelated to morals and only here and there, sporadically, does one find clergymen with definite ethical doctrines who feel called upon to teach them. The topic uppermost just now in the ministerial mind, as who may prove who listens to sermons from Maine to Virginia and from Massachusetts to Colorado, is the supremacy and need

of the Church. That the Church is not a useless or a decadent institution is vociferously proclaimed from all the pulpits. Well, is it a school of morals? Is it intent upon a nice distinction between right and wrong? Does it teach and control the librarians who are discarding books, the legislators who are deciding what occupations are suited to Sunday and which to Monday? Can it settle the matter of prohibition and temperance and prostitution? Somehow our morals are inadequately handled. Popular morality consists largely in a terror at innovation, at a sense of outrage at anything new. Results to the unconcerned outsider are interesting and provocative of thought. Revolting and inane musical comedies flourish unhindered. Cabaret shows —the outer and visible sign of the inward and material disgrace—become popular and established customs. Veiller's instructive play " The Fight " must be taken from the stage or cut to suit the moral sense of the police, while Brieux's morality plays fight for a hearing! Who can forget the winter when in Philadelphia Strauss's opera " Salome " was suppressed, while " The Soul-Kiss," an unclean and revolting exhibition, ran for three months? The drama which with serious art made evil loathsome and contrasted it with a saint who triumphed, was condemned. But the play which made indecency appear a gay jest, flourished. Where were the schools of morals? It would seem that we are not afraid of anything light and frivolous, however immoral, if it appeal to the under-educated and the irresponsible, but we are seriously opposed to any grave consideration of morality. It is as if our chief slogan were to cry: What we do not mention does not exist. But alas! the shut eye is no sign of death, and sly jest and insinuating innuendo are but a thin covering for flaunted evil.

Meanwhile the librarians are barring from circulation Hall Caine's new book—not in the least on the very plausible grounds that he lacks a fine sense of reality, and that hysterical melodrama is a dangerous explosive, but because he discusses too freely and openly the questions of marriage and divorce.

Where are we to turn for the cures of this disease we call immorality? Where are we to learn its causes, its needs, its cures?

We do not suppress disease by shutting our eyes to it. When it is flagrantly present we contrast it at once with

health, we try remedies, we publish our conclusions, we openly discuss our efficiency. One lesson in morality that requires spreading is that serious and intentional publicity is necessary and a precaution, whereas any easy and jesting acceptance of evil is destructive. Another is that serious thinking is not necessarily morbid or decadent, and new ideas, wherever they are directed toward the protection of life and liberty without infringement upon the rights of others, are valuable assets and not insults. If a joyous acceptance of life as it appears on the surface is the natural primitive instinct, thought, discrimination, judgment, are growth, not decay. The throw-back from maturity of mind is senility, not decadence. Surely that is not what we desire when we discard contemplation.

Another question about which there is much discussion is how is the healer, the doctor of ethics, to be trained. What is it he is to be taught in order to heal his world? Writes one critic of modern institutions: "The healer in any line must study evil; he must first know what he is to heal." According to this the chief study of the healer is the immorality he is to conquer. He is to study the exact opposite of what he is to practise. For what he is to practise and make manifest among men is goodness. If one turn back down the ages to see how this has worked in history it is difficult to come to a conclusion. There was Buddha, for example, admittedly a very great healer of sin and sinners. He retired from the world, renouncing parents, wife, and all social ties, feeling that only in the quiet contemplation of virtue could he really serve his world. "A man is not wise by much speaking," he reported; "a man is wise who is forgiving, kindly, and fearless." "To study new ideals, to purify the mind by contemplation of all things fair and just," this was what he finally had to teach.

"As the wind throws down a shaky tree, so death and illusion overthrow him who gives his life to vanity, uncontrolled, intemperate, slothful, and effeminate. But who turns his eyes from vanity, controlled and temperate, faithfully and strenuously seeking the good, Death cannot overthrow any more than the wind can overthrow a rocky crag."

And again he says:

"If thou wouldst be a warrior, put on armor. The stripping oneself of worldly standards is the sword of the combat; endurance is the helmet; humility is the breastplate."

Lao-Tze, who wrote the Ta-Teh-King, a path upon which many climbed virtuewards, has a cryptic saying on this matter of the knowledge of evil: "To know—yet be as though not knowing—this is good." "Those whose faith (in the good) is insufficient shall not find it."

This attitude would seem more Christlike than the first. That Christ recognized evil is undeniable, though He seems never to have dwelt upon it or studied it or healed by reason of His knowledge of it. If one take His most authentic words, one finds evil mentioned just once in His prayer, and the Sermon on the Mount is a mere repetition of beatitudes. Of His unconquerable belief in one's power of discovering good everywhere and the necessity of looking for it, we have the Oxyrhynchite Logia: "Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I." His utterances upon evil are few and scattered and casual; such brief comment as, "Go and sin no more."

Socrates' whole time was given to the search after the true nature of good, and he at least reached the conviction that it did not consist in any traffic between gods and men.

St. Francis was a most wonderful healer, and if thieves and lepers and wild animals bowed to his love and friendliness it was because his whole vision was a vision of good. He wasted no thought upon the evil he was to cope with; he merely replaced it by beauty. He quite literally overcame evil with good.

Are not our physicians at last realizing that their art is not a study of disease so much as a study of health and how to preserve it? A great reaction is taking place all through the profession; a reaction that tends to deal with hygiene and the laws of health rather than the course of diseases. If Christian Science carries this doctrine to a hysterical limit, at least there is a fundamental truth at the base. We know what health is by having it, not by having a disease to cure. And we shall know goodness by seeing it, by hearing it extolled, by practising it; and the great teachers and healers will be so drenched in goodness that the knowledge of evil shall be the smallest part of their equipment. Some wise man has said: "Let no picture of evil stand before men without its contrasting good, that their minds may dwell chiefly on the goal to be attained."

Louise Collier Willcox.

MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

SIGNIFICANT HAPPENINGS OF THE MONTH

Opera for the People, and an English "Lohengrin."—A remarkable dramatic essay in the horrible.[1]

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN

"*Le songe, le songe, l'éternel songe!*" Well, each of us, like the Celt whose infirmity was thus intimated, has, no doubt, his ever-beckoning dream—for the artist, some haunting vision of perfected loveliness; for some, the Ultimate Woman; for the impresario, ever restless, ever unafraid, Opera in English—or, as it has latterly been called, "Opera for the People." It is a phrase sacred to those whose aim is to promulgate opera in the vernacular, and for them it is a beacon-light that is never dimmed. How many experiments in Anglicized Opera has this country not witnessed! Thirty years ago Wagner's "Lohengrin" might have been heard in an English version at the Metropolitan Opera House; and last month it was thus presented at the Century Opera House in the course of the most ambitious venture in popularized opera that has ever been attempted in New York.

The sponsors of the Century Opera Company, which has begun a thirty-five weeks' season of Opera in English, announce their programme as "opera for the people." It is impossible to feel otherwise than cordially toward an enterprise which pursues with vigor and resource so amiable an ideal as that which is confessed by the organization at the Century. Its primary aim is to make opera cheap—by which we mean easily accessible. There is only one way to make opera cheap, and we shall permit the Century

[1] A number of significant current plays which there is not space to discuss in this issue will be reviewed in the next number of the REVIEW.

organization to speak for itself on this delicate point: "Do the music patrons of Greater New York," they ask us, "want a popular opera-house in which the opera itself is the attraction, instead of the stars who appear in it?—in which the ensemble is maintained at a high standard without individual singers being figured? Hitherto the star system has been strictly adhered to by grand opera institutions of the first class in America, and it has become so firmly established that generally opera patrons ask, 'Who is singing to-night?' rather than, 'What opera is being presented?'"

In that there is much reason and much truth. We should not dream of disputing the fact that the average opera-goer is a barbarian in this respect, and will probably continue so for a long time to come. But let us not assail the "star-system" too relentlessly. A "star" is, after all, only a singing-actor of pre-eminent ability. It is perhaps an unpalatable fact, but it is none the less indisputable, that the only person who can interpret adequately a great rôle is the "star." It is perfectly obvious that the real remedy for the iniquities of the "star system" is to give *all* the rôles in an opera to stars, instead of eliminating the stars entirely from the cast. That is, of course, the precise opposite of the plan ordinarily adopted by those who are disturbed by the existence of the star, and there is no denying that it implies a counsel of perfection, and that perfection is expensive. Whereupon we arrive, somewhat unwillingly, at the conclusion toward which we have been tending—namely, that "opera for the people" necessarily means cheap opera; that cheap opera, even when you call it a move against the "star-system," necessarily means opera with inferior singers.

But "inferior" is a relative term. At the Century you can hear "Lohengrin" for twenty-five cents—not very comfortably, to be sure, at that price, but not so uncomfortably as to be intolerable. Well—to be concrete—what kind of a performance of "Lohengrin" can you hear for twenty-five cents? Let us try to forget for the moment that we are engaged in a deadly warfare upon the "star-system," and address ourselves to that specific question.

Now "Lohengrin" is one of the most difficult of all operas to give satisfactorily. "Tristan und Isolde," despite its immeasurably more complex musical structure, is

far easier to accomplish with some show of eloquence. Its emotional ingredients are extremely simple: a man and a woman in love—a man and a woman desiring each other, possessing each other, losing each other: that is the sum of it. We have seen a dozen *Tristans* who could thrill us in that heart-breaking, that Æschylean third act; we have seen a half-dozen memorable *Isoldes*. But there has been only one *Lohengrin*.

> " . . . . do not weep
> Too great a while, for there is many a candle
> On the high altar, though one fall."

A poet of wisdom and vision has said it; yet we must, perforce, lament the passing, as it seems for ever, of certain supreme interpretations, without hope of their reincarnation. There has been only one *Siegfried*—Alvary's; only one *Donna Anna*—Lehmann's; only one *Santuzza*—Calvé's; only one *Pelléas* — Périer's; only one *Lohengrin* — De Reszke's. To be a perfect *Lohengrin* you must express not only spirituality but passion, not only otherworldliness but chivalric fire: not only aloofness but tenderness; you must be at once human and remote; sympathetic, yet suggestive of high and gleaming mysteries—a being half man and half angel. Is it any wonder that it took a " star " to do this? Moreover, the whole opera must be suffused in an atmosphere of poetic beauty and wonder—our feet must never quite be allowed to touch the earth.

With the exception of the marvelous Prelude, the music of " Lohengrin " is not to be compared for strength and originality with the great masterworks of Wagner's later years; yet because of the rarity of its poetic atmosphere, its truly mystical feeling, it is, as we have said, an extremely formidable opera to undertake. So its production by the Century Company was a daring adventure, involving a cruel test of its resources. It is, therefore, a true pleasure to be able to find occasion for honest praise of the result—especially when it is remembered that this was an English " Lohengrin." We do not intend to say that Mr. Morgan Kingston, who sang the rôle of the consecrated knight, was another Jean de Reszke; or that Miss Lois Ewell made *Elsa* a vital and engrossing character; or that Mr. Morton Adkins was an unforgetable *Telramund;* or that Miss Jayne Herbert was an imposing *Ortrud;* or that the chorus covered itself with glory; for none of these things would be

true. Above all, we must sorrowfully admit that we derived no joy or illumination from the use of an English text. Often it was impossible to tell what words the singers were uttering (as in the long scene between *Ortrud* and *Telramund* at the beginning of the second act); and when the words were intelligible, one would have preferred not to hear them—the banal and ill-fitting translation which had been imposed upon Wagner's carefully contrived declamation was, as it always must be, a constant offense. Nevertheless, the performance gave cause for gratification. With a background of twenty years' familiarity with "Lohengrin," it was possible to find enjoyment in the Century's production of it. We remember with pleasure the authentic spirituality, the touching earnestness, the noble countenance, and the beautiful voice of Mr. Kingston's *Lohengrin*—there was the true note of lofty melancholy in this portrayal, though there was little charm or grace or imagination. We liked, too, the winsome and human *Elsa* of Miss Ewell—though this was no rapturous dream-maiden, habituated to visions and ecstasies. We liked the energy and feeling of Mr. Szendrei, the conductor. Above all, we liked the seriousness and enthusiasm that pervaded the entire performance, and we choose to forget the roughness, the lack of distinction; for think what it means to be able to hear "Lohengrin," done as well as it is done at the Century, for the price of a not excessively sybaritic cigar! We take off our hat to the Century Company and its admirable enterprise; and we are even prepared to forgive its infatuation for English perversions of operatic texts.

The name of Mr. F. Tennyson Jesse is unknown to us; likewise the name of Mr. H. M. Harwood. Yet one may see at the Princess Theater a little play by these co-authors which we should be pusillanimous in hesitating to call a masterpiece of the horrible.

At the Princess Theater they aim frankly to thrill, to astonish, to stun—whether by means that are esthetically legitimate does not weigh very heavily upon the managerial conscience. But "The Black Mask" is much more than a mere "thriller," a mere nervous irritant; it is a singularly imaginative and very haunting tragedy.

The action passes in the bleak and somber mining country of northern England. James Glasson and his wife

Vashti have finished supper, and Vashti is clearing away the dishes. James wears a mask of black cloth that completely covers his head and conceals his features. The mask is shapeless, formless, with a single small slit through which the wearer may see his way about. James has worn it since the early days of his marriage, when he was terribly injured in a mine explosion. Vashti has not looked upon his face since the accident. She knows that he was fearfully disfigured, though just how and to what extent she is unaware. But the horror of the mask and what it conceals is always with her—a sinister and oppressive nightmare. Her imagination paints frightful pictures, and she has grown to loath and fear her grim, taciturn, forbidding mate. There is another man, Willie Strick, who had been her suitor. He and James were strikingly alike in appearance—she was not sure which she preferred, but she married James. Now she knows that it was Willie she loved.

To-night James has gone to visit the surgeon, and Vashti's signal has brought Willie to the cottage. He urges her to go away with him. She reproaches him for not having been bolder in his lovemaking while he was courting her. He was waiting for the right moment, he says.

"Waitin'!" she echoes bitterly—"yes, and while ye waited, *he* took me!"

Their passion flares up, and they are about to go to Vashti's room together when James, who has long had his suspicions, returns and surprises them. The men attack each other, and the husband is worsted. Willie flings the body into a corner, and over the motionless figure with the terrible black mask still covering its face of nameless horror the wife and her lover lay out their plan of action. The body must be thrown down the shaft of the near-by mine. Then Willie must put on the mask and wear it for a while, until they can get away. No one will suspect the substitution, for the men are as alike as twins.

Vashti leaves the room for a moment, after exhorting Willie to don the mask without delay. Her lover sits alone in the darkness, striving to regain his composure. In the silence something stirs in the corner; something crawls slowly, noiselessly, along the floor, behind the chair; and then a figure in a black mask springs upon the lover as he sits with his head on his arms. There is a short, fierce,

noiseless struggle, a choking gasp, and again a figure is flung into the corner and lies there silently; but this time it is the lover, not the husband; and the lover is dead.

James drops the bread-knife he has used, turns down the lamp, and waits. Vashti hurries down the stairs at the side, agitated, breathless. Willie has put on the mask! That is right—but he must not wear it long: she could not endure it. Now they must dispose of the body. Together, in silence, they drag it through the door, and for a moment the stage is empty. Then they return, and Vashti mounts the stairs to her room to prepare for her lover's coming. He must come without long delay, she urges with rising passion; and he must remove the mask—she shudders as she looks at it.

He ascends the stairs, stands for a moment upon the landing, then flings open Vashti's door. As he enters her room you see him raise his hand to the mask with a gesture of malign and defiant triumph; there is a long, shuddering, agonized scream—a scream of infinite horror—as the door is closed again and the curtain falls.

Now here is something that is much more than a mere theatrical "shocker"—here is an appeal to the imagination. It is fitting to recall Mr. Swinburne's distinction between the force of tragic horror and what he calls "the vulgar shock of ignoble or brutal horror"—between the impressive and the terrible, and the horrible and the loathsome: between, as he says, Victor Hugo and Eugène Sue. This little tragedy that we have been describing points the distinction. It does not merely attack the nerve-centers: it shakes the heart and haunts the mind; it has pathos and terror; and it conveys the sense of life. The personages are real people: this particular tragedy might have happened—the whole thing is realized and set before us with astonishing vividness; for it is superbly acted by Miss Emelie Polini (Vashti) and Mr. Holbrook Blinn, who plays both the husband and the lover. It is appalling, but it does not violate the necessary austerity of art. Let us not forget that "there is no laughter too bitter, no irony too harsh for utterance, no passion too terrible to be set before the minds of men."

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH[1]

BY F. M. COLBY

In one of those breathless articles on the "modern spirit" and the way we speed along, an American college professor not long ago placed Mr. H. G. Wells well at the fore of a little group of British novelists who, he said, are completely revolutionizing taste. Among the others I recall the names of Messrs. Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy, Eden Phillpotts, W. J. Locke, and Maurice Hewlett. All of them, said he, were applying the "direct gaze of the intellect" to all the facts of life. All were filled with the "compelling modern spirit" that sought only the naked truth and spurned the "indirections that have hitherto been accounted the signs of good taste." The professor declared himself a good deal shaken by their audacities. He said they snatched him away to the North Pole of intellectual experience, to the outermost boundaries of knowledge, and, though a strong man, he could not help quaking; but awful as it was, he found it exhilarating. The most terrible of them all, he said, was Mr. H. G. Wells, not because he had more faith than the others in this new and dangerous beauty, or because his audacities were rather more flagrant than any that the world has ever known heretofore, but because he best expressed the true inwardness of "modernity." He added that *The New Machiavelli* may be considered "the *pons asinorum* of modernism."

Now I do not deny that a man may quake on reading the latest novels of Mr. H. G. Wells (though I doubt it), but I do maintain that no healthy person was ever known to tremble on reading the other writers mentioned in this group. No man should trust himself again to hunt the big game of literature who has ever shown the slightest trace

[1] By H. G. Wells. Harper & Brothers: New York and London, 1913.

of buck-fever on encountering a Bennett or a Phillpotts or a W. J. Locke. As time goes on almost any one may learn to regard with comparative complacency the terrific onward modern plunges of the British novelist of last week. The thing would not be worth mentioning if it were not so typical of our writings on "modernity." We spend a large part of our time, in print at least, in expressing amazement at the modern man's "modernity." Excitable commentators, like this college professor, start up every little while, and exclaim with astonishment and sometimes alarm at the contemporaneousness of their contemporaries.

The audacities and modernities of Mr. Wells in no wise account for the hold he has on our attention. Thoughts just as bold and newly dated have often put us fast asleep. In books it is not the progress that is exciting, it is the person you are progressing with. This is a day of prosy iconoclasms, when some of the dullest people ever known will blaze away at God, government, the family, and the moral sense with the most violent intentions and the drowsiest results. But Mr. Wells is so good company that we gladly go with him in any direction he may choose. He has the gift of making things seem new when they are not. He is wonderfully swift and sweeping. It took him only about six weeks to despatch *The Future of America.* In the opening essay of *Socialism and the Great State,* by no means a long paper, he crisply outlined the history of the entire human race down to the present day, showed what the trouble was, and pointed out the remedy; then at the end summed up the whole matter in a neat diagram, a sort of little time-table of destiny for a busy man to paste in his hat. It ran from complete savagery to the Great Solution two thousand years hence, and was not more than five inches long. Then there was a spirited series of papers on "The Labor Unrest" going straight to the root of that difficulty, and meanwhile he had shot his mind back among the shiny beings of the Carboniferous period and on to the time when man, half-angel, should stand laughing and stretch his hand to the stars, and he lectured on the stages in between before some learned body. But from these items you would not infer Mr. Wells. You might not infer a man at all, but only an Index to Periodicals. The really wonderful thing is not so much that Mr. Wells takes these flights as that he takes you with him. And he is so charm-

ing a person that if, instead of progress and modernity and the rephrasing of our tea-table radicalism, he went back two centuries for his thoughts, it would make little difference to us. Mr. Chesterton goes back to the Middle Ages for his thoughts, and Mr. Chesterton is even more exciting.

Stratton, the hero of *The Passionate Friend,* was "one of those strange men who take high and sweeping views—as larks soar." So, it will be remembered, was the hero of *The New Machiavelli,* who found human affairs in a sad jumble and published the *Blue Weekly* to straighten them. So, too, was the hero of *Marriage,* who found the "empire and the monarchy and Lords and Commons and patriotism and social reform and all the rest of it silly, *silly,* beyond words," and went to Labrador "to think it out." Stratton passes through precisely the same intellectual experience. He began by believing in the Empire and in the significance of current politics. He thought that the Englishman was better than any other sort of man, that British civilization was the chief hope of the world, that German civilization was only its envious shadow.

His next phase was a belief in Efficiency. That was after five years in South Africa, spent first in active service during the Boer War, and later in the work of repatriation. The war put an end forever to all faith in the innate British superiority.

Then came the labor troubles of the Rand. There the problem was not particularly South African, but world-wide. What was to be done about it? The only answer he found was Efficiency. But gradually he came to see that the real quarrel was with the entire economic system of to-day. He came to see that Europe was "no more than the dog's-eared corner of the page of history." He began to ask himself such questions as What is humanity as a whole doing? and, What is the nature of the world process? He determined that he would no longer be a mere Englishman or European, or even a "mere denizen of Christendom." He would thenceforth be a "world-man," and to that end spends two years in Asia and six months in America. With patience he achieves a bird's-eye view of both these Continents, and returns to Europe with some of the broadest generalizations ever known. In India he has traversed all history from its beginning. He sees that Civilization is a "mere flourish out of barbarism." The last attempt of the

onward impulse of mankind has produced Bombay and Calcutta, which are merely "vast feverish pustules upon the face of the peninsula." But everywhere are ruins which prove the futility of Civilization's past attempts. There are six extinguished Delhis. Who shall say that this is the last? But he believes the present time is different. Vast new constructive forces are at work. Never before has there been so much clear and critical thought in the world. Mankind is now entering on a new phase of living. The problem of humanity is no longer economic, but psychological. Already we have come to plenty. "There is enough for every one, and only a fool can be found to deny it." But we are still using the methods of the time when there was not enough for every one. The problem now is to make our present plenty "go round, and *keep it enough,* while we do."

Then the hero has a vision of the Great State very similar to that set forth in Mr. Wells's essay on the subject and a vision of the world to come like that presented to the learned body by Mr. Wells in his lecture on the *Discovery of the Future;* and there are passages of great eloquence and fire and some shrewd criticisms of current people and things. But there is always something of a jolt when Mr. Wells's builders of the future actually begin to build. Stratton's first step toward world regeneration is the organization of a huge international publishing company which is to sell at moderate prices the best books in all languages with translations, to control newspapers and magazines, with a view to preventing international misunderstandings, and to aid in all possible ways in peace movements and good causes generally.

As to the story itself, it turns on the tempestuous love of Stratton for the beautiful and charming Lady Mary Christian, who, though she returns his love, refuses to marry him on account of his poverty. She fears that if she marries him she will become his "squaw." She wishes to be powerful and splendid, and she marries a very rich man, who promises to make no demands on her and leave her freedom. This she construes as freedom to be with Stratton when she chooses. Entanglements follow, and Stratton, who has meanwhile married a thoroughly virtuous and loyal young woman, is threatened with a divorce suit and ruin, but the Lady Mary commits suicide and saves him. This bare outline is altogether misleading. It merely shows the

absurdity of stripping a Wells novel to its plot. Yet half a dozen stodgy British reviewers are at this moment doing it, and two of them, whom I have just now read, are saying that such a story will never do. No " nice " woman would ever behave as did the Lady Mary, and that is all there is to be said.

Of course the essential thing in a Wells novel is not the plot or the situation. It is not whether a character is hanged or happily married, or behaves, on the whole, nicely or quite the reverse. The main point is that he creates people about whom one cares. He does not, like an American best seller, merely swear that his people are remarkable or interesting. He contrives an illusion in the reader's mind that they are so.

The Lady Mary Christian really does seem too good for the ordinary purposes of the usual marriage. She argues rather well against masculine appropriation:

"And I don't *want* to be your squaw. I don't want that at all. It isn't how I feel for you. I don't *want* to be your servant and possession. . . . Oh! Stephen dear, can't there be love—love without this clutching, this gripping, this carrying off? . . . Don't you see how much better that is for you and for me—and for the world and our lives? I don't want you to become a horrible little specialist in feeding and keeping me. . . . If I were to come now and marry you, it wouldn't help you. It would turn you into a wife-keeper, into the sort of uninteresting preoccupied man one sees running after and gloating over the woman he's bought—at the price of his money and his dignity and everything."

And as to sex jealousy:

"This tremendous force which seizes us and says to us, 'Make that other being yours, bodily yours, mentally yours, wholly yours—at any price, no matter the price,' bars all our unifications. It splits the whole world into couples watching each other. Until all our laws, all our customs seem the servants of that. . . . Here are we two, I and you, barred for ever from the sight of one another, and I and you writing—I, at any rate—in spite of the ill-concealed resentment of my partner. We're just two, peeping through our bars, of a universal multitude. Everywhere this prison of sex. . . . I can understand so well now that feminine attitude that implies, 'Well, if I must have a master, then the more of a master the better?' Perhaps that is the way; that Nature will not let us poor humans get away from sex, and I am merely —what is it?—an abnormality—with whiskers of inquiry sprouting from my mind. Yet I don't feel like that."

In short, so far as Mr. Wells's ideas are concerned, they are merely the ideas in the air, and there is no great audacity

in presenting them. That is merely to blow back our own breath into our faces. But when, instead of writing about the entire Human Race, he chooses to portray some members of it, he is very successful indeed. "Modernity" is an accidental quality of his books, having no more to do with their essential worth than has the day of the month on which they were printed. And as to his boldness in the treatment of sex which so embarrassed our college professor, no man will be in the least disturbed who has not turned genteel in his very insides, and that, of course, is improbable. *The New Machiavelli, Marriage,* and his latest books are the lineal successors to many a good, spacious British novel of the past. Their kinship to these, especially to Meredith's *The Conqueror,* is far more conspicuous than any revolutionary quality. Of course they contain a good deal of sheer modern impudence, as when Plato is dismissed as a journalist and all classic learning is brushed aside, along with Christianity, and indeed everything that preceded the dates of publication. And to-day's superstitions are substituted for yesterday's superstition, and there is an absurd tendency to deify the middle of next week —not a very interesting object of worship. Yet, all said, they do create a world of fancy, and it is no harm if he rules it with his whims. His characters are very agreeable in spite of their quite superfluous Atlantean anxieties; and in this last novel the world-uplifting hero has at least the grace to say that he is not quite sure of his broadest generalizations.

F. M. Colby.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

BENDISH. By MAURICE HEWLETT. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

In the first three lines of *Bendish,* Mr. Hewlett unmistakably fixes the time of his story as beginning with the reign of William IV., thereby expressly disclaiming the historic identity of his hero with Lord Byron and ridding himself once for all of any obligation to strict biographical accuracy. Nevertheless, the story of the man Bendish runs so closely parallel to the career of Byron that it is not easy to assume that Mr. Hewlett is portraying merely a man of Byronic temperament. Such a study in a sense, of course, *Bendish* is; but one feels that the study might have proved better worth while were it divorced entirely from the time and circumstances suggestive of Byron's self. Doubtless, even in our own unsympathetic age, the Byronic type, however obscured and disgraced, may still exist; and as one of the extreme forms which Protean human nature tends, consistently with genius, to assume, it will never fail to inspire interest—nor merely the sort of interest, cleverly satirized by Mr. Hewlett, which was felt by the fashionable admirers of "Childe Harold." But Mr. Hewlett's half-portraiture is unsatisfactory: we are never allowed to forget Byron; we can never feel persuaded that Bendish and Byron are one.

In some particulars, the resemblance is close. Use is made of the well-known anecdote of Byron's emotion as a school-boy on first hearing his name pronounced with the newly inherited prefix. Instead of English *Bards and Scotch Reviewers,* Bendish writes the *Billiad,* which similarly electrifies the town. Like Byron's, his primary ambition is political rather than poetical; he has dreams of an ovation in the House of Lords, and the flat failure of his maiden speech plunges him into bitterness and affected disillusion. Tom Moore figures in the story as the friend of Bendish, and Leigh Hunt also plays a part. Sydney Smith, on an off day, might have written the letter attributed to him by Mr. Hewlett. The poet Gervase Poore seems intended to represent Shelley, and the common enthusiasm of the two poets for liberal ideas, as also their subsequent estrangement, is echoed in Mr. Hewlett's narrative—though, in truth, there is no record of Byron's wounding Shelley in a duel!

To look for literal truth in a narrative of this sort is to be literal-minded indeed, and it is idle to seek for over-close analogies. Our quarrel with Mr. Hewlett's narrative is not that it follows historic fact too far aloof, but rather that it treads upon truth's heels and sometimes crowds it to the wall. On the whole, *Bendish* is like most of Mr. Hew-

lett's fiction—almost uncannily vivid at times; never quite real. The author, in fact, realizes his imaginings far better than he imagines reality. He is not a great psychologist. We would like to be made to understand a little more clearly how a poet of Byron's intellectual greatness could seem so small a man as through the mist of praise and scandal we see him. Particularly in this age, when the "Childe Harold" tradition seems dead as the sentiment that shed maudlin tears over the verses of Tom Moore, we need insight, not satire. But we are disappointed: Bendish is not a *great* egoist; beside him, the egoist of George Meredith is a titan. We are told that Bendish's mind characteristically worked by vividly conceiving in advance the desired end and then choosing his means accordingly. But this is true of all who are not madmen or doctrinaires. The peculiarity of Bendish was that he always pictured a personal triumph; in other words, vainglory was his dominant note. In the end we cannot help asking, Why all this pother about a man so petty and so uncomplex?

So far as it is taken biographically, Mr. Hewlett's novel seems unloyal to letters. As fiction it is not without charm: the persuasive style, the delicate tracery and decoration of thought, are here. There are keen strokes of satire, and the portrait of Bendish, whatever we may think of its significance, is sharply etched. Gervase Poore, as mad poet and manly man, has life. But even as fiction, *Bendish* is less rewarding than Mr. Hewlett's purely imaginative tales.

Greek Imperialism. By William Scott Ferguson, Professor of Ancient History, Harvard University. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

This is a book not only for scholars, but for all who like mental food "with some chaw to it." The close correlation of arguments and facts, the unmistakable clearness and refreshing variety of the style, the modern breadth of view embracing political insight as well as historic understanding, not to speak of an occasional dry appreciation of human nature, will be relished by all who enjoy a fine, vigorous play of intellect, irrespective of subject-matter. Professor Ferguson has a faculty for generalization that makes his *obiter dicta* and the incidental expansions of his theme of prime importance. No man has a keener instinct than he for true analogies between things ancient and modern or between phenomena geographically remote.

In four chapters we traverse rapidly, and with a clearly differentiated point of view, the entire classical period of Greek history. Then we sail, as in a galleon, into the troubled waters of the period following the death of Alexander, and, in spite of apprehensions, we are not storm-tossed. In the development of Greek imperialism, Professor Ferguson has found a safe and direct course from the beginning to the end of Greek political experience—a trade-wind, blowing steadily in one general direction. Thus the confused period of the Diadochi, the imperial policies of the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, the Antigonids, and the struggles of the Grecian leagues win a new intelligibility and significance. "In government as in science," writes Professor Ferguson, "the classic period was but the youthful bloom of Greece, whereas its vigorous ma-

turity—in which it was cut down by Rome—came in the Macedonian time." The imperial tendency had from the beginning to contend vainly with the obstinate separatism of the Greek city states. Neither Athens nor Sparta, nor—least of all—Thebes, was able to convert its hegemonies into permanent empires; and when some sort of unification had become essential, with characteristic conservatism the Greek people struggled against the inevitable. According to Professor Ferguson's view there were two rival solutions of the central political problem. These were the federal systems of which the city-state was originally the unit, and the deification of rulers.

Both Plato and Aristotle almost inevitably failed to see the necessary trend of civilization: Plato because he was obsessed by the attempt "to mend city constitutions when the world required the creation of larger territorial states"; Aristotle because, although he noted in one passage of the *Politics* that "if the Greeks were united in a single polity they would be capable of universal empire," he considered such a consummation the reverse of desirable, expressly excepting the city-state from the rule that the stronger must rule the weaker. With Alexander, the work of empire-building began in earnest, and it is he who first makes use of the device of deification. Just as he required the form of salutation called *proskynesis* from his followers present in person, so he required from distant cities the acknowledgment of his godhead. Such acknowledgment, then, was "the proskynesis of cities."

Whether or not too much stress is laid by the author upon this device of deification as a means of evading and at the same time sanctioning imperial government, is the controversial point, if there is one, in the book. Certainly the expedient would seem to have been adopted in the first place by Alexander chiefly for the sake of its effect upon his Asiatics, and it is perhaps a question whether in Hellas proper it did him more harm or good. If the rough Macedonian soldiers could joke about "the son of Jupiter," it is hard to think of the cultivated Athenian of the period as being much impressed, and at a later date Demetrius Poliorcetes indulged in some not very seemly jesting about his "sister Athene." But perhaps the want of reverence in particular cases is exactly what proves the value of the thing in its more general significance; for the deification of rulers would not be the first or last device which men have resolved to take seriously in a public sense, while privately mocking at it.

Professor Ferguson requires us to use some historic imagination—to view the development of thought on political subjects more or less apart from the views held at a particular time by any one thinker. The philosophy of history is not an easy subject in which to reach assured convictions, yet Professor Ferguson's conclusions are not merely suggestive, but satisfactorily convincing. He pilots us safely and with an exhilarating sense of progress, through a period full of dangers to the inexperienced navigator.

THE MESSAGE OF GREEK ART. By H. H. POWERS, Ph.D., PRESIDENT OF THE BUREAU OF UNIVERSITY TRAVEL. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Without professing to write what may be regarded in any sense as a

history of Greek art, Dr. Powers has produced an excellent tonic book suitable for general reading and not unfitted for use in colleges and secondary schools. Sensible and timely is the plea for the value of things Greek as distinguished from a knowledge of the Greek language. Truly, Homer in translation is little like Homer in the original; but long and dusty is the road that leads through *mi*-verbs and manifold rules of syntax to a real appreciation of Greek style, and few there be that travel it to the end. Lamentably few, we may believe; yet it is unquestionably true that no linguistic barrier should be raised between the student and the lessons that Greek life has to teach.

The scientific preoccupation of our age, Dr. Powers believes, has led to a great deal of art-study which brings results of much the same nature as a recruiting officer's examination of an applicant for enlistment. The officer acquires a sort of anthropological knowledge of the man which the man's nearest friends do not possess; but his *acquaintance* with the applicant is nil. Acquaintance, as the word is understood between friends, should be the immediate quest in a study of Greek art. "Such a quest," continues Dr. Powers, "is not unscientific, for it allows the fullest place to exact knowledge, but it involves some things in addition which exact knowledge cannot furnish, just as a fireside acquaintance with a person involves things quite outside the measurement of the recruit."

In this spirit the whole book is effectively written. In his enthusiasm for Greek culture the author acknowledges himself a bit of an extremist: he avows that he is one of those who are inclined to attribute to the Greeks an absolute intellectual supremacy, considering that in those matters in which we seem to have bested them our superiority is merely a superiority of *plant* and of accumulated knowledge. With such statements as that "in Athens, for a century or two, life scored its most notable successes," we may have little quarrel; but when we meet the assertion that "Greek slavery was a thing of sweetness and light compared to our own," we shall think perhaps of that rural client of Lysias, who, after causing one of his slaves to be bound and thrown into a ditch, where the man subsequently died, drove off to town without apparent consciousness of having done anything reprehensible or even unusual.

Perhaps, again, the author speaks with too much confidence of social conditions in the prehistoric Grecian world, adopting without reserve the view that the Homeric poems picture a state of affairs in which the magnificence of an overthrown Ægean civilization is artlessly contrasted with the rude pioneer habits of the conquering race. Yet in the sort of brief, eloquent discussion which is all that Dr. Powers attempts, it is of course impracticable to view every side of a question. The book is written with imagination and verve, and, this side of the merely fanciful, nothing could be farther than its method and treatment from the dry-as-dust and perfunctory. The style runs to the racy idioms of every day; barbarous technicalities are dropped and translations of Greek terms are preferred to mere transliterations.

On the whole, Dr. Powers succeeds in his attempt to show the arts —pottery, sculpture, and to some extent architecture—with civilization as a background. His treatment of such mooted points as the painting of

Greek statues is governed by common sense and a readiness to see that the Greeks, for all their subtlety, were not so super-subtle as some of their apologists; nor does his admiration for Greek intellect lead him into approval of Polyclitus and his canon. His discussion of such general questions as that relating to the nude in art shows a general knowledge of artistic conventions coupled with an independence of thought that renounces mere studio traditions. Moreover, his frequent assaults upon literal-mindedness are refreshing.

The Message of Greek Art is adequately illustrated with pictures of more or less familiar specimens of art and architecture, from the Lion Gate of Mycenæ to the Farnese Bull and the Laocoön.

A Short History of Art. By Julia B. De Forrest. Edited and Revised by Charles Henry Caffin. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1913.

Doubtless revision will prolong the life of a generally sound, useful, and moderately readable, but not very inspiring book. The revision, we may conjecture, has been more thorough as regards the latter than the earlier part of the treatise. At any rate, in the opening chapters some rather strange-sounding sentences stand. The Trojan War is referred to as a determinable period, and "800 years after the death of Theseus" is regarded as a satisfactory date.

Such minor details are not, to be sure, of much consequence in a history of art; but the book shares in a defect of most histories of the kind, from M. Reinach's little *Apollo* (which is little more than an admirable catalogue) to works of more pretension than the one under consideration: the treatise is almost purely descriptive; there is little of the evolution of art—little of cause and effect, and that little far from conclusive. We are not satisfied with such explanations as that regarding the characteristic differences between Egyptian and Mesopotamian sculpture: "The need of holding what they [the Mesopotamians] had gained against others obliged them to keep themselves in a constant condition of vigor and alertness. Thus the type of figure represented in their sculpture differs from that of the Egyptians, being characterized by muscular development and more energy of action." This, if not far-fetched, seems certainly inadequate. Again the fascinating study of cause and effect in Greek architecture receives very scant treatment. Allowance must be made, of course, for the limitations imposed by the cyclopedic scope of the work, yet it seems that the relation between art and life might have been more clearly brought out here and there. In reading, for instance, of the Pre-Raphaelites as described in this volume, one would hardly guess what a stir and rummage in the land was caused by this school. Throughout the book, the descriptions are characterized by a kind of bare, dry adequacy, and statements about artists and their work are eminently conservative, not to say conventional. By way of offset, there is considerable quotation from good authorities, historical or critical, though the source of the quotation is not always clearly indicated.

The book has an abundant selection of fairly representative illustrations. It is a trustworthy and comprehensive treatise—by no means an ideal history of art.

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO. By GEORGE LOCKHART RIVES. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

This volume comprises an account as nearly complete as it would be humanly possible to construct it of the relations of the United States and Mexico between the years 1821 and 1848. It is the history of a brief period written with painstaking thoroughness and infinite detail. To trace the numberless little contributing streams of cause and influence that led to important events is, beyond a certain point, neither a very hopeful nor an immediately profitable task. General conclusions are hard to find in the two volumes of this exhaustive treatise, and it seems that extreme detail in this case can lead only to the determination of purely theoretic rights and wrongs, and can give little assistance in exhibiting large tendencies. Certainly the history of Mexico, during the period treated seems to have been, politically speaking, the proverbial "history of kites and crows," and one finds little profit in the attempt to follow it. At the same time the narrative throws some light upon social conditions both in Mexico and in Texas, and such men as Austin, Poinsett, and picturesque Sam Houston are characterized and given their due places as effective forces. Mr. Rives has performed a difficult task with conscientious thoroughness; he has given permanent form to much floating material and established many things as matters of record. His book has its value, but in perusing it the unprofessional student of history will find his vision of the woods somewhat obscured by the trees. It is difficult to feel much interest in negotiations that fell through without having any clearly traceable result, or in the comparatively obscure men who engaged in them.

THE PANAMA GATEWAY. By JOSEPH BUCKLIN BISHOP. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Pride in the completion of the Panama Canal is a sentiment that may now be regarded as universally felt throughout the country. Conflicts of opinion regarding the most available route, controversies as to the type of canal to be chosen, doubts about our conduct toward Colombia, and like differences, have been laid to rest; and probably no one wishes to revive them Under the circumstances, Mr. Bishop's book, which may be looked upon as in some sort the official account, is perhaps the best, as for many reasons the official account should be.

Mr. Bishop is not an engineer; he is an excellent historian. The early history of the Isthmus is covered with just the proper brevity and point. The author has really delved into the records, and upon good, recent authority, he corrects long-received errors regarding the old city of Panama. Much the same may be said of the account of the French enterprise. No one can read of French machinery abandoned and covered with the tangled growth of the jungle without wanting to know something of De Lesseps and the men who worked for him. And our curiosity is satisfied. To the incredible mismanagement of the French company, to the heroism of the men in the field, and to the many grim or farcical incidents which marked the progress of the work, the author does ample justice. Not only are the facts essential as throwing into

proper perspective American methods and success, but the inherent interest of these facts fairly cries for brief popular presentation.

What is set in strongest relief is the advance in hygienic knowledge which made possible the almost complete extirpation of yellow fever on the Isthmus and the control of malaria. With some reason, therefore, the author dwells at considerable length upon the heroic services of those men—Lazear, Kissinger, and the rest—who sacrificed life or health that the requisite knowledge might be acquired. The importance of this knowledge may be gathered from the fact that, according to a conservative estimate, two out of three of the white men who went to the Isthmus in the service of the French company died of yellow fever. "When Jenner discovered vaccination," remarks Mr. Bishop, "he received from the British Government grants amounting to above $150,000, and also a subscription fund of $35,000 raised in India. This was a hundred years ago, and the discovery, scarcely more valuable to human welfare than that of yellow-fever transmission, was made without risk of life to the discoverer." With justifiable warmth, the author contrasts our own Government's treatment of the yellow-fever martyrs, to whose families were granted pensions amounting to not more in any case than $125 a month.

The part of the canal work of which Mr. Bishop as secretary of the Commission had closest and most technical knowledge was the human machine, and he gives us an impressive conception of how this marvelous organization was built up and kept running. Quite convincingly also he emphasizes the value, proved after many experiments, of one-man control. In the Canal Zone, it seems, was exemplified, for once—not socialism or paternalism, as the author is at some pains to show—but the rule of the ideal "benevolent despot," and the "square deal" ruled supreme.

On the other hand, if the book has a serious fault, that fault is the comparative failure to make us realize the building of the canal as the progress of a great engineering struggle. Much of what the general reader wants to know about the engineering side of the canal's construction is here, but the information is somewhat scattered, and until nearly the end of the book one gets no sufficiently clear idea of the canal as a whole. But with this qualification the book is excellent as giving us a fairly complete comprehension of the great achievement in its length, breadth, and depth. The volume contains a clear map showing the completed canal, though none of the zone before the big ditch was dug.

THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM, 1898-1913. By FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1913.

Mr. Chamberlin's book, which is written in very clear, direct "United States," gives a brief, informing résumé of what has been accomplished in the Philippine Islands under our rule, and discusses the question of continued occupation. The particulars of Spanish misrule may be shortly passed over. The early trade restrictions, the government traffic in opium and in lotteries, the officials sent out under the principle that "a colonial official was going to be corrupt anyway, and that it was a

waste of government finances to pay him a stipend—it is an old story." We have "changed all that." Apparently the only aftermath of the old régime is the question arising out of the possession of the Friar Lands. In 1898, the members of various religious orders, intensely hated by the natives, were compelled to flee for their lives, and land to the amount of four hundred thousand acres passed out of their control. Since the Friars were forbidden by the rules of their orders to sue in the secular courts, there was no way under our laws by which they could regain possession, nor was it desirable that they should do so, since "the most cursory investigation shows that every abuse which finally led to the two revolutions of 1896 and 1898 was charged by the natives as a whole to the Friars." In the upshot we acquired the lands for $7,227,000 gold. This sum, which now constitutes more than half the bonded indebtedness of the Philippine government is, in Mr. Chamberlin's view, an unnecessary burden. "Could these lands be handled in a business-like fashion, it is very likely that they would meet the bonds. . . . But it has been impossible to handle them in that manner; they are in demand for sugar lands, taken as a whole; but owing to politics, laws have been passed preventing any corporation from acquiring more than twenty-five hundred acres and any individual over forty acres of public lands." On these facts is based the dispute between those who wish the reduction of the debt through the immediate sale of the lands to the highest bidders, and those who think it necessary to protect them from the sugar trust and from exploitation—"whatever," says Mr. Chamberlin, "that may mean."

Of especial novelty and interest is the author's analysis of Tagalog human nature. The Tagalogs, he says, are Malays, as pure as any others. As untouched by education before the Americans took them in hand, they were altogether improvident. They worked only long enough to be sure of the next meal. They were fatalists by nature, which made them fanatics in battle, like all Malays. "When anything happened, no matter how serious it might be, the Tagalog never bewailed, but just said it was the will of fate and went about his affairs as if nothing at all had occurred. When angry, he was prone to lose utterly his self-control and to destroy everything within his reach. . . . He was extremely affectionate to his family in certain respects, yet when his house was on fire he paused only to save his fighting-cock, leaving his household to look out for its own safety. He would steal from his best friend." Finally, "in the power of deduction, the Anglo-Saxon boy of five is immeasurably more advanced than the average Tagalog man of mature years." Working with such a population, the Philippine government has accomplished wonders, by the correction of shocking sanitary conditions, the conquest of disease, the making of better roads, and the establishment of a practical school system. The introduction of American athletics, and notably of baseball, has proved highly successful. It is pleasant to read of the work of the schools and of the employment of native teachers in the primary grades.

The fact remains, however, that the number of registered voters in the Philippines is only a little over three per cent. of the total population, and it is on behalf of this minority that independence for the islands is demanded. The *gente illustrada* are no more Tagalogs than the ruling class in Mexico are Yaquis, and in the event of separation

from the United States the natives would be as completely at the mercy of the cultured few as they have been in times past. It is for this reason, argues Mr. Chamberlin, that the upper class oppose unrestricted sale of the Friar Lands, thinking that the investment of large amounts of American capital would indefinitely put off the day of complete independence. They have gravely urged, the author tells us, that since the number of the educated class in the islands is sufficient to fill all the offices twice over, thus forming a party of "Ins" and a party of "Outs," the country is ripe for self-government. Finally, without analyzing international questions in detail, Mr. Chamberlin gives them due weight in his discussion of the Philippine problem of 1913.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESENT IN GERMANY. By OSWALD KULPE, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN. TRANSLATED BY MAUD LYALL PATRICK AND G. F. W. PATRICK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

By "the philosophy of the present," Professor Külpe decidedly does *not* mean new fashions and fugitive tendencies. It is not really true, he tells us, that philosophy in recent years has lost caste by "descending to the lower region of investigation in the sphere of the special sciences." On the contrary, the "Queen of the Sciences" has gained rather than lost by ceasing to assert a divine right. Accordingly, the real distinction to-day is not so much between the new philosophy and the old, as between the more superficial and popular tendencies, of which we hear most, and the profounder work which still goes on. "So it has come to pass that the philosophical movement of the present, in so far as it is strictly scientific, is not widely known or fully appreciated."

As between schools, the old distinctions still hold, it appears. There are Positivists and Materialists; Naturalists and Idealists, as perhaps there will always be. But all four schools now "stand under the determining influence which the marvelous development of the special sciences, especially the natural sciences, exerted upon the thought of the nineteenth century." Modern philosophy, then, conceives of its mission somewhat as follows: "It supplements the special sciences by a fundamental and comprehensive logic and theory of knowledge, by an amplifying and perfecting metaphysics, and finally by the undertaking of special investigations carried out in the spirit and by the methods of the special sciences." It aims, moreover, to construct a new theory of life and the world—a theory joining on to the special sciences where they end and connected with them through the inductive method. The chief schools are briefly and clearly characterized. Positivism renounces a supplementary metaphysics, and confines itself to logic and epistemology, thereby distinguishing itself from the three remaining schools, which endeavor, each in its own way, to construct theories of the world and life. Again the first three schools differ from idealism in that they regard the discovery in life of an ideal meaning corresponding to our religious needs as neither possible nor necessary. Materialism and Naturalism, which both aspire to be philosophies of pure reality, stand to each other somewhat in the relation of a theory and its application.

Following this general outline, Professor Külpe next takes up and criticizes prominent representatives of the four schools in succession. Because of a lack of space in which to win for a particular philosophic view that sympathy which is necessary for complete understanding, his summaries of the doctrines of various philosophers seem a little bare and crabbed. More insight is gained through his exceedingly keen and searching criticisms.

Ernst Mach, who holds that all science is a mere "portrayal of facts in thought," and that the doctrine of "necessary relations" belongs to a fetich-like metaphysics, is opposed with the argument that "we enlarge experience in thought, and by its means." Eugen Dühring's "principle of determinate number," with its corollaries regarding first causes and fresh beginnings, is found to be an insufficient key to the world-riddle. Haeckel is criticized in the familiar way—on the ground of the fundamental confusion arising from the substitution of matter and energy for matter and spirit, or matter and mind. Against Nietzsche it is urged that even if we admit as true the account which he gives of the origin of religion and of the moral teachings of Christianity, it by no means follows that those convictions or principles are in themselves incorrect.

The new idealism seems to open up a more encouraging prospect, yet at the very outset we encounter Fechner's doctrine that not only the earth, but all the celestial bodies, have souls! Lotze believes that reality is merely a matter of "standing in relation," and, unlike Mach, he assigns to the unity of law a fundamental reality—a reality, however, which remains unproved. To most readers Hartmann's doctrine of the Unconscious will seem a mere juggling with abstract conceptions.

In Wundt, Professor Külpe first finds "the process of approximating and assimilating the methods and results of the natural sciences brought to a provisional conclusion—a conclusion, indeed, which may for a long time serve as an example." Yet Wundt's belief that the *will* expresses our being most exactly, and that the world therefore consists of will-units, is subjected to criticism. So complex a thing is the ego that "there exists no necessity for considering one element as more fundamental than another." Moreover, "just how from the reciprocal action of pure wills *ideas* may arise, it is difficult to see."

The reading of Professor Külpe's book may be taken as an effective and not too drastic antidote to the popular and persuasive philosophies of the hour.

PEDAGOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By MARIA MONTESSORI, M.D. TRANSLATED BY FREDERIC TABER COOPER. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1913.

In this age, it is the tendency of science to reach out and join hands on the one side with philosophy and on the other with the physical and intellectual needs of daily life. Several sciences—notably, psychology—have greatly increased their scope, widening at the same time the conception of their respective missions; and now Anthropology, through its connection with Pedagogy, attains a fresh value.

There is, however, in the nature of things a counter-tendency which limits each department of knowledge to its own more or less remote or

visionary aims. Philosophy still remains preoccupied with metaphysical problems, and science, by nature not a whit more practical, tends to lose itself in descriptive details. Whatever may be our enthusiasm for science as an intellectual and moral guide, it cannot be said as yet that we are much benefited as to our minds and characters by a knowledge of the physiology of the brain; and the question of school discipline, which undoubtedly falls within the field of the new anthropology, refuses to be connected too closely with theories regarding man as a whole.

To say that Mme. Montessori seems hardly qualified for the task of reinterpreting our views of life in the light of the new Anthropology, or of at once bringing to bear upon practical interests the whole weight of the science's varied content, is not to disparage her remarkable work or to underrate her influence upon contemporary thought. But we may criticize her book as slightly incoherent, and we may feel that her conclusions scarcely justify the quantity of scientific data she traverses. As scientific philosophy, what can be said of a passage like the following, which occurs in the section entitled "Abnormal Types of Stature and General Principles of Biological Ethics"? "The whole life of the Chinese," writes Mme. Montessori, "is founded upon duty: fidelity to religion, to the laws, to the spirit of *sacrifice,* which always finds the Chinese citizen ready to die for his ethics and for his country are strong characteristics of these invincible men. . . . Evolution ought to be free; but instead, such a type is necessarily in bondage to *duty,* which stops its progress. Accordingly, the civilization of China remains the civilization of China; it cannot invade the world." Nor does the progress of eugenics seem to justify as yet the joyful proclamation of a new sexual ethics.

Over-enthusiastic generalization, together with a mass of not strictly correlated details, are what we should expect to find in a new science, and they are found in *Pedagogical Anthropology.* Nevertheless, the point of view of Mme. Montessori's book is progressive and inspiring: many of her dicta are unquestionably sound. Reviewing the content of her science, she makes use of the advanced ideas of such men as De Giovanni and Lombroso, whose work, aside from the theory of atavism, which Nordau pushed to such ludicrous extremes, has been of the utmost significance. By far the largest section of her book is devoted to an exposition of the general principles of biology, craniology, the forms and type of stature, and biometry in general. Of more real value than most classifications is that which divides men into two types with respect to the "essential stature"—that is, the length of the trunk in relation to the total height. So different are the aptitudes and susceptibilities of the long-limbed "makroscele" from those of the long-bodied "brachyscele" that he requires not only a different regimen, but also, in a sense, a different code of ethics. In this part of the book, every sort of physiological peculiarity that may affect the welfare of the individual, from infantilism to flat feet, is enumerated and discussed. There follows a shorter but important section devoted to methods of measurement, the compilation of life histories, and the handling of statistics.

In *Pedagogical Anthropology,* Mme. Montessori certainly accomplishes her purpose of helping "to prepare the way," and there are passages in which she speaks like a truly inspired prophetess.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

APPRECIATION

FALL RIVER, MASS.

SIR,—The October number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is one of the richest and most moving in its intellectual and genetic power of all issues of magazines which have ever come under my eye.

I say this, with all restraint, in spite of the fact that I am a gormand of books—what the old Romans called a *helluo librorum*—and skim or suck the contents of many a magazine, in the course of a year, American and foreign.

The October number of the old NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is a credit not only to editor and contributors, but to the American people. I am glad that there is at least one editor who holds fast to the almost obsolete tradition that there is an American public, a reading constituency which is receptive to the stimulus of noble thoughts, nobly expressed, and which has not been washed out in the suds of feminism and impressionist vapor, which are the thin basis of so much of present-day literature.

I was much impressed by your fine article on Asquith. How could you cram so much thought, such an intimate word-picture of a powerful, energetic, compelling, intellectual personality, into so small space? It is a wonderful word-portrait of a most effective statesman, whose surpassing ability is hardly recognized by his own countrymen.

I have just read Trevelyan's *John Bright*, deeply interesting to me, as I enjoyed a slight acquaintance with that splendid survival of the Puritan conscience and master of emotional eloquence. Orator, fervid-glowing, pictorial, with a sense of the Hebrew prophetic instinct, Bright certainly was. He was touched with a sensitive emotionalism which Asquith lacks. The gods do not give with both hands. But Bright, or probably Gladstone or Lincoln, could never have carried Great Britain through the storm and stress of our complex times, as the steady hand, analytic brain, immense self-restraint, enormous personal power of Asquith have ridden the waves.

Your article is one of the completest of short character-studies, "rammed with thought."

There are other articles in your October number to which I would gladly refer. Some of them, also yours, I shall read more than once.

MELTON REED.

THE ENGLISH AND MR. BRYAN

NEW YORK.

SIR,—I've returned home to find some copies of THE REVIEW waiting, and have just finished reading the attack made by Sydney Brooks upon Mr. Bryan in the July issue. Mr. Bryan is not one of my favorites and we do not stand for his political fads, nor know him personally, but I must say Mr. Brooks's unkind article cut me to the quick. I feel *personally* aggrieved. It certainly is a *very cruel* article. One, of course, knows that people must be abused and ridiculed, and one expects anything from daily papers, but on the pages of a respectable monthly, just that kind of abuse is a surprise. In various phrasings, on nearly every page, is Mr. Bryan called in effect a hopeless, brainless fool.

Not only this, but Mr. Brooks seems to take delight in sneering allusions to America and Americans through every page. Of course we are quite accustomed to this sort of thing from a certain class of English, and we ascribe it to devouring petty jealousy, but the supercilious assumption of superiority by

this newspaper man is as ridiculous as it is offensive; we could let it pass for what it is worth. His brutal attack on Mr. Bryan, however, is like a knock-down blow to any man or woman of nice feeling.

We deplore the fact that you have allowed these cruel insults to stain the pages of this REVIEW, many of the articles of which we enjoy much.

L. H. UNDERWOOD, M.D.

"An English View of Mr. Bryan" was what Mr. Sydney Brooks aimed to present, and we are convinced that he did so with substantial accuracy. Because that judgment does not conform to American opinion or to our own does not to our mind constitute a sound reason for refusing publication. On the contrary, what can be more enlightening or helpful than occasionally to "see oursel's as others see us"?—EDITOR.

LIFE ON THE PRAIRIES

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

SIR,—This letter is just to ask you a question which was suggested to my mind after reading "The Man in the Moon" in the July number of the REVIEW. Optimistic as your article is, it nevertheless sets one thinking about the conditions of modern life so systematically and hopefully explained.

We people of America boast that our great country is the "Melting Pot" of the world, that the vast acres of fertile land stretch out beseechingly to help the poor and oppressed to a better living. We welcome in all our harbors and cities people of every nation and—that is all. They reach New York, and, lured by the maze of life and apparent gaiety, stay on and on. The result is—our present struggle, not only in New York, but in every city of any size, to relieve the suffering in certain congested districts.

What should be done, and what is being done to a certain small extent, is to urge these strangers out to the land; to take up acres of it and to farm them. Ah—but "to urge" are not the right words, for this cannot be all that our country should do for them. I happened to be riding in a day-coach from Montana through Wyoming and down into South Dakota this summer. At some little place in Wyoming a man and woman and five children got on the train. The man was perhaps thirty-five years old. The woman was tall and fine-looking, hardly more than twenty-nine or thirty years old. The children—three boys and two girls—ranged from nine to two years. They carried with them all their possessions, two battered satchels and a large pasteboard box. They were going, so the mother told me, "back home, cl'ar to Missouri." This meant a two days' and two nights' journey in a *day-coach*.

"Yes," she said, "we started out four years ago, with our oldest boy, to take up land in Wyoming. Every one told it was fine, and we allowed we'd make our claim good. But we didn't." Each winter we were there it seemed as though it was longer and harder, and each summer the crops seemed smaller. We hadn't any money to buy stock with and so we had to hire a team to do the ploughing! Last winter was the hardest of the four. Our claim was eighteen miles from the village, and the snow piled up in great drifts; some were nineteen feet deep. It took my husband and two men three days to go to the village. They had to go; you see, our provisions had given out and the neighbors' cattle were starving. We borrowed among the neighbors all around, but at last everything gave out."

Even in summer their hopes were blighted in an hour by the terrible hail-storms that made weeds of a field of promising beans.

These are but two of the incidents which this woman told me, illustrating their hopeless struggle with the elements. What is the solution? How can we help these people to get a firm hold upon their acres so that the incentive to work may lie in possession? The people who have succeeded in claiming land did it years ago, or came West with enough money to get along without the profits of the first few years.

If you have ever ridden across North Dakota in the summer and seen the sunset in purple radiance on the rolling prairies and the lazy cattle grazing on the short green stubble, you will be impressed by the vastness of America more than by climbing the highest mountain peak. The quiet land seems to hold every hope for possession and yet—in the terribleness of a tempest it seems angry with itself for luring into its wilderness the humble folk who now must battle with the wrath of God.

CATHERINE M. TAINST.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1913

THE PRESIDENT AND MEXICO

BY THE EDITOR

To obtain a clear understanding of the present Mexican situation it is necessary to recall in sequence the chief events which have given rise to the predicament in which, as a Nation, we now find ourselves.

On February 18th, of the present year, after nine days of fighting in the City of Mexico, President Madero and Vice-President Suarez were compelled to resign by Generals Blanquet and Huerta upon the ground that "the time has come when some drastic means must be taken to stop a conflict in which father is killing son and brother is fighting against brother; where non-combatants are sharing the fate of war—and all this because of the caprice of one man." Piedro Lascurian, Minister of Foreign Affairs, thereupon became Provisional President and appointed General Huerta Minister of the Interior. A few days later Lascurian resigned, and, his resignation having been accepted by the Congress, Huerta became Provisional President. All this was done by prearrangement and in strict conformity with provisions of the written Constitution. General Huerta immediately telegraphed to President Taft:

> I have the honor to inform you that I have overthrown the government. The forces are with me, and from now on peace and prosperity will reign.

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On February 23d Madero and Suarez were shot to death while being taken in an automobile from the National palace to the penitentiary. According to an official statement put forth by authority of Huerta they were killed in a scrimmage resulting from an attempted rescue. The American Ambassador, Mr. Henry Lane Wilson, "accepted" this version of the tragedy "in the absence of other reliable information," and expressed a feeling of certainty that the deaths were "without Government approval."

This was the situation when President Wilson was inaugurated.

President Huerta immediately sought official recognition from the various Powers. Great Britain was the first to accede. Speaking in the Guildhall on November 10th, Prime Minister Asquith said:

> On March 31st of this year, before the present Administration of the United States had made or had even had an opportunity of making any declaration of policy, His Majesty's Government recognized Huerta as President ad interim. We did so because we were bound to deal with him as we should in the case of any Central or South American State, whatsoever was at the time the *de facto* government, and according to information then in our possession there appeared to be no element except Huerta and his supporters which offered any prospect for the restoration of stability and order.
>
> That was on March 31st. Very shortly afterward, in answer to our inquiries, we were informed by the Government of the United States that as regards the recognition of Huerta no definite answer could be given except that they would wait some time longer before recognizing him.

Practically all of the European Powers, including Germany, France, Spain, and Austria, followed England's example, and Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson strongly urged our Administration to do likewise. The Huerta government, too, was most insistent, urging as a special reason that it could not obtain funds requisite to the pacifying of the country while the United States withheld official recognition.

President Wilson, however, declined to comply, for reasons which, though never set forth officially, were clearly indicated in a statement issued within a fortnight after he assumed office, to the effect that "we can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interest and ambition," and subsequently in a speech at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania,

when he declared that " nowhere can any government long endure which is stained by blood or supported by anything but the consent of the governed."

Early in August, impelled by complaints of Americans and the restiveness of foreign governments concerning the destruction of properties, the President despatched Mr. John Lind, a former Governor of Minnesota, to Mexico as his personal spokesman and representative with proposals of friendly mediation. Mr. Lind's instructions were to " press very earnestly upon those who are now exercising authority or wielding influence " that " the Government of the United States does not feel at liberty any longer to stand inactively by while no real progress is being made toward the establishment of a government in the City of Mexico which the country will obey and respect." The President continued:

> A satisfactory settlement seems to us to be conditioned on:
> (*a*) An immediate cessation of fighting throughout Mexico, a definite armistice solemnly entered into and scrupulously observed;
> (*b*) Security given for an early and free election in which all agree to take part;
> (*c*) The consent of General Huerta to bind himself not to be a candidate for election as President of the Republic at this election, and
> (*d*) The agreement of all parties to abide by the results of the election and co-operate in the most loyal way in organizing and supporting the new Administration.

He added:

> If Mexico can suggest any better way in which to show our friendship, serve the people of Mexico and meet our international obligations, we are more than willing to consider the suggestion.

The Huerta government was disposed to resent the appearance of an " unofficial Confidential Agent " from the United States when all other nations were represented by authorized Ministers, and Señor Gamboa, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, did not hesitate to pronounce the proposals " unusual and humiliating." Nevertheless, evincing appreciation of the spirit which prompted the interposition, he replied courteously that his government could hardly be expected to cease warring upon, or to enter into " a definite armistice " with, unorganized bandits; that free elections were already assured; but that naturally his government could not guarantee " the agreement of all parties to abide by the results." He was constrained, therefore, to reject

the proposals, and, in response to the President's invitations, suggested "the following equally decorous arrangement":

(1) That our Ambassador be received in Washington.
(2) That the United States of America send us a new Ambassador without previous conditions.

The one really vital condition of mediation imposed by President Wilson, namely, that General Huerta "bind himself not to be a candidate for election as President," was disposed of politely but firmly in these words:

The request that General Victoriano Huerta should agree not to appear as a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic in the coming elections cannot be taken into consideration, because, aside from its strange and unwarranted character, there is a risk that the same might be interpreted as a matter of personal dislike. This point can only be decided by Mexican public opinion when it may be expressed at the polls.

Subsequent events, including the arbitrary dissolution of the recalcitrant Madero Congress, the dismissal of Diaz, and the so-called election which may or may not be considered valid, and the constantly reiterated declarations from the White House that "Huerta Must Go" are too recent to require recital.

The whole matter resolves to this:

What legal or moral right has a President of the United States to say who shall or shall not be President of Mexico? and

Did not President Wilson imbed himself in a practically inextricable position when he demanded the retirement of Huerta?

To the first question there can be but one answer from a technical standpoint. Mr. Asquith gave it when he said that His Majesty's Government was "bound to deal with him (Huerta) as with any other Central or South American State, whatsoever was at the time the *de facto* government." Germany, France, Spain, Austria, and Russia gave it when they accredited Ministers to the new Administration. President Franklin Pierce gave it when he declared in his Message to Congress on May 15th, 1856:

It is the established policy of the United States to recognize governments without question of their source of organization or of the means by which the governing persons attain their power, provided there be a government *de facto* accepted by the people of the country. . . . It is

the more imperatively necessary to apply this rule to the Spanish-American peoples in consideration of the frequent and not seldom anomalous changes of organization or administration which they undergo and the revolutionary character of most of the changes.

Whether or not President Huerta would have been able to restore order throughout Mexico if he had possessed the means of which he was deprived by President Wilson's refusal to accord with the action of other nations and with what President Pierce pronounced " the established policy of the United States " is a matter of conjecture. That it would have been the part of wisdom to give him a chance to try is, we believe, in the light of subsequent events, the consensus of opinion in our own country at the present time.

To the second question we suspect the correct answer would be that the President's predicament is one from which satisfactory extrication is at the least difficult. What amazes us is that he should ever have gotten into it. Surely there could have been no doubt of the consequence of his demand that Huerta relinquish authority upon the ground, clearly implied, that he was directly concerned in the assassination of Madero. If innocent, he would not and, if guilty, he could not comply with such a request. Acquiescence would have spelt confession in either case. Nothing could be plainer than that President Wilson's method frustrated his own intent and could not possibly have operated otherwise. Instead of eliminating Huerta from power, he riveted him in his place, there to remain, in all probability, until he shall be expelled by force of arms.

It is proverbially easy to criticize, especially after the event. Probably President Wilson himself now realizes that it would have been better to accord recognition to the *de facto* Government, in compliance with the unanimous recommendation of the diplomatic corps in Mexico, upon the grounds set forth by Mr. Asquith. But having once assumed a wider responsibility by attempting to dictate to the Dictator, in pursuance of a policy which was ethical rather than practical, he was forbidden by regard for the Nation's dignity, no less than by his own obduracy, to recede from the position which he had taken. It followed inevitably that his original and wholly admirable purposes, which comprehended real assistance to a distracted neighbor and avoidance of war on our own part, should

narrow to a single definite aim, namely, the deposition of Huerta. To this end the President has directed all his energies: chiefly, after the failure of moral suasion, by way of menace. But all semi-official threatenings, first of lifting the embargo upon the delivery of arms to the insurgents, then of inaugurating a "peaceful blockade" of the Mexican ports, then of seeking to starve the government, through the co-operation of foreign Powers, and, finally, of severing diplomatic relations entirely, have so far been in vain. Huerta, at this writing, seems to be more stubborn and determined than at any previous time; has crushed out all opposition in his Cabinet and Congress; holds the army apparently under perfect control; is not destitute of funds; and, oddly enough, has been strengthened immeasurably with the Mexican people by report of the peremptory refusal of Carranza to accept mediatory proposals of any kind from Washington. Meanwhile, the wretched country is being devastated from the Rio Grande to the Southern Gulf; prisoners taken in battle are being slaughtered ruthlessly; helpless non-combatants are become the prey of savage bandits; railways are being torn up; mining and other properties to the value of unreckoned millions have already been destroyed; and American and European residents are fleeing for their lives. The gravity of the situation from the standpoint of Mexico, of our own country, or of humanity cannot be exaggerated. We are confronted by a condition of anarchy, not by a theory of government, and the condition has become intolerable.

What is to be done?

"We admit," says the London *Spectator*, "that it might be possible for Mr. Wilson's half-and-half Mexican policy to succeed in very small and weak countries—countries which could never raise their hand in revolt and had to put up with whatever treatment they got as contentedly as might be. But no one will say that Mexico is a country of that description. No one could foretell the character and length of the resistance that Mexico would be able to offer if an invasion of the country became necessary. It would certainly be harassing and enthusiastic, and would involve the United States in incalculable expense. Mexico is peopled by independent and pugnacious men, apt at guerrilla warfare, and is a country which lends itself to the arts of wearing out an enemy by the expedients of ambuscade and elu-

siveness. We sincerely hope that the necessity for war may be avoided, but we cannot honestly see how the present American policy can end except in war and an eventual protectorate, or in a reversal of the attempt at dictation by means of an unworkable Imperialism."

We are unable to see how any thinking man can fail to concur in this judgment. Grateful as we are to President Wilson for withstanding the temptation, to which another of less scrupulous ambition might have yielded, to intervene by force of arms, we cannot escape the conclusion that persistence in his present course is virtually certain to drive our country into a war as hateful to ourselves as it would be to the neighbors whom we are anxious to serve. The only alternative, apparently, is that indicated above, namely, " a reversal of the attempt at dictation by means of an unworkable Imperialism."

Is not that possible?

Nobody here or abroad and nobody in Mexico who need be considered questions the high purpose which has actuated President Wilson. Nobody suspects his good faith, the purity of his motives, or the pacificatory nature of his methods. Nobody doubts that he has done his best, and nobody can demonstrate that another could have done better.

But the policy which the President sincerely believed to be the wisest has failed. Why could and why should he not now address the *de facto* Government of Mexico substantially as follows:

"We have exerted our best endeavors, according to our best judgment, to aid in restoring peace and prosperity to you, our neighbors and our friends. We have been disinterested, as you know, but our suggestions, having failed to meet with the approval of either the provisional Government or of the commander of the insurrectionary forces, have necessarily proved unavailing. Deeply as we regret this circumstance, we frankly admit it to be a fact. But it is the accomplishment, not the method, that we still regard as vital. We have tried our way in vain. Now we stand ready to try yours. Your Ambassador will be received in Washington. We will accredit a new Ambassador to you 'without previous conditions.' We shall hold your Government responsible for the lives and properties of all foreign residents, and shall notify other nations to that effect. All of our dealings with your Administration will be in the

open, in good faith, and in sincere hope that a truly representative and stable government may soon be established, to the end that, within a reasonable time, peace and prosperity may be regained in all parts of your distracted land."

We hear the objections to this new policy. It would be unfair to the Constitutionalists and rebels. But, since their leader has repulsed our attempts at mediation, what further claim have they upon our consideration? It would strengthen Huerta, or Blanquet, or Moheno, or whoever may be in control when these words reach the public ear and mind. That cannot be helped. We must strengthen somebody, and apparently there is little room for choice. It would be inconsistent with our declared attitude, would be a recession on the part of the President, would humiliate us as a Nation in the eyes of the world. Perhaps, yes; and for that very reason it would live forever as a performance and an example, as the noblest act ever done by a great and powerful Nation in the interest of a weak and suffering people.

And it would avert war—

—at least for time sufficient to allow for adjustment and mutual understanding. That is the overpowering consideration which should and, we hope, may influence a President who surely must realize that he is not merely the tribune of a people, but is also the head of a Nation which should set the pace for all the world in works of self-abnegation tending to universal peace.

BREAKING THE PLEDGE

'Tis well said again,
And 'tis a kind of good deed to say well:
And yet words are not deeds.
—*King Henry VIII., Act III., Scene 2.*

The Democratic party, acting through its representatives assembled in convention in Baltimore, made the following declaration:

> The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion, rather than service rendered to a political party.

The candidate for President designated simultaneously with the promulgation of this doctrine was a Vice-Presi-

dent of the National Civil Service Reform League at the time of his nomination and continued to hold that position during the campaign which resulted in his election. In August, 1912, replying to an inquiry addressed by the League to the three leading candidates, he wrote as follows:

> I am a hearty believer in the principles of civil service reform and shall take pleasure at all times in doing what I can to promote those principles in practice.

One month after he was elected President of the United States, Mr. Wilson declined re-election as Vice-President of the Civil Service Reform League in a communication to the Chairman of the Committee on Political Activity reading as follows:

> Thank you for your thoughtful letter of November 26th. Perhaps it would be wise for me not to associate my name with any league or association during my term as President, though I beg you to believe that my interest in and my sympathy with the work of the Civil Service Reform League has not been and cannot be abated.

On September 8th, 1913, following the precedent, established at President Wilson's instigation, of attaching "riders" to appropriation bills, Representative Bartlett of Georgia proposed an amendment to the Urgent Deficiency Bill reading as follows:

> All Executive orders heretofore made placing the positions of deputy marshals and deputy internal-revenue collectors in the classified service, and all regulations made thereunder, are hereby revoked, and hereafter appointments to said positions shall be made in the same manner as obtained prior to the making of such Executive orders.

Mr. Bartlett had already stated succinctly his reason for urging a return to the old system in a speech made on September 4th, when he declared:

> I know that there is no office, in my judgment, under Democratic administration, that could not be better filled by a Democrat than by a Republican. If you can call that the spoils system, you are welcome to so denominate it.

Subsequently, upon further motion by Representative Bartlett, the scope of the amendment was enlarged so as to enable collectors and marshals to discharge all subordinates and employes, in addition to deputies, and to appoint their successors "without regard to the act, amendments, rules,

or regulations " prescribed by the Civil Service Law of 1883.

In this form the Bill came before the House for final action on October 10th, and was adopted by a vote of 110 to 106. All of those voting in the affirmative were Democrats. Of those voting in the negative 56 were Democrats, 44 were Republicans, and 6 were Progressives. Three days later the " rider " passed the Senate by a vote of 31 to 18, two Democrats voting in the negative.

Simultaneously with the passage of the Bill by the House the National Civil Service Reform League unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the National Civil Service Reform League most strongly opposes and condemns Congressional action as taken in the new tariff law and as proposed in the urgent deficiency bill involving the exemption of important departments of the civil service from the provisions of the civil service law, not only as a backward step in the progress toward the general recognition and enforcement of the merit system in the federal service, but also as a departure from the solemn pledge and definite promise to sustain and promote the merit system contained in the platform of the Democratic party.

Resolved, That the League officially condemns the practice of attacking the merit system by riders to revenue and appropriation bills, as such provisions have no proper place in such bills, and such practice prevents the fair and independent consideration of the merits of the propositions contained in such riders.

Upon the passage of the Amendment by the Senate, the Secretary of the League telegraphed to the President as follows:

On behalf of the National Civil Service Reform League I earnestly urge that you veto urgent deficiency appropriation bill because of provision exempting from civil service law subordinates of collectors of internal revenue and marshals. Provision affects not only deputies, but all subordinates of collectors and marshals, and is a vicious attack on merit system through rider legislation.

On October 22nd, nine days after receipt of the protest by the League, President Wilson signed the Bill and filed the following memorandum:

I am convinced, after careful examination of the facts, that the offices of deputy collector and deputy marshal were never intended to be included under the ordinary provisions of the civil service law. The control of the whole method and spirit of the administration of the proviso in this bill, which concerns the appointment of these officers, is no less entirely in my hands now than it was before the bill became

law. My warm advocacy and support both of the principle and of the *bona fide* practice of civil service reform is known to the whole country, and there is no danger that the spoils principle will creep in with my approval or connivance.

Such, in brief, is the history of a law whose enactment signalizes reversion to the spoils system as against the merit system, in flat violation of the pledge of the Democratic party and of the reiterated professions of the Democratic President.

What are the excuses offered?

President Wilson sets them forth in his exculpatory memorandum. In the first place:

I am convinced, after a careful examination of the facts, that the offices of deputy collector and deputy marshal were never intended to be included under the ordinary provisions of the civil service law.

This has a familiar ring. It was upon his personal "understanding" of the "intent" of the Congress as contrasted with the text of the bill that the President based his official approval of the " rider " exempting labor unions and farmers' associations from prosecution under the Anti-trust Act. So now he divines that the Civil Service Law was " never intended " to apply to deputy collectors and deputy marshals. But why? What are the " facts " from which this conclusion is deduced? No such exemption appears in the statute itself and but two official rulings have been rendered on the question. One was by the Attorney-General in 1907 and the other by the Comptroller of the Treasury in 1910. Both were to the effect that these appointments do fall within the meaning of the statute and that the President had the undoubted right, which thereupon he exercised, to include them in the classified service. On this statement, which it temperately pronounces "unfortunate," the Civil Service Reform League, of which Mr. Wilson was but recently a Vice-President and is still, we assume, a member, " takes issue squarely with the President."

With respect to the army of subordinates and employees withdrawn by the " rider " from the classified service, the President maintains a discreet silence. Here apparently could be found no room for even an imagined interpretation of intent.

The President continues:

The control of the whole method and spirit of the administration of the proviso in this bill, which concerns the appointment of these officers, is no less entirely in my hands now than it was before the bill became a law.

That is, the President might issue an executive order, as his predecessors had done, requiring collectors and marshals to continue to appoint their subordinates from the civil service registers. The League begged him to prove his good faith by doing so forthwith. His response appeared in the following order issued by Commissioner Osborn of the Internal Revenue Bureau on October 29th:

Collectors of internal revenue:

Referring to that portion of the urgent deficiency act, approved October 22, 1913, relating to the appointment of deputy collectors of internal revenue, collectors are advised that the object of this provision of law is efficiency and only efficiency, and that any tendency to use this class of appointments merely for personal reward, or for anything that savors of the spoils system, will be regarded as a very serious disregard of public duty, and that they will be expected to deal with these matters in a spirit which the whole country will approve.

Hereafter when vacancies in this class of offices occur or changes are contemplated, and before such vacancies are filled or such changes are effected, collectors will forward to this office the names of the persons whom it is desired to appoint, together with a statement of their qualifications and records.

No appointments in this class of officers shall hereafter be made by collectors without the approval of the Department.

(Signed) W. H. Osborn,
Commissioner.

By Direction of the President.

(Signed) W. G. McAdoo,
Secretary of the Treasury.

"Efficiency and only efficiency" is a most resolute phrase, used first by Andrew Jackson and since by every spoilsman in public office. But the true way to obtain efficiency, according to the League to whose principles Mr. Wilson has so frequently and so recently avowed his allegiance, is through the merit system, which now, so far as it applies to some thousands of employes, by his signature to the bill and by his refusal to renew the executive order, he has abolished. The Osborn notice contains not a word which President Jackson would have disapproved. It leaves the collectors wholly free to make whatever changes they may see fit, after having set forth the admirable qualifications which as-

suredly every appointee will possess, for the information and approval of the sympathetic Department. "Any tendency to use this class of appointments" for political purposes, "will be regarded as a very serious disregard of public duty." Yes, indeed, very serious! Very solemn, would be better; very solemn buncombe.

To say, as Commissioner Osborn says, "by direction of the President," that a change which wholly eliminates restriction upon appointments and re-establishes what Woodrow Wilson so accurately described in *The State* as "the unfortunate, the demoralizing influences which have been allowed to determine executive appointments since President Jackson's time," in no way "savors of the spoils system," evinces a hardihood of presumption that would have surpassed the imagination of Machiavelli.

President Wilson's reference to the country-wide knowledge of his "warm advocacy and support" of civil service reform calls for no comment. It has long been recognized and served an excellent purpose in winning votes in the recent campaign. The point in issue is one, not of profession, but of performance.

Why did President Wilson permit this backward step to be taken? That is the question. By a nod of his head he could have beaten it in the House of Representatives, where a change of only three votes would have prevented its passage. But no intimation was forthcoming, and the obnoxious "rider" was made a law of the land by the signature at the bottom of "Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States"—to which should have been added, for the making of a complete record, "Former Vice-President of the National Civil Service Reform League."

EVERYBODY SATISFIED

The results of the November elections proved gratifying to all parties and all politicians directly concerned. The President lost no time in commending the wisdom of the people in upholding his Administration, and both Secretary Bryan and Secretary Josephus shyly but firmly acquiesced in his judgment that this is what happened. It is a reasonably safe assumption that Secretary Redfield would have done likewise if he had been within hearing distance. In

fact, the common understanding is that all members of the Cabinet were, as usual, of one mind upon the subject.

The President was particularly pleased with the returns from New Jersey and had a right to be. True, his personally designated candidate for Governor did not poll a majority of the votes, but neither did he in the National Election; so nothing was lost; in fact, Mr. Fielder's percentage of the total was slightly larger than Mr. Wilson's. Despite the refusal of the Massachusetts Democrats to indorse the Administration, Mr. Walsh's handsome victory was heralded as a testimonial of approval, if not of affection, and warm congratulations were passed promptly over the wires. The overwhelming triumph of the Fusion candidate over the regular organization in New York City impelled some reflection, but at the expiration of forty-eight hours Mr. Mitchell, too, became the grateful recipient of cordial and sincere felicitations.

The three lieutenants of the Administration whose eloquence contributed largely to the happy results and to whom, we have no doubt, the President expressed due appreciation, were the Secretary of State, the Senator from Illinois, and the Third Assistant Public Servant. Mr. Bryan spoke without pay in New Jersey, and Mr. Dudley Field Malone defiantly ignored the wishes of his distinguished and personally helpful father-in-law in New York. So, at least, 'twas said, and we know naught to the contrary; in any case, the Collectorship is his reward.

But the chief glory goes to Senator James Hamilton Lewis, who carried Massachusetts. When that impassioned orator descended upon the field of action only State and personal issues were involved. Mr. Bird and Mr. Gardner were descanting somewhat vehemently upon their respective demerits, and Mr. Walsh was emulating canny Br'er Rabbit. Senator Lewis perceived with the eye of an eagle the danger which lurked in this situation and proceeded forthwith to impart the requisite thrill to enthralled multitudes.

"Just now," he declared, impressively, "before the nations of the world, tremble two serious problems."

The orator paused, the audience shivered, the building shook. But presently the voice continued:

> One is the effort of President Wilson and his Administration to maintain before the Orient, particularly Japan, that doctrine of home rule which our fathers in Massachusetts established as the fundamental

theory of the American Democracy—the right of the States to regulate and control their home affairs, their schools, their lands, the manner and kinds of people who should mingle in their citizenship to increase or dilute it.

This question, as to whether this privilege shall continue as against the Oriental theory of government, or whether our National government shall attempt to override merely at the demands of a foreign nation, is the great problem at Washington which President Wilson is seeking to solve.

Again, in Mexico, as is well known to all, we have a most delicate situation. The public press brings us the information that England and Germany—doubtless misunderstanding the issue—have been about to join with Mexico against us. The President has asked these governments to wait until they can be fully informed on the situation in Mexico and thus be advised as to our policy known as the Monroe Doctrine.

England, Germany, and Spain, misunderstanding the issues, would at once conclude that President Wilson's Mexican policy had been repudiated; that he had been condemned and the Administration overthrown. Mexico will go further; she will preach to her people that this condemnation was because he had not recognized Huerta. Is the conclusion too far fetched that war might be precipitated with all its horrors?

The argument was convincing; the plea irresistible. In the opinion of those present the conclusion was *not* fetched too far. Sobered and thoughtful, thousands of Democrats returned to their homes and informed their anxious families that, under no circumstances and for no ordinary considerations, would they vote for the precipitation of a war which was likely to be accompanied by all its horrors. From that moment the result ceased to be in doubt, and a noble victory was won for Mr. Fitzgerald and his co-laborers in the cause of anti-bossism.

But Democratic elation over the results was not exclusive. Republicans, too, rejoiced with exceeding great joy. Nearly a hundred thousand wanderers had returned to the fold in New Jersey alone and they had actually carried the great State of New York. Clearly, the Progressive organization was disintegrating with amazing rapidity and—the Democratic host was still a distinctly minority party.

And then the redoubtable Colonel! From far-off Argentine came the exultant shout, "It is too glorious for words." Which, if any, particular happening he referred to can only be surmised. It may have been the election of Democrats in New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, or of a Barnes-ridden Legislature or of the Honorable William Sulzer as a candidate of the Progressive party. Who can

tell? And what boots it? The overpowering fact is that the Colonel, too, was glad, thus making the vote of joy unanimous.

The only net deduction, of course, is that the Democrats are likely to retain power so long as Mr. Roosevelt continues to render the patriotic service which contributes to that desirable end.

THE CASE OF BROTHER PINDELL

The one vital fact that has emerged from the mass of officially truthful statements issued by, for, and on behalf of His Prospective Excellency, Brother Henry Means Pindell, of Peoria, Illinois, is that Senator James Hamilton Lewis is his own detectaphone. Alone and unaided, except by his ready pen and ingratiating disposition, he achieves revelations with an ease never imagined as possible by even the renowned Mr. Burns. His latest exploit shall not pass unrecorded.

Be it known, then, that the Brother from Peoria whose name would have been a godsend to Dickens is "an original Wilson man," whatever that may be. He is also a journalist whose fame has not only penetrated every ward in the teeming city of Peoria, but has been wafted like a fleecy cloud over the prairies for miles and miles around. He has traveled extensively to Chicago, and has acquired what they call in Peoria "a wide circle" of acquaintances. Once upon a time he introduced a famous orator from Nebraska to a Chautauqua gathering. Twice upon another time he printed upon the front of his journal a wash drawing of the Hon. James Hamilton Lewis. Although a patriot and a Democrat, he never thirsted for political honors. Like Chairman William F. McCombs, though possibly for dissimilar reasons, he preferred to seek places for others.

We have no occasion to doubt that Brother Pindell was enjoying himself as well as could reasonably be expected of an original Wilson man when, on August 17th, he received the following communication:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 15, 1913.*

The Hon. Horace M. Pindell, Peoria, Ill.

DEAR MR. PINDELL,—Your favor to Secretary Bryan was shown to me by him when I called upon him yesterday morning. Under the new law

to be enacted there will be a great demand for honest and immaculate men to be collectors of the new income tax. The Secretary would like you to be one of those men.

It would be a place which would not require that you relinquish the supervision of your paper, and it would be a position which would give you two or three clerkships under yourself, to be named by yourself.

After you have thought this offer over, kindly write me as freely as you would like, and remember that I am always your friend, and realize that you were the original Wilson man in Illinois and must be taken care of. You may rely upon me as always your representative here, and to do everything that I can to advance your interests.

Yours, with best wishes,

J. Hamilton Lewis.

It was the voice of the Tempter; so at least it seemed at first glance. But Brother Pindell's suspicions were aroused. The letter bore internal evidences of fraud. In the first place, his name was not Horace, but Henry, or Hen for short. Then, too, what had the Secretary of State to do with naming Collectors of Revenue? And was it conceivable that a punctilious statesman like Mr. Bryan would deliberately propose to a true Democrat that he accept a public office and draw the salary while two or three clerks "named by himself" did the work? It could not be. The letter was a base fabrication. Although admittedly an original Wilson man, he nevertheless possessed sufficient intelligence to detect a clumsy forgery. He did not wish to be taken care of in that way, anyhow. He would not and did not reply.

But the wily Tempter persisted. Time flew till September 7th, when another franked official document was placed upon the editor's desk. It was dated "Washington, D. C., Sept. 5, 1913," and began insinuatingly thus:

The Hon. Horace M. Pindell, Peoria, Ill.

Dear Pindell,—I must ask you to consider this letter as extremely confidential and personal. It is up to the Administration to appoint an Ambassador to St. Petersburg, but it is a position which, if offered to you, would not necessitate your losing control of nor association with your paper.

Again "the Hon. Horace" instead of the Hon. Hen.; and yet undeniably it was, indeed, "up to the Administration to appoint an Ambassador to St. Petersburg," or at least to the country in which that interesting city is located. Brother Pindell read on:

Now, the idea of Secretary Bryan is that if you would accept the place of Ambassador to St. Petersburg and all the honor that goes with the

position, you could resign in a year—say October 1, 1914—and return to your paper, before losing track of your business affairs, and yet have the great honor attached to the place.

It was only an "idea," to be sure, but it was of the variety known in Peoria as "grand," despite the official necessity of accepting "all the honor that goes with the position." And the suggested date of return—"say October 1, 1914"—was, after all, but tentative. Brother Pindell read on:

There will be no treaties to adjudicate, and no political affairs to bother with, for the Administration will see to that for a year, and you would not be tied to St. Petersburg, but would have trips to Berlin and Vienna and the other capitals of Europe, and also Stockholm, and perhaps Copenhagen, and all the attendant delights that go with such trips. You would meet with the delightful companionships of the English and other officers connected with the various legations at St. Petersburg, and would be socially and officially treated, as my letters to those abroad would serve you.

That there would be "no treaties to adjudicate" was obvious in view of the fact, known or unknown to Brother Pindell, that at present there is no treaty existing between Russia—or should we say St. Petersburg?—and the United States. In any case, he would not be tied to St. Petersburg's apron-strings; he could take a sleeper at will for Berlin or Vienna, Stockholm or "perhaps Copenhagen," and revel in the "attendant delights" of joyous journeyings upon the Continental metals. He would also be "treated" socially and officially at the various legations to all National beverages from vodka to grape juice. Brother Pindell read on:

I think you have a little daughter. Think what it would mean to her, all the remainder of her life, to say that her father had been Minister to Russia, and of all the honor and prestige that will go with it to the third and fourth generations.

Not only to the little daughter, but even to the third and fourth generations would descend the honor and prestige of a father's and a great-grandfather's distinction. Brother Pindell read on:

If you will accept the position for a year, kindly wire me at once. I have the Secretary on the telephone and am writing this letter after the most confidential conference with him.

No diplomatic matters will be taken up during your service, and you will have all the honors of having been Ambassador to Russia; but, if you accept this position, it must be with the understanding that you will resign on the 1st of October, 1914, and then you will be able to, and no doubt glad to, return to your business interests in Peoria and your paper.

You will not have to be at the expense of a permanent residence, as are other Ambassadors, and you will have in your family forever the honor that must accompany the holding of such a position. And in doing this you will please the President, and also your good friend Secretary Bryan. Please consider this confidential in all its parts, and answer, too. Yours with best wishes,

J. Hamilton Lewis.

Ah, but this was different. The date of retirement was not tentative, after all; it was fixed; "if you accept this position, it must be with the understanding that you resign on the 1st of October, 1914." Seemingly, after "the most confidential conference," the Secretary of State got "on the telephone" and stayed there until he had made sure that the terms were stated so explicitly as to avert the possibility of misunderstanding. That Brother Pindell's *amour propre* was touched we can readily imagine; and yet might he not be justly accused of leze-majesty if he should fail to "please the President"? The little daughter, too! As a tried but true Peoria parent, could he deny to her the opportunity of playing tag with a little czarevitch, or whatever they call him? The appeal was too great; the temptation too strong. Brother Pindell accepted.

We cannot at the moment recall a simpler, more straightforward, more definite, or in a way more touching transaction in American statecraft. And yet its genuineness has been not only questioned, but actually denied by those most directly concerned. Brother Pindell, for example, declared, either positively or diplomatically, on November 9th, that he had never received the letter quoted above. On the same day Senator Lewis, "showing much annoyance," was interviewed in Chicago with this result, as reported in the newspapers:

Without using the repellent word "theft" Senator Lewis announced that Mr. Pindell's correspondence had been "taken by some persons." Also the persons had not published the letter in its exact form. Finally Colonel Lewis gave this explanation:

"As I have said, any letter I have written to any person must be referred to by that person. It cannot be by me. It appears that Mr. Pindell's correspondence seems to have been taken by some persons and,

as Mr. Pindell points out, expressions are used in the printed copies which were never in the original. I have no copies here.

Obviously the distinguished Senator and His Prospective Excellency had had no opportunity to meet in "confidential conference." On November 12th, however, after returning to Washington and conversing with the President and the Secretary of State, Senator Lewis declared plainly that "if the newspapers published a letter that was misleading and misinforming in so far as it appeared to be either my statements or as coming from me, I am responsible for this, and not the papers." Having thus honorably and tactfully exonerated the powerful American press, the Senator continued:

The creation of these letters assumed to have been from me to Mr. Pindell, as published, now develops to have been the result of collusion on the part of a former employee of my office in Washington who had previously forged my name to checks and had been discharged, but who had been protected by me from the penalty because of his family and certain of his confederates.

Later, through the co-operation of some enemy of Mr. Pindell (in Illinois, as I am informed), who vouched that such letters had been seen either in the possession of Mr. Pindell or had been spoken of by him as having been received, was this faithless employee able to impose upon reputable newspapers.

My assurance to the heads of the Administration upon the subject, together with such courses as Mr. Pindell took, closes the subject both in the opinion of the officers of the Administration and all others concerned as well as the Senate.

Despite the immediate and favorable effect wrought upon the public mind by Senator Lewis's notably lucid statement, Secretary Bryan, inexorably determined to clarify the situation definitely and finally, issued the following proclamation:

The Ambassadorship to Russia is vacant, and the President has for some time been desirous of filling it by an appointment which would be entirely worthy of the great dignity and importance of the post. Knowing Mr. Pindell personally, his character, his ability, his exceptional fitness for the duties of such a place, he offered him an appointment. Mr. Pindell did not seek the appointment. It was tendered to him not only without any solicitation on his part, but without any knowledge or anticipation on his part that it would be offered to him.

In response to the offer he frankly stated that he would be glad to serve the Administration in any way in which the President thought he could serve successfully, but that he did not feel that he could conscientiously obligate himself to serve the full ordinary term of a foreign appointment because he did not feel that he could leave his business so long. The

President asked him to accept it for as long a time as he could stay, and he consented.

This is a full statement of a matter which has been grossly misrepresented. The President will not allow malicious representations to interfere with his right to nominate to the Senate the best qualified men within his choice for conspicuous and responsible positions.

Thereupon the Secretary of State officially and in language hallowed by diplomatic tradition pronounced the incident closed.

Corroborative evidence, if any be required, of Secretary Bryan's assertion that Brother Pindell did not seek the position is to be found in the first letter quoted above. Clearly, he was urged by the Administration at the outset to become an " honest and immaculate " Collector of Revenue, with the aid of two or three clerks, and quite likely he would have accepted the appointment if he had not discovered that the letter from Senator Lewis was a forgery. What more natural, then, that he should be offered the Ambassadorship to Russia? The place was vacant, as the Secretary remarked, and awaiting the advent of an Ambassador whose " exceptional fitness " was proven by the fact that he had been considered worthy of appointment to the exalted station of Collector of Income Taxes for the Third District of Illinois.

For our part, we rejoice that " the President will not allow malicious representations to interfere with his right to nominate to the Senate the best qualified men within his choice for conspicuous and responsible positions." The truth is that we have never doubted his determination on that point since he named his Secretary of State, but if any uncertainty had remained it would have been effectually dispelled by the appointment of Brother Pindell to the most exacting Court in Europe.

He will do well there. We learn from a character sketch written in Peoria that, besides being known personally by the President, he " is fond of good horses and outdoor sports, including golf, and also likes a game of chance which calls for mental ability." We hear that in St. Petersburg they call their hands in French, but Brother Pindell speaks French with a fluency equalled only by the Hon. John Lind's Spanish, and, if he plays with the Czar, should win. In Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm, and " perhaps Copenhagen," he has only to mention his middle name to be assured a hearty welcome.

Good luck, then, to Brother Pindell; good time to the little daughter; and good sport to the third and fourth generations!

JUST JOSEPHUS

According to our esteemed contemporary, THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the Hon. Flavius Josephus Daniels was born "at Washington, North Carolina, on the left bank of the River Tar."

With respect, he was not. He was born at Blowing Rock, North Carolina, on the right bank of Spout River, where the future naval strategist launched his first cries and ships.—*The Sun.*

WITHOUT respect, he was not. He was born in Washington, County Pitt, due west from Alligator and Gum Neck and due north from Catfish Lake and Gum Branch. There is no such rock as Blowing, and Spout River dried up on March 4th, 1913. And his name is not and never was Flavius, though we confess it might have been, and fittingly. Not, however, as the Tribune of the People who spoke of Cæsar thus:

> Who else would soar above the view of men
> And keep us all in servile fearfulness.

But rather as the Faithful Steward who to his master said:

> So the gods bless me,
> When all our offices have been oppress'd
> With riotous feeders, when our vaults have wept
> With drunken spilth of wine, when every room
> Hath blaz'd with lights and bray'd with minstrelsy,
> I have retir'd me to a wakeful couch,
> And set mine eyes at flow.

And later, when sternly told, "Go you, sir, to the Senators," replied:

> They answer, in a joint and corporate voice,
> That now they are at fall, want treasure, cannot
> Do what they would; are sorry—you are honorable—
> But yet they could have wish'd—they know not—
> Something hath been amiss—a noble nature
> May catch a wrench—would all were well—'tis pity!

Yet finally did return accompanied by two Senators and did ruefully remark to them:

It is in vain that you would speak with Timon;
For he is set so only to himself
That nothing but himself which looks like man
Is friendly with him.

So we may not deny the appositeness of Flavius, but it happened that verity rather than verisimilitude was the dominant force on the River Tar when Josephus was born, and that his parents knew their History of the Bible better than their Shakespeare. And that is why they called him Just Josephus. Again we say, though only once a month:

Truth crushed to earth shall rise again!

LA CHATTE NOIRE CHEZ ELLE

Unsophisticated residents of this formerly wicked metropolis are accustomed to think of the masculine Le Chat Noir as the name of a restaurant where commendable viands may be obtained for calculable sums, but to country folk versed in the lore of superstition it signifies either an angel in disguise or a demon in miniature. Hence the interest that was manifested in the National capital the other day at a rumor of the appearance at the White House of a cat that was not only black, but segregated, contrary to the law, if not to the custom, of the land. Mr. John R. McLean recounted the incident in his Washington *Post*.

"When President Wilson went to luncheon yesterday," he wrote and published, "something soft startled him by brushing against his leg."

The President thought at first it was the impressible Postmaster-General, but upon looking closely he perceived that it was a dusky tabby, and, greatly relieved, he invited the visitor to come in, come in. "She stayed with the President throughout the meal," continued Mr. McLean, "and got a big saucer of cream. Then she lay all day on a sofa in the President's study and purred. Nobody knows whence she came. She may stay at the White House, if she likes."

As luck would have it, Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard was in Washington at the time inquiring into rumors of administrative discrimination with respect to color in the public service, and made a quick but thorough investigation,

with the following result as duly recorded in his New York *Evening Post.*

> At noon, on the preceding day, a friend of beast and bird, who shall be nameless, was walking through the White House grounds when the cat came up to him and mewed either for sympathy or for something to eat or very likely both. The first thought that came into the head of the man appealed to was that, if the cat was not fed, there soon would be a wholesale slaughter of the birds in the White House grounds. He also felt that something ought to be done to relieve the immediate distress of the cat. What was to be done? The White House was the nearest available habitation. He picked up the black cat, stowed it under his arm, and literally sneaked down into the basement entrance of the White House. There he looked about, and, although it was a day when the public is allowed to visit those regions of the White House, neither the public nor the attendant was in sight. The theory of attack was that, if the cat could once find its way into the living part of the White House, some one would be sure to feed it. Watching his opportunity to escape observation, the doer of good by stealth carried the cat to the foot of the stairs leading up to the main living part of the Executive Mansion, and then "shooed" the waif straight up the stairs, and the cat, obeying the "shoo," went flying up.

Subsequently the intrusively curious correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* pretended to identify the hero of the tale as Mr. Edward B. Clark, the distinguished journalist, but the common belief in Washington continues to be that it was no other than the sympathetic Secretary of State, whose chief occupation of late has been that of a "doer of good by stealth" for political friends of former days.

Be that as it may, the insinuating tabby, unlike the vast majority of applicants, secured the place she really wanted instead of another, for which, upon second thought, she was deemed better fitted. That the President broke his rule in this regard proves either his disdain of superstition or his gratefulness to the visitor for tagging along behind, instead of crossing his path. According to common secular tradition, the latter performance would have presaged certain misfortune, but we doubt if the President would have been diverted from the doctrine of predestination by any such notion as that. There is no Scriptural authority for it, anyway. In point of fact, cats would never have gotten into the Bible at all but for Jeremiah's friend Baruch, and when he was ejected as summarily as Huerta clearly ought to be willing to be, the cats went with him. So we really know very little of their domestication beyond Engleman's assertion in "Die Katzen im Alterthum," in *Jahrbuch des Kaiser-*

lichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts to the effect that, unless wall-paintings speak falsely, they used to lie upon the hearths of Pompeii.

Personally we have never cared much about cats, but we hope this particular protégée of the Secretary of Foreign and Domestic Affairs will enjoy life in the President's study, while she cuddles into a corner of the sofa and purrs her satisfaction at being permitted to impart to the accustomed atmosphere a feeling so homelike as to seem almost human.

HELLO, THERE!

"Be good and you'll be lonesome," wrote Uncle Mark. Indeed, yes; that we learn without half trying as individuals, but to suffer retaliation as a mighty Nation; ah! that is different. And yet what do we read in *Le Figaro:*

Eh! là-bas!

La duane américaine brime aigrettes et actrices

GARE A LA PEINE DU TALION!

The cause? It is here:

De charmantes Parisiennes débarquent à New-York. Elles portent, naturellement, de délicieux chapeaux. Dans leurs malles, il y a, bien entendu, d'autres chapeaux exquis.

Des sauvages, brusquement, se précipitent, qui massacrent ces jolis chapeaux, qui mettent sens dessus dessous malles, valises et chapelières et qui, le carnage accompli, se retirent flegmatiquement en disant:

—Aoh! . . . C'est la loâ. . . Yes. . .

Et comme les pauvres petites Parisiennes demeurent interdites désolées et décoiffées, on leur explique que c'est en effet "la loi." . . . Il est interdit, dans l'Etat de New-York, de tuer les oiseaux. Il est interdit, par suite, d'y introduire des plumages d'oiseaux immolés. Tous les chapeaux ornés de quelques plumes ou d'ailes légères sont donc coupés par la censure, tels des refrains obscènes. . . .

And worse is yet to come. La, la:

Ce n'est pas tout. . . .

Une grande actrice anglaise, nantie d'un engagement formidable, arrive à New-York où elle doit chanter pendant une quinzaine. Son fiancé, un jockey réputé, l'accompagne. . . .

Que font MM. les Yankees? . . .

Ils coffrent l'actrice. Ils coffrent le jockey. Ils leur disent, à tous deux:

—Aoh! . . . C'est la loâ. . . . Yes. . . . . Vous n'êtes pas du tout désirables parce que vous n'êtes pas mariés. Vous allez repartir daredare pour l'Angleterre. . . . Yes. . . . En attendant, pour sauvegarder la pureté des mœurs de la Libre Amérique, vous demeurerez tous deux cloîtrés. . . . Yes. . . .

A "choice little joke worthy of the Mark Twain," but "nous aussi, pourtant, nous sommes un peuple farceur."

Si MM. les Américans veulent rire, nous pourrons bien nous amuser un peu. . . .

Je propose, tout d'abord, que l'on interdise de fouler le sol de la douce France à tout Yankee chaussé de ces informes cargo-boats qui usurpent, outre-Atlantique, le nom de chaussures. Parfaitement! . . . Ce sera la loi—la loâ! . . . On déchaussera ces messieurs, dès leur débarquement au Havre ou à Saint-Nazaire. . . Et ils s'en iront, pieds nus, acheter des souliers bien français. . . .

A menace to American manufacturers! Imagine! But yet a direr threat:

La mode des dents en or est contraire à tous nos principes démocratiques. Nous décrèterons que la dent en or n'aura plus cours en France. Et des dentistes de la douane seront chargés d'extirper, à tous les Américains venant chez nous, ces molaires ou ces canines illégales. . . . Pourquoi pas? . . .

Et puis, véritablement, nous ne saurions plus longtemps tolérer que tous les Américains soient rasés. . . . A leur arrivée en France, nous les enfermerons dans des lazarets appropriés, d'où ils ne pourront sortir que munis de moustaches solides et gauloises et de barbes frisées.

Thus the charmantes Parisiennes shall be avenged. Remains "une grande actrice anglaise," to say nothing or as little as may be of "son fiancé, un jockey réputé." How can the *entente cordiale* be maintained unless she, too, be vindicated by sharp and effective reprisal? It is easy:

Enfin, quant aux mœurs, il est bien évident que nous ne saurions nous montrer moins intransigeants et moins rigoristes que nos amis les Américains. . . .

Nous ne plaisanterons pas sur ce chapitre-là. Tout Yankee surpris, à Montmartre ou ailleurs, en galante compagnie, sera irrémédiablement décrété indésirable, et rapatrié par le plus prochain paquebot. . . .

"Ainsi," we are told complacently, "la vieille formule, du reste discutable: Tous les hommes sont frères . . ." sera remplacée par le principe suivant: "Tous les hommes sont indésirables. . . ."

Clearly, it is a situation charged with peril to the friendly relations of the two republics. What is to be done? Our

Ambassador seemingly pays no attention to official duties while awaiting the arrival of a reluctant successor. Cannot a Confidential Agent of the Administration be sent to Paris? Where is Assistant President House? Has William Bayard Hale returned? Is Brother Pindell busy? Eh! là-bas! Mr. Secretary Bryan! Wake up! The house is on fire! Sound the time-worn antepenultimatum! Bee-hold the Republic!

FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CLUBS

The foremost American diplomat now living—barring Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, Mr. Choate, and General Porter as of another generation—is undoubtedly Dr. David Jayne Hill, who served his apprenticeship under Secretary Hay and won the respect and admiration of European statesmen while representing his country abroad. Just as Mr. John Bassett Moore and Mr. Adee stand pre-eminent as masters respectively of international law and the technique of diplomacy, so is Dr. Hill without a peer in the shaping of National policies. It is then a matter of sincere congratulation that he has returned to his own country at a time when the wisdom derived from thought and experience is sadly needed.

We wish that every thinking American might read the article on "The Crisis of Constitutionalism" which appears in this Review. Dr. Hill writes, of course, as a scholar and philosopher rather than as a diplomat, but the marked advantage which he has acquired, from long and thorough training, over others who have treated of the subject becomes quickly apparent to the reader. We cannot recall, in recent years, a setting forth of the basic principles peculiar to our government so incomplex and understandable, nor, better yet, so convincing a statement of the reasons for their more rigid application and of the true methods of accomplishment.

"What is our political future to be?" is the question with which Dr. Hill finds the United States is now brought face to face. That the answer will be found ultimately in the reason and conscience of the people he has no doubt, but first, he declares with emphasis, must be determined *the lines* on which the answer is to be given.

"What we need at present is not so much leaders as a statement of the *principles* by which we should be led." And here the choice must be made "between experience and experiment; between arbitrary decisions and fundamental principles; in a word, between political anarchy and Constitutional government." If any corroboration of this declaration were needed, it can be found readily in the present tendency of legislation, in the constant expanding of the powers of government, in the growth of paternalistic sentiment, in the resentment against law "because it *is* law," in the encroachment upon the prerogatives bestowed upon others, in the development of positive dictation or "bossism" in the guise of "leadership," and in the ready assurance of those holding or seeking authority that they are, indeed, Tribunes of the People rather than the administrative officers they were designed by the Constitution to be. Dr. Hill might well have enlarged and may yet, we trust, expand his thought along these lines.

Of his own judgment that the Constitution itself is "the one overmastering issue," Dr. Hill leaves no room for doubt. And he is firmly convinced that now, of all times, the preservation of Constitutional government hangs upon "cultivation of respect for the spirit" of our fundamental law. To this end, speaking as a practical statesman, he advocates definite organization. "If we are to defend the Constitution, we who believe in it must act together." Finally, recalling that "in the days of our Civil War much aid was afforded to the cause of preserving the Union by the formation of clubs of citizens," he urges the inauguration of a similar movement, feeling certain that the opposition sure to arise would at least "furnish surprising proofs that we are at present passing through a crisis of constitutionalism in which the great structure of liberty and justice erected by our fathers is being insidiously undermined."

The suggestion well deserves thoughtful consideration. It is probably not too much to say that, to the adoption of this method, many years ago, England to-day owes her National existence. Surely, at any rate, to the influence of the clubs may safely be attributed many far-reaching reforms and a higher order of politics generally. If so successful there, why should Dr. Hill's suggestion fail here? Is it not worth while and worth trying?

We invite opinions from the Press.

COMMENT

To usurp supreme and absolute authority in a free State and subject it to tyranny, the people must have already become corrupt by gradual steps from generation to generation. And therefore all such as desire to make a change in the government of a republic, whether in favor of liberty or in favor of tyranny, must well examine the condition of things, and from that judge of the difficulties of their undertaking. For it is as difficult to make a people free that is resolved to live in servitude, as it is to subject a people to servitude that is determined to be free. In any such attempts men should well consider the state of the times and govern themselves accordingly.—From "Discourses on the Books of Titus Livius."

A jovial Englishman who returned recently to his interesting island from a visit to this benighted land sums up in *Truth* his observations in the gentle assertion that "the North American type is, socially, politically, and commercially, the most detestable which modern civilization has yet produced." Canada is no better than the States. In the two countries there is "the same rudeness of manners, the same greediness of money, the same political corruption." Not only do the inhabitants of both "eat enormously" themselves, but they charge the refined traveler "just double" what he has to pay elsewhere. For example:

> I can live in the best English or European hotels, with a sitting-room and my own servant, for £2 10*s.* a day; in Canada and the United States it cost me £5 a day. I have before me the bill of a Canadian hotel, in which the following items occur: Breakfast, $1.80, that is 7*s.* 2*d.*; luncheon, $4.50, *i.e.*, 18*s.*; dinner, $5.10, *i.e.*, 20*s.* 5*d.* (these meals were for myself only and not including drink); laundry (one week's linen), $5.64, or more than 22*s.*

The sum total of tips, too, was frightful. How much, "luckily for peace of mind," he could not recall. In any case, by way of contrast:

> On landing at Liverpool the other day I traveled upon the Midland and lunched in the train. My bill was 2*s.* 3*d.*, and I gave the attendant 3*d.*, for which he said, "Thank you, sir; much obliged." In Canada or the States he would have thrown the change on the table with words of insult.

Maybe so; though we surmise that he would have merely emphasized the "sir," instead of hurling words of insult upon the table. But what feazes us is the state of mind that would have possessed this dainty feeder who expended only "$4.50, *i.e.*, 18*s*.," for luncheon and "$5.10, *i.e.*, 20*s* 5*d*.," for dinner without "drink," if he, too, had been accustomed to "eat enormously" and had once gotten his feet into the trough.

So I feel to-night like a man who is lodging happily in the inn which lies half-way along the journey, and that in the morning with a fresh impulse we shall go the rest of the journey and sleep at the journey's end like men with quiet consciences, knowing that we have served our fellow-men, and have thereby tried to serve God.

We think we know what the President of the United States means; he had put the Tariff to sleep and was about to wake up the Currency; but can the former President of Princeton University parse this bewildering sentence?

Think of the revered Nathaniel Hawthorne writing home in this wise in 1885, as quoted in Caroline Ticknor's new book:

I shall spend a year on the Continent, and then decide whether to go back to the Wayside, or to stay abroad and write books. But I had rather hold this office two years longer: for I have not seen half enough of England, and there is the germ of a new romance in my mind which will be all the better for ripening slowly. Besides, America is now wholly given over to a d——d mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash—and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed. What is the mystery of these innumerable editions of the *Lamplighter* and other books neither better nor worse? Worse they could not be, and better they need not be when they sell by the 100,000.

And again a year later:

It gives me pleasure to hear of the great success of "Hiawatha." On this side of the water it is received with greater favor than . . . any of Longfellow's former works, and has gained him admirers among those who have hitherto stood aloof. Nevertheless, the following lines have been sent to me:

Hiawatha! Hiawatha!
Sweet Trochaic milk and water!
Milk and water Mississippi
Flowing o'er a bed of sugar!—

Through three hundred Ticknor pages,
With a murmur and a ripple,
Flowing, flowing, ever flowing—
Damn the river!—damn the poet!

Such language from a Consul of the U. S. A.! Would it be tolerated under the Chautauqua regime? Besides, *The Lamplighter* was a first-rate story, quite as good, we should say, as *When Knighthood Was in Flower.*

We read in the public prints that "a plump 'possum" slipped into the back yard of Secretary Bryan's home in Calumet Place and scurried up a tree, and that the Secretary "called a negro servant and sent him after the invader." Finally, "the 'possum fell to the ground and the Secretary of State whacked him over the head and lugged him to the house in triumph." Can this be true? Has the imposition of fermentation impaired the efficacy of Mr. Bryan's bowels of compassion? Has the unaccustomed joy of official pomp deprived him of the sense of appreciation of a serviceable exemplar? What game is he playing at this very moment, if not 'possum? Cruel, cruel Bryan!

The Honorable George Walbridge Perkins.—*Chicago Record-Herald.*

Wrong; utterly and hopelessly wrong. Did not Mr. Perkins personally and with his own voice admit that if he had done in England what he did in America, he would have been knighted? Sir George Perkins it is and shall be henceforth and forever, or at least until the children find a better land to live in. By the way, speaking irreverently, perhaps, and irrelevantly, of course, who was it that said that a knight is a person who has not yet become a peer, but has ceased to be a gentleman? It wasn't Shaw, surely. Then it must have been Chesterton. Yes, that is right. It was.

Mrs. John Lind is a hero(ine) all by herself. Hats off to that fine lady.—*Buffalo News.*

All right as to the hats. But let us see. Mrs. Lind is the wife of a personal representative of the President of the United States, duly accredited to a presumably friendly nation, from whose officers she hid and enabled to escape two rebels. If the wife of a British official had performed

a like service for two Confederates during *our* Civil War, what would Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward have said—and done?

Governor and Mrs. Glynn, we are told, "moved into the Executive Mansion as soon as it had been thoroughly cleansed with a vacuum cleaner." They had not long to wait. Most of the vacuity had already been removed by the High Court. Now let the new and, we judge, capable and self-respecting Governor throw out the "detectaphones," and the People's House may again become a suitable visiting-place for ladies and gentlemen.

We invariably heed Hosea Biglow's advice never to predict unless we know. The Prohibition candidate for District Attorney of New York *was* elected unanimously. He was Charles S. Whitman—a likely candidate for Governor on the Republican and Progressive tickets next year. And if elected? Borah and Whitman, should we say?

What we cannot understand is why John Bassett Moore should ever have thought of resigning.

Another little problem in arithmetic is offered by the fact that this company carries the United States mails, exclusive of the parcel-post matter, at an actual loss of $400,000 a year.—*President Howard Elliott, of the New Haven Railroad.*

Then why do it?

We admire Theodore Roosevelt immensely, but we have a low opinion of his choice of friends.—*Emporia Gazette.*

Including Mr. William Allen White?

I personally believe that President Wilson's present course in dealing with Huerta is wise and judicious.—*Chairman William F. McCombs.*

Good for McCombs!

If you think too much about being re-elected, it is very difficult to be worth re-electing.—*President Wilson.*

Yes, indeed; but why the reflection?

What better Christmas present than a letter?

THE CRISIS IN CONSTITUTIONALISM

BY DAVID JAYNE HILL

THOUGHTFUL men in all countries of the world are united in the conviction that Constitutional Government embodies the highest ideal for the regulation of human affairs ever conceived by man.

With regard to the attainability and permanence of this ideal, opinions differ widely. Most men agree in the belief that certain peoples are not ripe for it. Others consider it necessary to combine with it some vestiges of absolutism, as a means of rescuing society from the anarchy that would follow upon its possible failure. Still others openly oppose it because, for various reasons, it is their personal interest to do so.

The dangers to Constitutional Government, however, do not arise from the open opposition of its enemies; for in the field of free debate it is abundantly able to defend itself. Its real foes,—and they are not a few,—are those who do not avowedly attack or resist it; but who, while professing to be its friends and its advocates, secretly repudiate, or intentionally pervert, its fundamental principles.

In contrast with the political absolutism which it was intended to destroy, and which it has endeavored to supersede, Constitutional Government is based upon the principle of equal guarantees for the rights of all citizens, without distinction of persons or classes, under the protection of co-ordinate and distributed powers, exercised by public officers freely chosen by the people, and revocable after fixed periods of office. Recognizing life, personal liberty, and property as elements of inalienable right, Constitutional Government aims to guard these from every form of violation.

The mere statement of the meaning of Constitutional Government plainly indicates who are its natural enemies.

These include all those who, in any form whatever, desire to make the State their private servant, and through control of the public powers use it to serve their own personal or class interests at the expense of others.

The division of men into friends and enemies of Constitutional Government must be based upon the attitude they assume toward its fundamental principle. This principle being the existence of equal and adequate guarantees, by which the life, the personal liberty, and the property of every citizen are rendered inviolate, every person and every organization that aims by means of exceptional legislation to secure advantages to the detriment of others must be classed as an enemy of Constitutional Government; which, —although not a guarantee of equal conditions, which is impossible,—is essentially a guarantee of equal rights.

The means by which the founders of Constitutional Government intended to obtain this guarantee were threefold.

First of all, the "inalienable rights" of all citizens were to be secured by a fundamental law which placed them beyond the reach of unequal legislation or executive violence. What the advocates of Constitutional Government had suffered from was the exercise of absolute and arbitrary authority. This they intended to end; and, in order to do so, they placed certain encroachments upon personal rights beyond the power of legislatures and executives. In brief, legislative bodies and executive officers were themselves made subject to law; and no man was to be judged except in accordance with the law. Life, liberty, and property were not to be taken away without a day in court, in the presence of responsible authorities acting under the obligations of equal laws.

The second security afforded was a frame of government in which public powers were so distributed that no public officer could commit an act of oppression without rendering himself responsible for his action. The people, through their representatives, could make new laws; but they could make no laws which encroached upon the rights already sacredly guarded by the fundamental law. The executive, when necessary, could act; but only according to law. The judiciary could judge if the law was respected, but only in accordance with those personal securities which the fundamental law provided.

Finally, the people, standing in the place of the sovereign,

and exercising sovereign power, did what no other sovereign had ever before voluntarily done in the history of the world: they freely and formally renounced the power to impose their personal arbitrary will upon the organs of government or upon one another. They confided to the operation of the system they had devised and created the legislative, executive, and judicial functions necessary to the application of justice, subject to their approval or reprobation by means already provided for in that system.

Thus absolutism in every form was intended to be extruded from government; which aimed to be a system of just laws and principles in place of mere arbitrary will actuated by caprice, prejudice, malignity, or self-interest.

It is easy to see how this system could be covertly attacked by those who, consciously or unconsciously, were inspired by motives for subverting it.

The first method of attack is through the hasty alteration of the fundamental law itself. Believing in the approximate perfection of our system, the people of the United States have, in general, desired to maintain the stability of the Constitution; and, so far, it has been subjected to very little change. Being essentially a restriction of arbitrary power, it presents a barrier to the aims of those who seek to derive private advantage through the control of the State. As long as it remains intact, there exists a legal obstacle to depredation. No mere demagogue ever has loved, or ever will love, the Constitution; for it is a restraint upon personal ambition and personal interests. He would much prefer to substitute for it the unrestrained "will of the people," by which he understands assent to his own proposals. With seductive simplicity he blandly asks, "What is the Constitution between friends?"

Undoubtedly, any inflexible obstacle to a transitory popular impulse can at times be made to appear too rigid, but it is precisely this clear and definite obstruction to impulsive and ill-considered action which constitutional guarantees are intended to impose. It is always a dangerous moment for the liberties of a people when it is proposed to substitute for the deliberately established reasonableness of a constitutional provision the impromptu and uncontrolled impulses of the moment; or to open the way without serious reflection and debate for mere political experiments.

Two constitutional changes have been recently urged and passively accepted. The election of United States Senators by legislative bodies has sometimes been attended with corruption, and this has led to a demand for popular nominations and elections. In order to lower import duties, an income tax,—hitherto left to the several States, which can levy no import taxes,—has been urged as a means of supporting the Federal Government. To accomplish this, a constitutional change was necessary, since an unequal tax was prohibited, and an equal tax was not deemed practicable. It is, perhaps, too early to demonstrate the results of these changes; but it remains to be seen how the people, if they cannot succeed in choosing trustworthy legislators from among their own immediate neighbors, will be able to select worthier senators from among persons whom they know only by reputation; nor is it certain that the power to impose a Federal income tax without any kind of restriction may not eventually become the instrument of mere class and sectional legislation. It will be gratifying if these experiments result in an elevation of political morals, or in greater social equity; but it is not yet certain that these results will follow.

A second point of attack upon the Constitution is through the encroachment of one or more of the three divisions of public power upon the legitimate domain of the others. The American conception of government has always laid stress upon the balance of the public powers, which is intended to limit the excesses of all. When, however, we consider the possible effect of the power concentrated in one man both to urge and to veto new laws, backed with the enormous influence of Federal patronage, the employment of which may be so easily concealed behind the mask of apparently beneficent legislation, we contemplate the nearest approach to absolute power now to be found in any constitutional government in the world. In defense of this centralization of authority it may be said that a President of the United States is responsible to the country, and particularly to his party, for the fulfilment of promises made in the platform of the party that elected him, and this is true; but executive urgency and executive prohibition have not always been exercised exclusively with the purpose of fulfilling party promises, but sometimes merely upon the personal initiative of the executive himself, who has thereby

assumed the exercise of a prerogative which, however pleasing it may be to those who profit by its results, when considered from a constitutional point of view, is certainly of doubtful propriety, if not of doubtful legality. Fidelity in urging the fulfilment of previously made party promises and personal *ballons d'essai* sent up for the purpose of securing the favor of the majority, without regard to the previously determined policies of the party, are two entirely different methods of official procedure. The business of a President is to execute the laws and urge the fulfilment of party pledges, but it is not his prerogative to revolutionize the government.

But encroachments upon constitutional limitations by the executive are not more dangerous than those of a legislative origin. For these there is always the plausible excuse that they spring more directly from the expressed will of the people, since the legislators have received a recent mandate from them. It is, however, a perversion of reasoning to maintain that their mandate includes an instruction to disregard the spirit of the Constitution, or to strain it to the breaking-point. It is, therefore, essential that the judiciary be free, pure, and faithful in its interpretation of the fundamental law. It is equally important that it should have the confidence and support of the people. Nothing could so fatally affect the foundations of Constitutional Government as a loss of confidence on the part of the people in the purity, fidelity, and intelligence of the judiciary. By every means that will leave it free and responsible it should be placed and kept upon the highest plane of honor and authority, for it is by its essential nature the guardian of our guarantees of liberty.

There is a third, and a far more insidious, form of attack upon Constitutional Government which should not escape observation. It is the disposition to withdraw and annul that act of popular renunciation of each in the interest of all upon which the success of Constitutional Government is based. It is important that this point should be made clear, for it contains the chief justification for speaking of a "crisis" in constitutionalism.

Attention has been called to the fact that the third step in the development of the Constitution of the United States was the voluntary surrender of arbitrary power by the sovereign people. This was not an abdication of power by the

people as a whole in the interest of a majority, but a determination that absolutism in every form should be abolished altogether. It was the surrender of will to reason, of private interest to the public good, of the individual to the State as the institution of organized justice.

The greatest present danger to Constitutional Government is the revocation of this splendid sacrifice of personal advantage to the common well-being; the agreement of the people not to attempt an act of conquest upon one another, but to live on terms of equality under just laws.

It is worthy of observation that wherever this act of patriotism has been refused Constitutional Government has proved an abject failure. If we consider the revolutions that have stained with blood and ruined the economic life of several of our sister Republics on this continent, we shall find ample and striking illustrations of this assertion. They, like ourselves, have had a fundamental law, often expressed in most irreproachable language, and a frame of government in which the division of powers is theoretically accepted. In fact, however, these elements of constitutional organization have not been treated as realities. Personal ambition, conspiracy, and revolution have defied the system, and frequently destroyed it. Instead of devoting themselves to the State, and making a religion of vital patriotism,—that is, of consecration to the State as the institution of order and justice,—these unfortunate brethren have attached themselves to factions, each seeking to dominate by force the others, and thus creating a scene of constant incertitude, turmoil, lawlessness, and rapine.

We have at the present moment a startling example of this assertion of arbitrary will and repudiation of public authority in our nearest neighbor to the south. Every one who personally knows the Mexican statesmen of the highest type appreciates their learning, their culture, and their sometimes great executive ability. What is lacking to that country? It is the spirit of personal renunciation of arbitrary power in the interest of the public well-being. Rich in natural resources, situated in a most favorable geographical environment, and not wanting in capable men, Mexico is doomed to stagnation, poverty, and discredit, because it is the prey of rival forces within the State, each claiming the right to rule, each determined to destroy the others.

Let us not lose the lesson of this impressive illustration

of the unwillingness of men to accept the authority of principles because we ourselves are not at present harassed by banditti and visibly divided by opposing powers within the State. It is opportune for us to ask ourselves, why we are not subjected to this anarchy, and why we enjoy a high degree of peace, order, and justice in our own Republic, which is based on the same fundamental ideas as that of our unfortunate neighbors?

The answer to this question is evident to every thoughtful observer. We have, thus far, been able to maintain respect for our Constitution and our judiciary. We have, in the interest of the public peace, renounced the primitive right of personal self-defense. We have differences, but we endeavor, for the most part, to settle them by an appeal to the law and to the courts. We have, thus far, maintained the renunciation of arbitrary power, which has made our government a success where others have failed; and we have had, and are having, our reward.

Will this condition always continue? There is more than one sign that it will not, unless we are on our guard. The dangers arising from the first and second forms of attack on Constitutional Government are not unworthy of attention, but they are insignificant in comparison with the third; for further alterations cannot be made in the Constitution without fresh consideration by the people, and a misuse of power by the legislative and executive, or even by the judicial authorities, is at least subject to correction. But the third form of attack is of a different nature. It results from a social transformation that may affect constitutionalism at its source by perverting the minds of the people.

For a long time the chief danger to constitutionalism in our country was the menace of conflict between the States. That peril seems now to have passed, for their interests are so nearly identical and their populations are so homogeneous that a divergence of purposes sufficiently wide to lead to armed conflict is altogether improbable.

But there is another source of antagonism which would have an equally disastrous effect upon Constitutional Government, the possibility of which is not entirely excluded from consideration.

We have in recent years developed in the United States a spirit of class antagonism which is peculiarly disquieting. In stating this point it is not at all necessary to cast the

blame on any particular stratum of society, and a careful analysis might distribute responsibility in a manner that would not be welcome in quite opposite quarters. The one undeniable fact is that this antagonism exists, and that it has been stimulated by political ambitions that have found their advantage in creating unrest and in deepening the hostility of certain conditions of life toward others.

The peril of this situation is that it does not consist merely in opposing personal sentiments entertained by isolated individuals, but that it aims to control the State by massing its forces in powerful organizations, with the purpose of changing the laws, and even the Constitution, in the interest of special classes.

Books have recently been written with the endeavor to make it appear that the Constitution of the United States is a belated eighteenth-century construction, devised in the interest of a property-possessing class, and at present an anachronism. For the first time since it was adopted the Constitution has within very recent years been treated with open disrespect. What is the reason for this opposition? It is that the Constitution presents an obvious barrier to the designs of those who oppose it. If we seek the actuating principle of this opposition, we find it in the doctrine that the unregulated will of the majority is a more desirable form of authority than deliberately accepted principles of government sanctioned by general assent and tried and tested by experience.

Should this tendency become further accentuated by combinations of power able eventually to control the State in their own interest,—we should find ourselves in a position not dissimilar from that in which Mexico is placed to-day,—divided into hostile factions, one class plundered by another, and the country utterly powerless to defend its interests or maintain its dignity in the field of international relations.

The means of preventing this calamity,—or the remedy for it, if it is already in some degree upon us,—is evidently a determination on the part of the people that arbitrary power in every form must be renounced; that life, liberty, and property shall still enjoy protection against any form of absolutism that may be asserted within the State.

To apply this remedy, the country needs two things. First, to consider seriously the drift of the social forces

now operating among us, with a view to forming a clear conception of the degree in which we are adhering to or departing from the spirit of conformity to just and equal laws; and, second, an active movement on the part of thoughtful citizens to arrest an anti-constitutional tendency.

In considering the drift of the social forces now in operation, one is struck by the diminished respect for law simply because it *is* law. This is, no doubt, in part owing to the changed conception of the source of legal authority. When men sincerely believed in "inalienable rights," and conceived of law as the guardian of those rights, it was esteemed worthy of a sentiment of reverence. At present the importation of a conception of law as the decree of a dominating will, without relation to fundamental rights,—which are alleged to have no demonstrable existence,—has made it difficult to respect law in and for itself. If, after all, it is merely arbitrary; if it proceeds from no moral principle; if, in short, it is the expression of mere *will,* and not of *reason*—it is difficult, it is even unreasonable, to demand that it be respected.

It is necessary in the life of every nation that from time to time it be called upon to reflect upon the principles that underlie its existence. The present generation has been confronted with no great national crisis that has called for such reflection. The shock that has been given to the party-system of government in the United States may prove to be such a crisis. We have suddenly been brought face to face with the question, "What is our political future to be?" It is for the reason and the conscience of the people to answer, but it remains to be determined on what lines the answer is to be given.

Naturally, in moments of indecision, men look for leaders; but, unless they look also for principles, they look in vain. The choice must be made between experience and experiment; between arbitrary decisions and fundamental principles; in a word, between political anarchy and Constitutional Government.

The one thing most certain is that, if we are to preserve and justify Constitutional Government, we must be ever ready to defend it. If we are to defend it, we who believe in it must act together. To many minds it seems at this moment, the one overmastering issue. When principles have been settled, men have always been found to render

them effective. What we need at present is not so much leaders as a statement of the principles by which we should be led, and which we should then insist upon having applied in practice. In seeking for these we cannot do better than to revert to the great doctrines of our fathers, which, in the midst of revolutions on every side, have brought us to great power as a nation; and which, if faithfully applied, will continue to give us great prosperity as a people.

If from the dissolution of party ties, which has brought home to us the problem of our political future, we are able to rally about the one rock of salvation, the rights of the individual citizen as guaranteed by the Constitution, the atmosphere will clear. We shall see that a State cannot be built upon private interests of any kind, and that our prosperity as a Republic consists in the readiness to renounce the control of the State for our own advantage, by giving to each individual not only full liberty to exercise and develop all his powers in his own way, but protection in preserving that liberty by preventing the public powers from falling under the domination of any class or combination of men having for its object the subjection of others to their private will.

In the days of our Civil War much aid was afforded to the cause of preserving the Union by the formation of clubs composed of citizens who perceived in that movement the great issue of the hour. It is possible that the time has come when a similar interest in the preservation of Constitutional Government, through the cultivation of respect for the spirit of the Constitution, may be desirable and even necessary.

Such a movement would, undoubtedly, be stoutly opposed; but the intensity of the opposition and the comments that would attend it would, perhaps, furnish surprising proofs that we are at present passing through a crisis of constitutionalism in which the great structure of liberty and justice erected by our fathers is being insidiously undermined, not in the interest of the people, of whose rights it is the only guarantee, but in the interest of private powers within the State which, for purposes of their own, wish to dominate it and employ it as the instrument of their designs.

David Jayne Hill.

A NEW BASIS NEEDED FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE

BY GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE

A SINCERE and cordial friendship between the United States and the other American Republics is a relation earnestly desired by our statesmen. A bond commonly supposed to unite these sister States to our own already exists in the Monroe Doctrine, but grave doubt has arisen whether, in all parts of the hemisphere, this is now accomplishing the objects for which it was established. Certainly observers of conditions in South America believe that, in considering its usefulness, a sharp distinction should be made between the strong, stable nations of that continent and the revolution-tossed lands immediately south of us. They are convinced that our country should clearly understand the interpretation given this policy by South America, and should seriously consider whether, south of the equator, it is of any benefit to either the United States or the region protected by it, whether it promotes confidence and friendship, or arouses resentment and suspicion.

"We don't want any Papa," was the reply of a prominent Chilean when asked for the attitude of South America toward the Monroe Doctrine. This well expresses the feeling of the continent as a whole. The people believe that it makes Uncle Sam a stepfather over their Republics, who not only guards them from Europe, but watches their important acts and often tells them what they may and may not do; and this interference is universally resented.

The editor of the leading newspaper in Chile, Dr. Perez Canto, who is also an experienced diplomat, holds the same idea. "The Monroe Doctrine," he writes, "implies a moral subordination to the United States which is repulsive to the national feelings of the young Republics." A professor of one of the prominent universities said, in conver-

sation with the writer, that the Monroe Doctrine was generally interpreted by South Americans to imply a guardianship over their continent by the United States; he believed himself that it established the relation of elder brother, but, he added, if the elder brother keeps telling the younger what he must do, it naturally makes bad feeling between them. A member of the Peruvian Foreign Office remarked the past summer that the United States had better forget the Monroe Doctrine and treat the South American countries as equals; this would do most to make the relations between the two sections cordial. That people in Brazil resent the Monroe Doctrine as an insult is the testimony of a person closely connected with the Diplomatic Corps in that country:

> It is the same as telling South America that it is not able to take care of itself. It is like a house-owner who comes to the home of another and publicly announces that he will protect it against robbers. He does not even have the excuse of being a neighbor, and naturally receives the indignant reply from the man whom he wishes to defend, that he is abundantly able to look out for his own property himself.

Only a few weeks ago the Valparaiso *Dia* asked, "Why does the United States arrogate the power of exercising tutelage over those countries whose inhabitants speak the Castilian tongue in the continent of South America?"

Such quotations as these are typical of the general feeling of the people.

But still more unfortunate is the conviction of many that the Monroe Doctrine threatens eventual conquest of their continent by the United States. That this view is widely held was stated again and again, in frank, confidential conversations with the writer, by representative men of the several Republics. A number of them added that the expression, "America for the Americans," which is supposed to paraphrase the Monroe Doctrine, is believed by a large proportion of the people of South America to mean "America for the United States." "Sixty per cent. of our educated people," said a Brazilian who knows North America well, "distrust the United States, and believe that the Monroe Doctrine is simply pre-empting territory which the United States wants, until it is fully ready to seize it." "The idea of the mass of the people," declared a leading civil engineer and university professor, "is that the United States will eventually try to conquer South America."

The head of one of the largest business houses stated that the Monroe Doctrine was popularly regarded as an evidence of the desire of the United States to annex all of the Southern continent, especially the weak countries on the West Coast. A former member of the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hon. A. Alvarez, wrote in 1910 that the Monroe Doctrine "is considered, upon occasions, to be a menace to the integrity and sovereignty of certain republics of this hemisphere." In Garcia-Calderon's recent and widely read work on Latin America this point of view is strikingly expressed; "The Monroe Doctrine," he says, "has undergone an essential transformation; it has passed successively from the defensive to intervention and thence to the offensive. . . . The United States seek to conquer new territories for their imperialist race." In both the press and public addresses it is common to find exhortations to the South American Republics urging them to unite against the growing danger of conquest from the North.

This fear that the Monroe Doctrine endangers their independence is held by a large proportion of the common people and by some individuals, although far from a majority, of the educated and governing set. Resentment against its spirit of patronage, however, is general in all classes; it exists in every one of the South American Republics, yet it varies in its intensity, probably being least noticeable in Brazil, and strongest in Chile. One should visit the latter country and attempt to discuss the Monroe Doctrine to appreciate how keenly the resentment is felt even among those most friendly to the United States. Men will avoid the subject; they will waive it aside as a disagreeable topic with the remark, "We trust that is a thing of the past"; or, when they express their real feelings, they speak as if they were discussing a painful, personal humiliation.

The question naturally arises, why do these South American people continually attack the Monroe Doctrine instead of expressing at least some degree of gratitude for the present protection which it gives them against the military powers of Europe? The answer is that they do not fear Europe, actively and consciously, but do fear the United States and each other. It guards them against a distant danger, but not against dangers which they keenly apprehend. For example, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay would give a great deal for a Monroe Doctrine which would

protect them from their stronger neighbors, Argentine, Chile and Brazil. Probably a majority of the South American States would appreciate a doctrine which would guarantee them from conquest by the United States; but it is too much to ask that they shall be enthusiastically thankful for a policy which benefited them a half-century ago, when today it is an affliction.

For the part played by the original Monroe Doctrine, in saving their continent in all probability from European conquest, the candid, thoughtful people are reasonably grateful. It should be remembered that all of the South American Republics indorsed it in the early decades after its announcement. In the last Pan American Congress, held in Buenos Aires in 1910, the South American delegations were willing to unite in a resolution which should express their appreciation of the protection which it has afforded them, and which should be sent to the Washington Government at the time of the celebration of the centennial of the independence of the South American Republics. It was impossible, however, to so phrase this resolution that it would indorse the original meaning of the Doctrine, and yet exclude the more recent interpretation by which they believe the United States arrogates the hegemony over the hemisphere.

If we are tempted to say that the South Americans have created an imaginary Monroe Doctrine, when they state that it proclaims a general suzerainty over them, if not an eventual conquest of their territory, we must at least acknowledge that they have reasons for this conviction. Our newspapers are continually giving it most fantastic interpretations. One morning this past summer many of them had large head-lines stating that Great Britain was to fortify the Bermuda Islands, which would very likely, they declared, be regarded by our Government as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. If the fortification of its own American possessions by any nation is a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, then there is absolutely no limit to the suzerainty of the United States in North and South America.

The most recent text on International Law published in this country, when treating of our international policy, says, "A political primacy, similar in kind (to that exercised by the European Concert of Powers) though of a less positive character, is wielded by the United States on the American continent."

The calm assertion of guardianship over this hemisphere is seen by the South Americans not only in our newspapers and books, but even in the most official documents. It was Secretary of State Olney who wrote: "To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." Surely South America needs no stronger evidence than this to prove the arrogance of the Monroe Doctrine.

The danger of conquest which it implies is inferred from a study of our United States history. It is a far cry to the Mexican War, but the educated men of South America know the character of it—about as cold-blooded a piece of conquest as modern history records—and frequently refer to it as a warning. They point out that this was followed in due season by the Spanish War, with its additional conquests and its Cuban protectorate; later, Panama was seized; and in our own time a constant intervention has been taking place in Central American affairs, especially in Nicaragua; while the independence of Mexico is threatened, and its virtual absorption frequently discussed in our press.

The Monroe Doctrine, as thus understood, by fostering resentment and suspicion, instead of friendship and confidence, is not only standing in the way of the development of a genuine Pan American spirit, the creation of which is probably the foremost aim of our Government's foreign policy, but is also preparing the South American Republics to unite against us, instead of with us. If the United States had intervened in Mexico this past year it would, at that time at least, have aroused intense opposition in some circles in South America. A Venezuelan said a few weeks ago, that if the United States should cross the Rio Grande, the Latin American countries would all wish to unite in Mexico's defense. This was clearly an exaggeration, but it shows where a real danger lies. The South Americans would resent intervention in Mexico principally because it would be carrying out this idea of continental suzerainty, which the United States might later apply to the countries farther south.

The so-called A. B. C. League (Argentine, Brazil and Chile) is an example of what might easily become a South American alliance against the United States. For the last three years the newspapers of the Southern Republics have been full of discussions regarding this League. There are

those in South America to-day who believe that some secret understanding exists between these three Powers and that its main purpose is for mutual protection against encroachments from the United States. This interpretation of the supposed A. B. C. League is undoubtedly incorrect, yet it shows clearly what might easily happen should our Government take any action in South America which seemed like an international intrusion.

It should be remembered that these three leading countries south of the equator, Argentine, Brazil and Chile, have a population of more than thirty million; have cities of over a million inhabitants each, which are more beautiful and probably better administered than those in the United States; and immense stretches of fertile land, in Argentine and southern Brazil, which are being rapidly filled up by a large European immigration. Two or three decades from now, when the population of Argentine and Brazil is doubled or trebled; when their military power is more efficiently organized and their navies increased—Argentine has now the two largest Dreadnoughts in the world—the United States will clearly be unable to enforce any continental suzerainty within their borders. It will be powerless to oppose an alliance between such a European Power as Germany and the A. B. C. League.

Many foreign students of international politics state definitely that before many years our country must give up the Monroe Doctrine so far as concerns the leading South American countries. In Elliot's recent *History of Chile,* we read:

> In a few years' time the pretensions of the States to a sort of suzerainty of South America, according to the doctrine of Monroe, will be regarded with a certain amount of amusement in both Chile and the Argentine.

Oppenheim, an English International Law authority, says of the Monroe Doctrine:

> This policy hampers the South American States, but with their growing strength it will gradually disappear. For, whenever some of these States become great Powers themselves, they will no longer submit to the political hegemony of the United States, and the Monroe Doctrine will have played its part.

That it harms the United States, as it is interpreted at present, is the nearly unanimous testimony of both North and South Americans with whom the writer discussed the

subject during a recent trip through the leading countries below the equator. But to the question what should be done to correct this false impression, so far as it is false, and, in any case, to create cordiality and confidence between the strong Republics of South America and the United States, there were various opinions. Some said: "Stop talking about the Monroe Doctrine. If the occasion should ever come to enforce it, do so; but in the mean time say nothing about it. The great South American Republics wish to be treated as equals, as the States of Europe are treated, and do not like to be constantly spoken of as occupying any particular relation to the United States."

This is good advice, but impracticable. The Monroe Doctrine has long been regarded as the foundation of our foreign policy, and to request our press and our public men to stop talking about it would be a waste of time. There are, also, certain English and German papers in South America which, in any case, would not let the subject drop, but would seize upon any chance expression in the United States, as they are now doing, to arouse South Americans to resentment. Not long ago an English newspaper in Chile quoted a harmless reference in one of President Taft's messages, and gave it the prominent heading, "A Warning to South America." The day before the Boston Chamber of Commerce delegation visited Buenos Aires, the *Standard* of that city, in a leading editorial, stated that probably the ultimate purpose of the visit was to prepare for the eventual annexation of South America by the United States.

Others insist that the Monroe Doctrine should be withdrawn, so far as the strong States of South America are concerned. They admit that it must still be enforced in Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and the northern coast countries of South America, on account of the nearness of these lands, the instability of their governments, and the necessity from a military standpoint of controlling the territory bordering the Caribbean Sea. But they maintain that whatever happens south of the equator does not affect the interests of the United States. Even should Germany seize a section of Southern Brazil, as some fear, and form it into a colony, this would be farther distant from every part of our country than Germany is itself at the present time. They claim further, that these strong South American States, Argentine, Brazil and Chile, are now

clearly beyond the tutelage stage; are in no apparent danger from European invasion; and even in case of attempted conquest would be able to protect themselves. To carry out this policy of withdrawal, some of them suggest that a Resolution be passed by Congress, stating that South America, with the exceptions just mentioned, no longer needs the protection of the Monroe Doctrine, but promising that if any of its Republics should ever be in national peril the United States could be relied upon as a real friend.

There are those, on the other hand, who believe that the best solution of the problem is a careful and official definition of the Doctrine, which would take out of it the sting of United States suzerainty. They recommend that either the President or Congress should issue a formal statement declaring that this policy of the United States warrants intervention only when absolutely necessary to prevent seizure of land on the continent by a non-American power; and, further, possibly, pledging the United States not to acquire any territory itself in South America.

Each of these courses has much to recommend it, but either would be extremely difficult to bring about. The American people regard the Monroe Doctrine as a national fetish, without any serious consideration, for the most part, of the bases upon which it rests to-day; and would undoubtedly prevent its withdrawal or serious modification. Again, there are many well-informed men who are convinced that the Monroe Doctrine is still needed in South America, that withdrawal of it would probably lead to the seizure of Southern Brazil by Germany, which would violate the interests of both the United States and South America by establishing a powerful military base in this hemisphere. In justification of this view it may be stated that some of the influential men of Brazil definitely fear this German occupation of the southern part of their Republic.

A further and final possibility lies in broadening and strengthening the present Monroe Doctrine by associating in its enforcement the States of the American continent, perhaps all of them, but at least those countries of South America which have strong, well-organized governments, such as Argentine, Chile and Brazil. This course was suggested many times both by United States residents in South America and by citizens of the various Southern Republics. Probably its foremost advocate is Dr. Oliveira Lima, so long the

Brazilian Ambassador at Washington. An admirer and firm friend of our country, he yet realizes keenly the hard feeling caused by the Monroe Doctrine in its present form. He pleads for "the equal assumption by all nations of the American continent of the duties and responsibility of the Monroe Doctrine, thus depriving this international formula of its exclusive and arrogant character," and banishing from it "all idea of protection and subordination."

The Monroe Doctrine, upon a Pan American basis, would be stronger than it is at present, for it would be supported by the public opinion as well as by the armies and navies of the rapidly growing nations of South America. It would, too, do away with the suspicion and dislike with which the Doctrine is now regarded, for it would then be the decree, not of a superior power, but of America as a whole, to which every State—or at least every State with a strong, stable government—had given its voluntary assent.

This Monroe Doctrine would not merely guard South America from European conquest; it would also insist upon reasonably stable governments and aim to prevent conditions which would invite European intervention, much as the United States forestalled complications in San Domingo by taking charge of that country's finances. It would be advisable further to make this new Pan American doctrine a practical guarantee of immunity from territorial conquest from every side. Just this form of an international agreement is earnestly desired by many in South America in order to protect the weaker States from their stronger neighbors, and all of them from the United States.

That the South American Republics would all join in a Pan American Monroe Doctrine, cannot be stated with positiveness, but there are many indications which make it seem likely. They are as anxious as is the United States to prevent European conquest anywhere on the continent; they have all recently expressed their readiness to indorse the Monroe Doctrine in its original form; and they have shown a wide-spread feeling in favor of general Pan American arbitration. One of the members of the Congress of Argentine, for example, very recently stated to the writer that there should be a Pan American arbitration committee to settle all South American international disputes. Further, he added, in case of attempted conquest, such as that of Bolivia by its more powerful neighbors, he would favor an

agreement between Argentine, the United States and Brazil to prevent it.

The Monroe Doctrine, based upon Pan America, would be much easier to enforce than is the sole fiat of the United States. This has already been demonstrated. Two years ago the United States, Argentine and Brazil united to prevent war on the West Coast, when it seemed ready to break out between Peru, on the one hand, and Ecuador, possibly aided by Chile, on the other. This joint intervention, for the three Powers really issued a command, was effective without resort to force and without arousing any general opposition. Such action by the United States alone would undoubtedly have raised a storm of protest.

This instance, as well as the earlier joint action of this country and Mexico—when the latter had a stable government—in keeping order in Central America, shows that the United States has already made a beginning of working in unison with Latin American States in enforcing the police power of the continent. It only remains to extend this occasional co-operation into a definitely formulated and generally accepted policy.

The new Monroe Doctrine would accomplish everything that the present Doctrine accomplishes, and much more. It would create a genuine Pan Americanism. At present there is nothing which consciously and sympathetically joins the United States and all Latin America and makes them a unit as against Europe. One of the most influential statesmen of Argentine says: "There is no Pan Americanism in South America; it exists only in Washington." This is largely true; the most striking fact about South America is that it resembles Europe rather than the United States. In language, culture, finance, commerce and sympathy it is more closely bound to Europe than to our own country; while we, on our part, are more closely bound to Europe in each of these respects than to South America. We cannot maintain, either, that as sister Republics of this hemisphere we are linked together by the common bond of democratic government, as opposed to the autocratic nations of monarchical Europe. This may have been true a century ago; it is not true to-day. Europe, as a whole, is more democratic than South America; while no single South American State approaches the real democracy of such countries as England and Switzerland.

There is, however, one possible strong bond. While Europe to-day is organized on the basis of aggressive war, Latin America and the United States are both organized primarily on the basis of peace. They have their armies and navies, to be sure, but these do not sap the strength of the continent, nor absorb the energies of the people, as in Europe. This likeness in national organization and ideal is the foundation upon which a genuine Pan Americanism may be built, one which will unite North and South America by both interest and sympathy. But the Monroe Doctrine in its present form will not do this; it will not check the tendency of the stronger States to enter upon a policy of military and naval expansion, for it gives them no protection against their neighbors and it presents the United States as a possible and dangerous enemy. Only by placing the Monroe Doctrine upon a Pan American basis will it guarantee each of the countries against conquest not only from Europe, but from the United States, and also, it is to be hoped, from its neighbors.

The power to execute this international agreement would be the united military strength of the continent, which need not exceed the present military and naval equipment of each country. This would be a sufficient police force to insist upon stable governments in any of the weak Latin American States which might be regarded as under the surveillance of the continent as a whole.

If all this can be accomplished; if the Monroe Doctrine can be broadened and strengthened; if, in consequence, South America, as it rapidly increases in population, riches, and power, can be saved from becoming a fortified camp, each of its frontiers bristling with bayonets, each of its governments spending its best energy in watching the military preparations of its neighbors, each of its peoples putting its increased wealth year after year into ever larger armies and ever new forms of rifle and cannon; if it can be saved from this curse of Europe and be allowed to grow great along lines of peace and industry; if in this respect America can be united against the policy of Europe—the result will not only be to the lasting benefit of both the United States and South America; it will be the most notable achievement of the new world.

George H. Blakeslee.

IF GOLD WERE DROSS

BY CHARLES A. CONANT

THE interesting problem was raised by one of the French reviews recently, what would happen if gold were produced in such enormous quantities as to sink in value to the level of the baser metals.[1] The three contingencies discussed were the extraction of gold from sea water, which was dismissed as too expensive to be attainable; the increase from existing mines, which would be negligible from the sensational standpoint of the argument; and the probability of the production of gold by chemical means.

It was the third means of production which was treated as seriously as the nature of the subject permitted, and it was declared that in relying upon the recent progress of experimental physics and of chemical synthesis, the possibility of the transmutation of the metals could no longer be considered a simple chimera and might become a reality of to-morrow or the day after to-morrow. Edison, it was declared, believes the manufacture of gold to be imminent and the most distinguished physicists recognize the transmutation of matter. Since 1860, it was pointed out, many of the most important vegetable and natural products have been reproduced by the processes of organic chemistry—alcohol, alkalies, aldehydes, ether, many substitutes for indigo and other aniline colors, and even chemical albumen. There have been recently two or three patents taken out for the manufacture of gold and a rumor has been in circulation that the French Ministry of Finance was engaged in the serious study of a proposition which had been submitted on the subject.

The author of this engaging dream, M. Jean Finot, does

[1] "*Le Monde Sans l'Or*," *La Revue*, September 15, 1912.

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not pretend to assert, as an established fact, that any of these experiments will be successful, but raises the question what would be the effect if they should prove successful in time to come. What, he asks, would then be the situation of society in general and of the property classes in particular? If the value of gold, the unique basis of the economic stability of our time, should be suddenly subjected to so striking a fluctuation, what would be the position of states and individuals, whose fortune is ordinarily symbolic, because it represents only a fixed quantity of gold to be demanded or received? Suppose a man has his entire fortune in mortgages or government bonds and that he has the right to demand his holdings in gold; this metal having lost its intrinsic value, will not his creditors be able to release themselves to his prejudice, even involving his complete ruin, while paying him the exact amount called for by the debt in gold?

That governments would take certain precautions against such a catastrophe is frankly admitted, but the further question is raised, what standard could they find to take the place of gold—whether, if they sought it in some other metal, the secret of the transmutation of metals having once been discovered, there would be any of them which would offer adequate security against similar debasement?

The more extreme and fantastic results of such a flood of gold have been occasionally the subject of romance. On the serious side of the problem, it may be said, however, that measures of defense would undoubtedly be found to mitigate its suddenness and severity. Counsels of conservatism exist even among the eight economists and six chemists and *littérateurs* who furnish brief answers to the question what would happen to civilized society in case of the discovery of transmutation at small cost. Madame Curie, the only woman who is honored with a part in the symposium, curtly dismisses the question with the following declaration:

> While it is true that *spontaneous* atomic transformations have been observed in radioactive bodies (the production of helium by these bodies, which you mention and which is perfectly correct), we may, on the other hand, be sure that no transformation of a simple body has yet been obtained by the effort of man and through measures conceived by him. It is therefore entirely useless at present to consider the possible consequences of the manufacture of gold.

A higher degree of sanity, if less imagination, may be

ascribed perhaps to the feminine participant in this discussion than to the members of the other sex, who give more or less free rein to their imaginations in dealing with the effects of a golden flood. By the eight economists the question is, of course, discussed with pretty close adherence to sound monetary principles. It is interesting to note, however, that all the progress of the past century in monetary science has not yet stilled differences of opinion, or at least differences of definition, on the character and effects of money. We find it treated by some as a mere symbol, for which it might be possible to substitute a new standard based upon the value of other articles or upon the purchasing power of a day's labor, while by others the small amount of gold actually used as currency, in comparison with the operations of the banks and the clearing-houses, is cited as evidence that the destruction of the basic metal would not have immediate and striking effects. Of the former type of criticism is the suggestion of Professor George Renard of the *Collège de France,* "to give legal-tender quality to a universal paper money, which should be identical from one end of the earth to the other."

The defect of solutions of the monetary problem based upon the substitution for gold of conventional values,—like the bushel of wheat or the day's labor,—is that they fail to take account that the value of money and of all transactions expressed in money must be based upon either recognized value in the standard metal or upon limitation of quantity.[1] It is sometimes said by economists who have given more attention to theory than to economic history that the function of gold as the standard of value is a purely conventional function,—that if gold were demonetized throughout the world, this value would be lost. While it is undoubtedly true that demonetization would have a depressing effect upon the value of the metal, it would not by any means destroy its attractiveness as a store of value. One of the best evidences of this is the eagerness with which gold is sought in undeveloped countries, which have neither a gold standard nor a gold circulation. The fact that the

[1] For most practical purposes, the words "intrinsic value" might be substituted for "recognized value"; but it is, of course, a well-established principle of economics that value is relative rather than intrinsic. The reasons why gold possesses a relative value of unusual stability are set forth in a measure in the text.

adoption of gold as a standard is not the result of convention, but of evolution, is evidenced also by its universality as a standard as well as by its inherent qualities.[1] Its special suitability for money gold derives from its universal exchangeability; every one is ready to take gold for other articles, where he hesitates and dickers over taking other articles for gold. And this exchangeability is inherent rather than arbitrary.

The high qualification of gold for use as money is based upon the reasons set forth in the text-books,—uniformity of quality, indestructibility, and divisibility without loss. What adds to the suitability of gold as a standard of value is the permanence of the existing stock. If gold were like wheat, nearly the entire crop being consumed or falling into decay within a year, it would be an exceedingly unstable standard of value, because the quantity produced in one year might fall enormously below the quantity produced in a previous year. But with gold, the annual production, whether great or small, is superimposed upon the stock already in existence, the product of more than four centuries of output from the mines of the world. Hence, even the great additions of recent years, rising to more than $450,000,000 per year, or nearly four times the annual production of twenty-five years ago, can do no more than alter slightly the increment of increase in the stock of standard money from year to year.

If, therefore, a substitute for gold is to be found in any existing physical substance, or any which can be fabricated, the new material must have similar qualities in order to possess similar qualifications—indestructibility, divisibility, and permanence of the pre-existing stock. It would also be highly important that it should have the further quality which gold possesses, of ready flow from the reservoir of the money stock into the reservoir of industrial use. It is in this channel of broadened industrial use that much of the increased gold production of the past twenty years has been absorbed, and it is along similar lines that some of the participants in the French symposium indicate that the metal would be absorbed even if it fell greatly in exchange value. As pointed out by M. Eugene Fournière, it would be

[1] This subject is discussed in the chapter entitled "Evolution of the Gold Standard" in the author's *The Principles of Money and Banking.*

possible to enormously increase the industrial uses of a metal which is now sought largely for its rarity—to bring down the price of gold watch-cases to those of nickel, to enable dentistry to supply gold fillings to the poorest and the masses to drink their modest wines from cups of crystal. The fact that gold does not oxidize and tarnish would develop its substitution for silver and other metals over a wide field, if its relative value were once pulled down to the plebeian level suggested in the symposium. Even the substitution of solid gold in the manifold cases where gold plating is now used would absorb a large quantity of the metal, without entering upon the broad field of new uses.

The difficulty of establishing a monetary standard which is not based upon a physical substance of limited supply has not been clear, even to some elevated minds. The truth is, however, that no matter how limited the amount of gold which is transferred from one bank to another in clearing-house settlements, or even if the substitution of paper certificates reduces actual transfers of the yellow metal to a negligible quantity, it is nevertheless essential that there shall be a basis upon which value rests. The ratio of gold for which other articles exchange is the supreme test of the demand for such articles. It would be useless for a modern state, following the teachings of certain types of socialists, to declare that a pair of shoes of a given type should always be equal to twenty yards of cotton of a given type. Such a rule would abolish the test whether the supply of shoes was excessive or that of cotton was deficient. The test applied by gold is the decline in the gold price of the shoes if the supply becomes a dead weight on the hands of dealers; a rise in the gold price of cottons if the supply is rapidly disappearing at the official price.

The failure to provide a medium of exchange which thus affords a test of over-production is the fatal defect of the theory that a currency of pure paper, issued upon the basis of the value of one article or several, would afford a safe and workable currency. The combined supply of currency and credit acts in some degree as a measure of values within a single country; but if currency and credit become inflated within that country, the test of such inflation is afforded by the movement of the foreign exchanges. The balance of indebtedness between nations is measured by gold. The nation which finds itself unable to supply gold to settle its

international balances (giving due recognition, of course, to the ability to distribute such obligations through foreign loans and other devices) wakes up to the fact that it has unduly expanded its internal, and has lost its international, credit. The substitution of conventional values and of paper money for gold does not afford adequate means, under existing monetary methods, of meeting the demands of international credit. In recent years, monetary science has made great strides in transferring and postponing indebtedness. It has learned the lesson that a local currency can be maintained on the gold basis, without the use of any considerable quantity of gold, if gold is available for settling international balances. This is the principle underlying the successful operation of the gold exchange standard in British India, Mexico, and the Philippines. Not greatly different in principle was the system by which Russia established a fixed exchange in 1894 before going resolutely to the gold standard. It is the principle also upon which Austria-Hungary is regulating her currency with a high degree of success.

All these experiments, however, rest ultimately upon gold. If gold became dross, it would be necessary, either to find a substitute metal possessing similar qualities, or to reorganize the existing monetary systems of the commercial nations. The latter is not beyond the reach of sane discussion and of definite proposals. Its essential defect would lie in the absence of power to enforce international agreements, in case financial weakness offered strong inducements for their violation.

The romantic dream of the sudden dethronement of gold from its place as the standard metal would be controlled, to begin with, by the cost of the processes of production of artificial gold. The mere discovery that gold could be produced by chemical processes would not solve the problem. Unless it could be produced in large quantities at a cost materially below the cost of quartz-mining in South Africa, the new process would remain only an interesting toy. Even if the production of artificial gold were considerably below the cost of mining, it would not cause a monetary revolution unless the difference in cost afforded profits large enough to stimulate a flood of the new metal. Under the continuance of the policy of accepting gold for free coinage at the mints, without regard to the method of its pro-

duction, a large increase in coinage would tend to bring down the value of the entire volume of the gold currency, old and new. Every such decline in the purchasing power of gold would diminish the margin of profit between cost of production and the purchasing power of the product and would discourage excessive production, unless the cost of production of the artificial gold were so low as to make this margin of profit very wide. In this case, if the output of gold affected directly its exchange value by its continued acceptance at the mints for free coinage, the point would soon be reached where mining for natural gold would become unprofitable and the present producers of $470,000,000 per year from the mines would be driven from the field.

Before this point was reached, however, governments would undoubtedly step in. As pointed out by Professor Charles Gide, if the new process of fabrication was difficult and costly, and especially if it required elaborate machinery, the state would seize the monopoly of the fabrication and forbid it to all others. This it does to-day in regard to the coinage of silver and bronze. There would be no difficulty in producing silver coins as fine as those produced by the public mint, and at a profit of approximately 100 per cent., if those desiring to produce them were not subjected to the restraint of the law. It is this relentless pursuit of the secret-service agents which makes it difficult to contract for good machinery, to employ competent workmen, and set up plants in convenient and public places. These difficulties have been so great, in spite of the great profit involved, that the counterfeiting of silver coins occurs only in sporadic instances and on a small scale.

There would be nothing to prevent the adoption of a similar policy by the leading governments of the world in regard to the production of gold. In the matter of the tender of gold bullion to the mints, it would only be necessary to require proofs of the source of production, if the government had arrogated to itself the artificial production of bullion as well as the making of the coins. Bullion which could not be proved to come from the mines would be rejected at the mints and would find an outlet only in industrial uses. There would be nothing exceptionally difficult in imposing such requirements in advanced States, having adequate police organization, and in practically suppressing imports of bullion from States where the regulation of its

manufacture was not adequately enforced; and, as Professor Gide points out, there would be an added stability in the monetary standard if governments were able thus to fix the annual output of the yellow metal for coinage purposes, instead of leaving it subject to changing conditions at the mines. This they might do by restricting to the new gold fabricated in their own workshops the supply of gold for coinage purposes or by merely supplementing the supply from the mines by such an amount of fabricated gold as would make the gross product converted into money uniform from year to year.

Unless the cost of manufacturing artificial gold fell radically below the cost of producing gold from the mines, no serious shock would be felt at first from the new production; and before it had been infused largely into the circulation, the more advanced governments would undoubtedly take adequate precautions against the debasement of the standard. Sane economists would be ready with a programme which would mitigate the immediate effects of the flood of gold and give ample time for consideration of its ultimate effects.

This programme would propose the immediate suspension of the free coinage of gold and would ask the leading commercial nations to enter into an international agreement to this effect. Incidental to this step would be the provision that coin only—and not bullion—should be permitted to constitute the metallic reserves of the banks. Both these measures—the suspension of free coinage and the suspension of bullion holdings in bank reserves—could be subjected to such mitigation or such delay as conditions seemed to justify. In this respect, the great Powers would have the precedents of the action of the Latin Union in first limiting, and then suspending, the free coinage of silver by the agreements of 1865 and later years. The effect of this policy would be to separate the money value of the gold coin from the value of its contents as bullion. This would result from the fact that the government had taken over the monopoly of creating gold coins instead of offering to put the stamp of a certain number of dollars, or francs, or pounds sterling, upon a certain weight of gold when brought to the mint by private holders.

The exchange value of money depends in part upon its quantity in relation to other things, and if increase in the

quantity of the metal disks were suddenly cut off, then increase in the quantity of gold bullion would avail nothing to lower the exchange value of the coins. Gold coins would be in the same position as silver coins to-day, when government monopoly of the quantity issued keeps them at par with gold, though the value of their silver contents may be only 50 per cent. or even 35 per cent. of the gold value declared on their face.

That difficulties would ensue from relegating the standard coins to the position of tokens, and removing them from the influence of new gold production, must be frankly admitted. Such difficulties, however, would not be felt at once in acute form if the leading commercial nations were parties to the agreement to suspend free coinage and to require bank reserves to be constituted entirely of coin and not bullion. With the danger of collapse of values and the destruction of the standard thus averted for the moment, there would be time to consider further measures for increasing the quantity of gold in the coin without changing its legal purchasing power or for the adoption of some form of the multiple standard by international agreement.

This brings us to the subject of regulated or "managed" currencies—a large one upon which to enter here. It may be said, however, that monetary practice has already made long strides in this direction. The operation of the Ricardian theory, that the movement of gold is regulated by changes in the price level of commodities, comes directly into play only in periods of financial upheaval. Since the system of central banking became firmly established, it has been the changes in the charge for the rental of money, expressed through the discount rate, which have come to determine the movements of gold. But the discount rate usually reacts more effectively and quickly on prices of securities than on prices of commodities, and the shipment of securities, by shifting credit balances from one market to another, enables a country to retain the gold which otherwise would have to go out to settle such balances. The part played by commercial bills of exchange in such operations is so important that of late years large accumulations of such bills have been made by the central banks of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Belgium, purchased when they were cheap in order to afford a substitute for the shipment of gold when the exchanges became adverse. Thus, in

the international field, the transfer of obligations has taken the place in a large degree of the transfer of gold; and the transfer of securities, the issue of new loans, and the sale of finance bills have afforded a means of offsetting unfavorable balances.

On this subject of "managed" currencies has grown up a whole body of literature within the past dozen years. Of such currencies, the most striking examples were afforded at first in the dependencies of advanced countries, when the gold exchange standard was set up, with many misgivings in official quarters, as better adapted to actual conditions than the full gold standard. British India, with a circulation chiefly in silver rupees, amounting to more than $600,000,000, is the most conspicuous instance, and she has been followed by the Philippine Islands, Mexico, Panama, and the Straits. Not alone, however, in the outlying parts of the world has the policy been adopted on a great scale of maintaining the value of money by regulation of its quantity and movements. In Austria-Hungary, parity of the local currency with gold has been maintained for several years by the central bank through operations in the exchange and bullion market. Professor Irving Fisher has proposed the extension of these methods by international agreement to the maintenance of a stable gold monetary unit in case the flood of gold from the mines continues to stimulate a rapid advance in commodity prices.[1] This danger has been for the moment averted or postponed by the comparatively uniform production of gold during the past five years and the cessation of the rapid increase in rate which marked the period from 1892 to 1908.

Along these lines of enlightened regulation, through national boards of experts and international agreements, would undoubtedly be found the means of escaping an economic cataclysm in case of a new flood of gold and of protecting the world against the fate of Midas, overwhelmed by the golden wealth which the touch of his finger created.

[1] One of the best discussions of the evolution of managed currencies is that of Professor Maurice Ansiaux, *Les Principes de la Politique Regulatrice de Change*: Brussels, 1910.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SEGREGATION AT WASHINGTON

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

On October 16, 1912, Woodrow Wilson, then the Democratic nominee for President, declared that: "Should I become President of the United States, they [the colored people] may count upon me for absolute fair dealing and for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States." This utterance gave complete satisfaction to those leaders of the colored people and the friends of the race who were urging them to break away from their thraldom to the Republican party and to vote for the Governor of New Jersey on the ground that the country would profit most by the election of the Democratic ticket. For decades previous the colored people, through their blind fealty to the Republican party, had been its pawns, to be used or shoved aside as the case might be. The rôle the colored delegates from the Southern States played in the Republican National Conventions is familiar to everybody; they were exploited and voted in blocks by the bosses who permitted them to over-represent their Southern States. The venality of these colored delegates, real or alleged, is one of the familiar reproaches to the race, though the convention of 1912 showed that they resisted tremendous temptation to abandon Taft and go over to Roosevelt, who more than once had genuinely championed their interests.

Nevertheless, any effort to make the negroes realize that they hold the balance of power in several middle-Western States, and that in independence of either party lies their best political hope, had been largely unsuccessful until the candidacy of Woodrow Wilson. The task of rounding up the colored voters for him was assigned to Judge Robert S. Hudspeth, National Committeeman from New Jersey, the

most conspicuous of the negro workers being Bishop Alexander Walters of New York. It was far from an easy one. Many of the colored men who flocked to Mr. Hudspeth's office were of the same stripe as those of the white race who crowded the other offices of the National Committee—seekers after jobs and seekers after immediate cash. To appeal to the thoughtful colored men was difficult enough; they were loath to break their historic ties with the Republican party, and if they did there was Roosevelt, still attractive, despite his decision that the Progressives should be a lily-white party. Moreover, the educated colored men knew that no colored student had been tolerated at Princeton while Woodrow Wilson was president, while the fact that he was of Southern birth and, if elected, was certain to be surrounded by Southern men, and that he had never expressed himself favorably to the colored people, made the thought of voting for him the more difficult. Nevertheless, the arguments of such colored men as Bishop Walters, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the able editor of *The Crisis,* a magazine with the largest circulation ever obtained by a publication edited by a colored man, told, as did the promise of Woodrow Wilson cited above. Qualified observers believe that many more colored men voted the Democratic ticket in 1912 than ever before.

It was with dismay, therefore, that early in the Administration of Mr. Wilson, whose Cabinet is equally divided between Southerners and Northerners, there became noticeable in certain quarters a distinct hostility to the colored people. For a long time no appointments of negroes were made by the President. Then he nominated Adam E. Patterson of Oklahoma for the position of Register of the Treasury, a place long held by colored men. Patterson's nomination was the signal for outbursts from the most violent negrophobes in the Senate; Senators like Hoke Smith of Georgia, Vardaman of Mississippi, Tillman of South Carolina, and others, declaring that Patterson should not be confirmed, or any other colored man, for an office which would put him over white women clerks. With abject cowardice Patterson rushed to the White House and demanded that his name be withdrawn. Unwilling at this time to meet the issue thus raised, Mr. Wilson consented to his request, unlike Presidents Cleveland and Roosevelt, who, under similar circumstances, put the responsibility on the

Senate by continuing to nominate the colored candidates for office and by giving them recess appointments when the Senate was not in session. Instead, Mr. Wilson appointed a Cherokee Indian as Register. Since then Dr. George A. Buckner of Indiana has, however, been appointed Minister to Liberia, this nomination being confirmed, September 10th.

When a group of citizens holds so few Federal offices as do the negroes, each one takes on a significance far beyond any question of the salary or powers that may be attached to it. This is particularly true of the posts of Minister to Hayti and San Domingo. Not one of the stock Southern objections to negro appointments holds here; these ministers are accredited to colored people where the bogie of social equality cannot be raised. Under Mr. Wilson both of these posts have gone, temporarily, it is said, and doubtless for reasons satisfactory to Mr. Bryan, to white men. The colored people at large accepted this as notice from the White House that the remaining offices heretofore given to colored men were to be taken from them. Alarming as this was, on top of it came the startling news that for the first time in the history of the Federal Government race prejudice was having full swing in some of the Departments at Washington. What had not been dreamed of under Mr. Cleveland, though begun in one office under Mr. Taft, was being attempted under Mr. Wilson—the segregation of negro clerks, both men and women. It appeared that the Secretary of the Treasury had planned to put Patterson at the head of an exclusively negro division upon the plea—to use Mr. McAdoo's own words—"that it would give the negroes an opportunity of national dimensions, to prove their fitness to run, unaided by whites, an important bureau of the Department." Just why this beneficent undertaking was dropped as soon as it appeared that an Indian and not a negro was to head the division has not appeared; if it had all the merit claimed for it, the negroes should not have been deprived of the opportunity of collectively demonstrating their worth, which, in the individual, has long been known to all familiar with the Government's operations.

Careful inquiry by a representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and by newspaper men of the standing of Washington correspondents of the New York *Evening Post* and Boston *Advertiser,* has developed the fact that segregation of colored

employees exists and is increasing, especially in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, in the Post-Office Department, and in the office of the Auditor for the Post-Office, which is a part of the Treasury Department, and that it has begun in the Washington city post-office. As yet, segregation has not been introduced in the Treasury Building, where there are two hundred and seventy colored employees in the corridors and offices together with white clerks. It is defended by Mr. McAdoo as "an effort to remove causes of complaint and friction where white women have been forced unnecessarily to sit at desks with colored men." But there is no statement that there have been many such complaints or that they were heard of under previous Administrations. Nor is it explained why colored clerks are taken out of rooms in which their sole companions are white men, or why, if there should be segregation because of the women, the Government does not segregate all its women clerks. Nor does Mr. McAdoo record the fact that in many instances the white clerks, without respect to sex, have gone to their colored associates and expressed their complete dissent from the Government's caste undertaking. He indignantly denies that poorer quarters have been given to the segregated, but eye-witnesses have told of colored women shut off in an unpleasant alcove in one office; of others quietly forced out of the lunch-room they had been using for nine years past and compelled to go into lavatories at the lunch-hour, of men clerks segregated behind lockers in one corner of a room in the dead-letter division of the Post-Office Department. Poorer accommodations for the segregated are the invariable law of segregation. The assignment of separate toilet-rooms to the races under threats of prompt punishment for failure to obey the rules has been another of the deeply humiliating features of the Washington segregation. To the colored workers all this segregating has been more brutal than a slap in the face. It is as if the great Government of the United States had gone out of its way to stamp them publicly as lepers, as physically and morally contagious and unfit for association with white people. Among them are perhaps veterans of Fort Wagner, of the Crater of Petersburg, and survivors of the triumphal march into Richmond of General Godfrey Weitzel's black brigade; certainly brothers and sisters of the black troopers who were good enough to die alongside of white men in saving

the day at San Juan Hill are now learning to know the gratitude of Republics.

These colored people who are thus branded are not roustabouts, or corner loafers, or worthless laborers. They are educated men and women, college graduates many of them, from all over the country who have passed their civil-service examinations and entered the Government's employ with full faith in its justice, asking merely the right to serve on equal terms with their fellows. The readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW will understand the bitter humiliation of the segregation orders if they can imagine themselves set apart as unworthy by brute authority, but they can hardly appreciate the added sense of injury which comes from the fact that this is an act of the Federal Government. The negroes have borne as patiently as the children of Israel bore their burdens, the wrongs of disfranchisement, the lynchings and burnings of innocent and guilty, the humiliation of the "Jim Crow" car, the constant personal insults of low whites; these were the acts of individuals or of States lately in rebellion. But that the Federal Government, under whose flag they have fought in every war, under whose ægis they are working, which struck their fetters from their limbs, should now take the side of the oppressors in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation—this is what hurts and rankles beyond all else. Is it any wonder that one of the leaders of the race of national renown writes that he has never seen his people so discouraged and so embittered as to-day?

They rightly declare—as must every fair-minded man free from prejudice—that this spells caste. They believe that it is intended to drive them out of the public service by rendering it intolerable for negroes with self-respect; they assert that one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury has already held up the promotion of two colored clerks because of their color. Segregation is, beyond doubt, an entering wedge, and here is the chief significance of it all. Let a precedent be established, and who shall say what the outcome will be, to what lengths despotic officials will take their way by means of discrimination, intimidation, by aboveboard or underhand methods? Who shall prophesy to what extent this caste idea may not be developed in the decades to come? If negroes can thus be set apart contrary

to the spirit of the civil-service law and of the Constitution itself, why not others—Jews, for instance? This phase of it ought to appeal to every supporter of the Woodrow Wilson Administration. Every Administration that comes into power in Washington, whether it be good or bad, must expect to encounter an enormous amount of criticism. The more virile the Government, the more determined it is to put through reforms on behalf of the whole people and to strike at intrenched privilege, the more certain it is to be criticized and to have its motives questioned and assailed. This has been particularly true of the Wilson Administration.

How short-sighted as well as unjust it was, then, for it to have raised this issue of segregation at this time, or, for that matter, at any time! Did it not have troubles enough with Mexico, with the Philippines, with the currency problem—with a hundred-odd things? At the outset of his career as President, Mr. Wilson has, from a politician's point of view, most wrongly and needlessly antagonized one-ninth of the population of this country and its white sympathizers. He has alienated thousands of colored voters in pivotal States, when it would have been so easy to let the situation rest precisely as it was under Mr. Taft. Indeed, it may come to pass that Mr. Wilson will go down to history as the man who set in motion terrible forces for evil without adequate conception or prevision of the dangers he was inviting.

Mr. Wilson has proved himself in many respects a noble and inspired leader with rare political intuition. No one, moreover, can deny that he finds himself in this matter in a terribly difficult position. He is between the devil and the deep sea; on one side the negro-haters so powerful in and out of Congress and official life; on the other side sympathy for the oppressed and disadvantaged, fair play, true democracy, justice, liberty, and an old freedom beckon to him. And his philosophy, if he remains silent and segregates further, will be wrong, his democracy gravely at fault; he has given us beautiful and worthy sentiments in his book called *The New Freedom,* and in his various speeches prior to and since his election to the Presidency. But nowhere thus far do we find any indication that his democracy is not limited both by the sex line and the color line. He fails utterly to see that to discriminate in his democracy against any one is to bring his whole carefully reared edifice crash-

ing to the ground. The principles upon which our democracy rests must apply to everybody without discrimination, as exactly as a law of science, or they are open to doubt at once. Thus, we should not believe in the law of gravitation if it did not apply alike to every human being; we should not think very much of Mr. Marconi's wireless invention if he could transmit only the first half of the alphabet and not the last. It avails the apologists for the President not at all to say that *The New Freedom* applies only to political and economic problems, for what is the whole race problem but an economic and political one? It would certainly be ridiculous for Mr. Wilson, or his publishers, to expect any appreciative reading among the millions of disfranchised Americans, whether they be colored men and women or white men and women, of his theory of the coming of a new political freedom at the very moment when there is placed upon the colored by two of his own Cabinet an official stigma which no amount of appointing to office will remove.

Mr. McAdoo boasts that he has appointed some colored men to office, and retained other deserving ones, but his policy, whether he knows it or not, is to add to the burdens of the disadvantaged, to make life harder for those whom God made in His image, but with a darker skin; to limit opportunity for those who are rising with all odds against them. One of Mr. McAdoo's colleagues in the Cabinet, to the writer's knowledge, has gone so far as to say that the South is in the saddle and negroes should hold only laborers' positions under the Government. Is it any wonder that one of Mr. McAdoo's subordinates, the collector of internal revenue at Atlanta, was quoted in the public press as saying that "there are no Government positions for negroes in the South; a negro's place is in the corn-field," and as having the intention of throwing every colored employee out of office on charges of incompetency drawn and tried by him? This interview has been disavowed by this collector, but what we have not yet had is proof that he has not this policy at heart and will not carry it out as best and as soon as he can. What Mr. McAdoo does not appreciate is that the slightest yielding to prejudice on the part of a high Federal official will find a dozen imitators in the lower official ranks who think by outdoing their masters to curry favor with those in power.

Mr. McAdoo, in defense of Mr. Wilson, than whom he

says "no truer, nobler, and braver soldier in the cause of humanity has appeared since the death of Lincoln," declares that those who would criticize this segregation policy do so unjustly and do "infinite harm to the negro race." What he does not see is that if only one colored man or woman has been segregated it gives the deliberate lie to Mr. Wilson's promise to advance the interests of the race and violates his pledge of absolute fair dealing. The men who are injuring the President are not the defenders of this Government's reputation for honor and of the rights of the colored people, but those subordinates who by their official actions have made dubious the President's word. Wittingly or unwittingly the Wilson Administration has allied itself with the forces of reaction, and put itself on the side of every torturer, of every oppresser, of every perpetrator of racial injustice in the South or the North.

The amazing thing about it is the political stupidity of the policy. It is a blunder one does not expect in men of Mr. McAdoo's mentality; it is as if he and his chief had deliberately set themselves to drive supporters away from them. He has put into the hands of the Republican party an issue which, if they have the sense to use it, may be just the touchstone they are seeking, and give them just the battle-cry they need to bring together their scattered, beaten, and demoralized forces. But the folly of raising this race issue does not stop there. It differs but very little from the one that rent the Union. The great struggle which convulsed the United States was, in its simplest terms, nothing else than an attempt of an aristocracy of cotton and land to create two classes of human beings in this country, the slaves and the free. They were willing to sacrifice the Union and everything else to this end. Those who in this day and generation are seeking to establish two classes of citizens, the disfranchised and enfranchised, to say that there shall be two kinds of Government employees—as does Mr. McAdoo's Cabinet associate—they are on the high road to convulsing anew this land of liberty, which will never know peace and quiet as long as there are discriminations among its citizens. Upon their heads will be the responsibility of forcing the issue. To oppress any group of human beings, or to deny them full equality, is to court disaster. For each repression there is certain to come a terrible reckoning.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD.

ANGLO-SAXON CO-OPERATION AND PEACE

BY AUGUST SCHVAN

THE proud resolve of the United States to keep outside the quagmire of European conflicts has up till now been easily fulfilled. But ominous signs on the international horizon make it certain that the splendid isolation of the Great Republic is soon bound to be a thing of the past. The ever-increasing interdependence of trade, shipping, and finance, of science and of social legislation, is daily making a planetary fabric of the old European network. After the piercing of the Panama barrier this planetary interdependence will be still more acutely felt. The United States will come in closer contact not only with Australasia and Asia but also with those European Powers which strive to draw the lands bathed by the Pacific into the orbits of their political combinations. At the same time the northern neighbor of the United States, with whom its intercourse is daily increasing, stands, so to speak, at the parting of the ways. None can yet tell whether Canada will become a willing satellite of the Motherland in her European aspirations and fears, or whether she and her sister Dominions will be strong and clear-sighted enough to prevent Great Britain from forgetting that it has a greater rôle to play as the center of a globe-scattered empire than as one of the historical powers of Europe.

Whether she desires it or not, the United States will soon have to make up her mind as to what her policy in the new planetary epoch is going to be. She cannot, as in the nineteenth century, simply leave the Eastern Hemisphere alone. In the twentieth century the policy of hemispheres is doomed. Our era demands a planetary policy, and both our era and our planet have great things to expect from the United States.

Few will deny that mankind is growing more dissatisfied as its power over natural resources is extended. This in itself is a warning that the civilization of which we so wantonly boast is in great danger. It is not astonishing that such should be the case. It is a long time since the fatal separation of politics and ethics began. The former have always, as Bismarck said, belonged to "the science of possibilities." The latter have so far never been adjusted to the possibilities of science. And though science to-day is more universal than ever, the absence of ethics in politics was never more conspicuous. This applies particularly to international politics, while the inherent goodness of man is still from time to time able to assert its humanizing influence in the affairs of the commonwealth.

The tremendous counteraction between internal and external politics is nowhere understood. Dishonesty and unreliability which would disgrace private individuals are tolerated in political life. They are almost looked upon as public virtues in international dealings. Any one who knows and remembers the official and the secret history of the international politics of the last ten years would, as a private individual, turn his back on and refuse his hand to most of the heads of state and the leading ministers of Europe. The exalted positions which they occupy naturally bring their craft and their insincerity to bear upon the nations at large. And the evil influence is perhaps more pernicious in a self-governing nation where every citizen, in a measure, is responsible, than in an autocracy where he has nothing to say. Thus it is difficult to see from what quarter redress could come.

In this respect the daily press reports on Mexican affairs are particularly telling. The unveracity engendered by the natural growth of international distrust is served at every breakfast table. The United States has so far the cleanest record in this respect. But her morality in international behavior is probably due to the fact that the Government at Washington has until lately had very few international dealings on its hands. Provided the honorable traditions of such a Secretary of State as John Hay are kept up, the increasing contact with the outer world cannot, however, fail to have a most beneficial influence on the internal affairs of the American Commonwealth.

Nowhere and never was a high ethical purpose more

needed. Through the divorce of ethics and politics the true interests of the majority have long been sacrificed to the momentary benefit of some thousands of unscrupulous individuals. The reaction which at last has set in is equally dangerous to self-government and individual liberty. The people cannot always hope to have a Woodrow Wilson at the White House. It would be but natural that the trend of reaction would follow the lines which it has taken on the other side of the Atlantic. But the immense growth of Stateism, which nowhere has been so patent as in Great Britain, is in itself contrary to the principles of the American Constitution. There is very little difference between the tyranny of a small number of private individuals and that imposed by a host of so-called servants of the State. Through both agencies the free citizen becomes a fettered subject. It may be that his position is less enviable under an all-powerful State whose manifold machinations are often hidden under misnomers. Every one imagines himself to have something to say in controlling the public servants. The greater their number, the more difficult it becomes to exercise this control. The votes of the servants of the State are ever at the bidding of those who voice the tyranny of habit. And the untold ramifications of State authority do not allow the downtrodden to focus their revolt against a personality.

If liberty is not to become merely a dim constitutional phrase, it behooves the American people to take instantaneous action. The urgency, and the gigantic complexity of the task, demands, however, a complete unity of purpose between every kind of internal and external policy. There is not the slightest hope for success unless the polity is moved by one of those ethical revivals which lays the foundation for a new epoch in human history. To-day the chance is ours! And the privilege is unique and greater than it has ever been. We can act, not only for a town, a country, or a continent. What we do will affect the whole planet.

The glorious work that is before us demands the adherence to but one single principle, the principle of personal responsibility. But it is a responsibility which is no longer restricted to the family, the tribe, the nation, or the race. Each personality has at last become responsible to humanity as a whole. For the first time in the wonderful romance of our evolution, distance has been eliminated.

In one sense we have reached a final stage in our development. For the first time we know the ultimate sphere of our activities. All parts of the earth are explored and put into communication with one another. There are no longer unclaimed territories to conquer. Every bit of land belongs to some organized community which forms a more or less influential part of the international Aeropagus.

Consequently the action of each separate organization is bound to influence the whole of mankind as never before. Therein lies the greatness and beauty of national efforts of to-day, therein the excuse for our pleading for energetic participation in international affairs by the United States. If they are really concerned with the liberty of their citizens, they must to-day work for the liberty of mankind. In our planetary epoch, everything which they fail to do for the benefit of mankind will ultimately be to the detriment of their own citizens.

For the present the greatest need of mankind is peace, permanent peace. It alone will ultimately lead to disarmament. To-day the progress of humanity is more hampered by the preparations for war than by the scourge of war itself. Not only do the enormous military and naval efforts of the so-called civilized nations lengthen the hours and shorten the purse of the worker; they limit our existing resources and retard the development of new; they also contravene, hamper, and trammel individual liberty in an ever-increasing degree. There is little doubt that the nefarious recrudescence of Stateism is just as much due to the immense growth of warlike preparations as to the iniquity resulting from a too great concentration of capital. It is evident that there is a close connection between the two phenomena which have their roots in the doctrine of national self-sufficiency. The preparations for war necessitate a gradual extension of the authority of the State, and the wielders of the Iron Fist and the Big Stick are the precursors of those curious friends of humanity who are attempting to make every prospective mother a slave of the State! Notwithstanding their titles, these two, Emperor and President, are the real demagogues, because they incontinently appeal to the time-honored sentiments and carefully nurtured feelings of the subject instead of to the free reason of the citizen.

On the other side, the pacifists commit the same error:

they so disregard reason as to have no other arguments than the prayers and cantations of churches which, founded as they are on authoritative belief and public worship, destroy the feeling of personal responsibility and freedom of thought. Such intolerant institutions always have been and always will be one of the most warlike instruments the fear and ignorance of man ever invented. Even the few among the pacifists who strive to appeal to reason forget that most of the successful financial operations of the day have resulted from wars which enable the rapacious financiers, who at present control the governments of Europe, to exact the most usurious terms for their loans. Converts to the simple theories of *The Great Illusion* never seem to remember that these financiers have often hastened on these same wars by previous loans sometimes forced upon the powers in question by governments intriguing for the benefit of armament firms which in more senses than one masquerade as a national asset. They pay no attention to the monstrosity of the concession policy practised by almost every government; they ignore the fact that the influence which is able to secure very great advantages to a few daring and unscrupulous individuals is due to the military and naval power behind the interceding government, and that this power is the result of the great exertions of a whole nation. Can the tragedy of human stupidity, of unpardonable immorality, go further? To put this question is to answer it.

To succeed, the plea for peace, the appeal for disarmament, must be based on other arguments than those proffered by the pacifists. The utter futility of their propaganda is best shown by the steady increase in military and naval expenditure all the world over. International peace must, like civic peace, be made such a tangible issue that all who offend against it will be brought before the Law. Just as the only true foundation for the common law is the liberty of the individual, there is only one acceptable basis for the Law of Nations, namely, the principle of self-government. Whatever their failings in the past, the Anglo-Saxon peoples to-day stand out in unison as upholders of this fundamental doctrine which alone can guarantee the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number. The depth to which this principle has taken hold of them is borne out by the fact that neither the United States nor the British Empire could to-day be found willing to assume the

government of new conquests. On the contrary, both are unceasingly endeavoring to educate toward self-government the less-developed races whom the relentless onward march of civilization has placed under their temporary control. Such is the avowed colonial policy of these Governments, and of them alone among the colonizing nations of the earth.

The unique position of the Anglo-Saxon peoples is apparent in another and equally important aspect. They form through ethics, which are the keystone of their theories of government, the only possible tribunal before which to-day any disturber of the international peace, any transgressor of the principle of self-government, can in justice be arraigned. They also, and they alone, possess the means of letting any offender feel the force of the Law of Nations. Though they cannot, even if they so desired, prevent all wars, they are to-day in a position to hinder any disturbance of peace on the two great oceans which form the highways of international commerce. It is a position of great responsibility, but also full of marvelous possibilities. If recognized and duly accepted, it is a position which ultimately will lead not only to naval but to military disarmament. Thus mankind will at last be freed from those huge forces on sea and land which, with all the untold interests centering round them, far from preparing for peace, still nurture and foster the primitive war spirit of civilization's infancy.

By limiting their interference with war to the keeping of the peace of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the Anglo-Saxon peoples insure the success which is the unfailing due of a practical policy. They, hereby, in no sense whatever transgress the principles of self-government. The high seas belong to nobody. Peaceful intercourse on their waters is a necessity for the steady development of those relations which put the so wonderfully diversified resources of our beautiful globe within the grasp of each of us. When the Anglo-Saxon world combines to protect the fastnesses and the shores of the two great oceans, it works, therefore, not only for that third part of mankind, which in one way or another owes it allegiance, but for the whole of humanity.

Herein lies the moral strength of the proposition. To make it equally unassailable from a naval point of view, the simplicity of its conception must be followed by a corresponding simplicity in the execution of the policy. Fortu-

nately the geographical position of the two oceans is such that a clear division of the naval responsibilities of each group, which together form the Anglo-Saxon world, is possible. Thus the unity of action, the unity of command, which is so essential to true economy in the employment of naval forces, can easily be secured. Just as the underlying idea for the co-operation between the United States and the British peoples, on account of its simplicity and of its stability, requires no central authority, nor even a formal treaty of alliance to make it acceptable to all concerned, the carrying out of its naval consequences needs no formal consecration.

The division of labor between the two is quite natural. After the completion of the Panama Canal it will be easy for the United States to concentrate her whole fleet in the Pacific and prevent any oversea attack on China. There the open door means more to America than to any other nation. Safe from aggression over the water, the Government of Peking will be able to concentrate its military expenditure on its land forces and thus be in a better position to withstand possible attacks from powerful neighbors than if it also had to squander money on naval defenses.

With the whole American fleet in the Pacific, the Canadian West, Australia and New Zealand, and all the possessions of the British Empire in those waters would be absolutely secure from oversea attack. Consequently neither the British Empire nor the British Dominions need to expend any money in providing against attacks coming over the waters of the Pacific. There the naval efforts of the British Empire could be limited to the policing of the Persian Gulf and other purely local necessities.

While the stars and stripes would secure the peace of the Pacific, the white ensign would render the same service in the Atlantic. The east coast of the whole American continent would be made safe by the only European Power which has explicitly recognized the Monroe Doctrine. It would be possible for the United States to economize on her coastal defenses provided that the British fleet is kept up to a strength that precludes any possible danger of attack across the Atlantic.

The naval burden which, through such a division of labor, would fall on the British Empire is much heavier than that assumed by the United States. For many reasons, it must be borne primarily by the United Kingdom. Its close

proximity to the armed continent of Europe makes it even imperative for Great Britain to provide for a not inconsiderable Home Defense Army. It must be able to repel a possible invader who, however great the naval armament may be, under specially unfavorable meteorological conditions, might manage to escape the British fleet. In view of these considerations, justice and equity make it seem appropriate that any contribution which the British Dominions may think it their duty to offer to the common work of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, be it money or in ships, should be applied toward lightening the heavy burden of the British Empire.

Much confusion of thought would be avoided if the appellation "British Empire" was reserved to that portion of the British realm over which the Imperial Parliament at Westminster has any real control, *viz.*, Great Britain and Ireland, with the Crown colonies, India, Egypt, and all the other dependencies and protectorates. Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are *de facto* outside the proper sphere of any imperial authority, and must for practical reasons continue to be so, unless unsolvable questions of race and immigration shall unavoidably shatter the proud fabric. But notwithstanding the lack of any central machinery for the co-ordination of the self-governing peoples who cluster round the symbol of the British crown, naval co-operation between the five Dominions and the United Kingdom appears more practical than, let us say, between Australia and the United States. A combination of the naval efforts of the British peoples seems, so to speak, to be in the natural order of things. Their display in the Atlantic under one single supreme command has, besides, a very high ethical purpose to fulfill. The United Kingdom shows a much greater proportion of jingoes than either the United States or the British Dominions. It is of the highest importance for the success of the great pacifying task of the Anglo-Saxon combination that this ugly blot on the character of the beloved Motherland of self-government should be eradicated. It is a mission which can best be accomplished by those daughter-nations whose growth to full independence is of so recent date that the mother has not yet lost the habit of listening to their voices. Surely the old English spirit, which has created the wonderful domains of the Anglo-Saxon world by fostering the natural tendency to self-

reliance and self-help inherent in every real man, is not yet dead among the inhabitants of those small islands in the North Sea which form the center of the greatest Empire that ever was. If such is the case, the mother will be proud of her daughters when they, as grown-up sister-nations, tell her that their co-operation can only be had at the price of making the family policy worth while for all its members.

Now none of the Dominions have the slightest interest in the European entanglements of the United Kingdom. The overwhelming majority of the citizens of the Dominions are strongly and rightly opposed to lending their support to any policy which possibly might involve the employment of their direct or indirect contributions to a British Navy for purposes quite outside their concern. If, therefore, the statesmen of Great Britain are sincere in their so often expressed desires to curtail the heavy naval and military expenditure of the United Kingdom, the first thing they ought to do is to revert to that policy of splendid isolation from European political squabbles which in the past has so well served British interests.

As soon as the whole might of the British Navy is exclusively reserved for keeping the peace of the Atlantic, none of the Dominions worthy of the name of Anglo-Saxon, which stands for fairness and justice between man and man, will stand aloof. Made secure in the Pacific by the American fleet, Australia and New Zealand can economize on their military defenses, and Canada, who has the United States to thank for the safeguarding of her Pacific coast, will be fair both to its southern neighbor and to its British connections by assuming her part in policing the Atlantic.

The natural complement of the Anglo-Saxon policy of limiting their foreign policy to the keeping of the peace on the two great oceans is a British withdrawal from the Mediterranean; an already accomplished fact. The few British warships there represent no serious strategic factor. An increase of their number to anything corresponding to the rival fleets of its riverain powers would mean so serious a financial responsibility for the people of Great Britain that it is not likely to take place in spite of all the talk of that section of the British public which is unable to see that the European situation has changed since Nelson's time. Yet an explicit declaration of withdrawal from the Mediterranean is necessary. The presence of any number of British

warships there, in excess of the requirements of localized defense, is incompatible with the avowed intention of the British peoples not to interfere with European politics.

The Mediterranean is of no particular value to the Dominions, and even to the British Empire it is only of secondary importance. If the British fleet is unable to guarantee the safety of its blue waves, the route round the Cape of Good Hope has to be sufficient for imperial purposes. But as the co-operation between the British peoples and the United States would guarantee both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the French possessions from oversea attack, the chances are that the shorter route to India always would be open. France would be able to concentrate her available naval resources in the Mediterranean, where she can count upon the co-operation of both Spain and Greece. The former has identical interests in always keeping open the communications with North Africa. The latter could never throw in her interests with both of the Mediterranean Powers of the Triple Alliance. To further faciliate France's task it would be in the true interest of the British Empire to accompany her withdrawal from the Mediterranean by removing its objection to the opening of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles to the Russian fleet. As long as militarism holds its sway over Europe, France and Russia must march together. France has now reached the climax of her expansion. There is nothing left which she can henceforth hope to lay her hands upon. Syria is perfectly capable and willing to take care of herself in case the Turkish Empire should fall asunder. It is therefore difficult to conceive of a repetition of the old French antagonism toward England. On the other hand, there would be no wheat-ships from Odessa if Russia became hostile. As long as France and Russia are allied they are bound to act in conjunction with regard to the bulk of those British food-supplies which pass the Strait of Gibraltar. In this respect the possession of Gibraltar, Malta, and Egypt is a valuable British contribution toward the safeguarding of those Mediterranean communications which really matter for the United Kingdom. Apart from adequate local defenses these Mediterranean possessions of the British Empire are mainly secured by the inevitable interplay of rival European interests.

As for the pretended danger to India in case the Russian Black Sea fleet were able to enter the Mediterranean, the

foregoing considerations have already given this side of the question its true importance. But as a general proposition, it may be doubted whether a Russian intention to attack India ever existed. At any rate, there is no fear of such an aggression to-day. A Russian attack on India would always have been impossible unless aided by the Indian peoples themselves. They are already to-day much further advanced toward self-government than the great mass of the Russian people. There is no likelihood whatever that they would prefer to exchange the gradually relaxing rule of the British Raj for the tyranny of the Czar.

In order to win the full and unstinted support of the Dominions, Great Britain ought also to release herself from those treaties which imply armed interference on the European continent. This will, more than anything else, convince the outside world of the absolute rectitude and unselfishness of the Anglo-Saxon co-operation. It will give the distrusting peoples of Europe a tangible proof of the sincerity of the British intentions. Then the organization of the British Army can be adapted to colonial purposes exclusively. Quite apart from these considerations, it is difficult to conceive how any serious political or military thinker could in our age have contemplated the employment of the Expeditionary Force on the battlefields of Belgium or France. The telegraph would send the news of its disembarkation to every corner of the British Empire and so flame the spirit of unrest wherever it may be smoldering.

As a matter of fact, the openly avowed desires of the powerful military circles in Great Britain to interfere on the continent are at the back of the latest increase of Europe's armaments. It may not be surprising that these desires should have found a warm welcome among the rank and file of the Tories who look to conscription as the best means to "discipline" the discontented working-men. Nor is it astonishing that their unscrupulous leaders made a party weapon of the German scare. The disquieting feature is that the military caste succeeded in making the Liberals believe that England needs France more than France needs England. During the Moroccan crisis of 1911 it was their leaders who pronounced the ridiculously exaggerated and grossly unfair speeches which are the main cause of the revival of French chauvinism and German popular hatred of England. Thus the latter really reaps what she has sown.

On the whole, the German people may well be excused. They at least have enough sense to understand that the sending of a gunboat with a crew of a hundred men to Agadir could not possibly aim at anything else than to direct French public opinion on the necessity of fair play in Morocco, already endangered by the contradictory tactics of the three foreign ministers who succeeded one another in Paris in the space of less than four months. To the Germans at large the British outburst was incomprehensible. Yet the Kaiser ought to bear the full share of his responsibility. For years the wearer of the shining armor has been studiously nursing the warlike temper of a people which for generations has passed through the mill of universal military service. To call such a man a peacemaker is just as nonsensical as to award the peace prize to the man who grasped the theatrical possibilities of mediating between an exhausted Japan and a tired Russia.

The objection that a refusal to defend the neutrality of Belgium would ultimately involve serious dangers to Great Britain cannot be taken seriously. Germany could not afford to conquer and keep either Belgium or Holland. The modern world knows, or at least ought to know, that nationalities can no longer be subjugated. The German Government has already enough troubles of this kind on its hands. It has had large experience of what nationalist parties mean in its Danes, its Guelphs, its Alsatians, and its Poles. It is unthinkable that it should wish to weaken the dwindling monarchical majority by making it possible for a new Belgian or Dutch party to swell the ranks of its opponents.

The explicit and irrevocable withdrawal of Great Britain from European politics would be of incalculable service to the British Empire, to the Dominions, to the United States, to mankind as a whole. It is the primary condition for a successful Anglo-Saxon combine on which the satisfactory solution of peace and disarmament hangs. Great Britain need feel no false shame in taking this essential step. It is by no means a confession of weakness! But to entirely counteract any possible misinterpretation of the courageous initiative, the strongest naval power should accompany its voluntary withdrawal from the European card-table by a gift of singular magnanimity. Great Britain should withdraw its opposition to the expressed desire not only of the United States, but of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and seven-

teen other countries, that private property should be immune from capture at sea. It is, of course, extremely doubtful whether the general acceptance of this principle would in itself make for a decrease in armaments. The naval profession, the royal and imperial admirals, and the captains of industry who live on the money sunk in warships would at once bolster up the supposed and enticing needs of coast defense both at home and in the colonies. Yet at least the excuse for the barbarous conversion of merchantmen to cruisers on the high seas would be gone. And, what is more, the moral position of Great Britain would be immeasurably enhanced if she made it perfectly evident that she had "nothing up her sleeve."

Standing quite outside the orbits of the two groups in which the armed camp of Europe is divided, Great Britain's influence in the inharmonious concert would be far greater than when she endeavors to play the trombone herself. When it is no longer directly concerned with the balance of power, Downing Street can always raise its voice in favor of moderation and count upon that respectful hearing from both parties which is the reward of a disinterested mediator.

The opportunity for a withdrawal from any direct participation in the quarrels of the dynasties of Europe is at present particularly favorable. The recent increase in the Belgian defenses, together with the outcome of the crisis in the Balkans, where Greece and Bulgaria balance each other, while Rumania and Servia may add their forces to those of the Dual Alliance in preparing for the fulfilment of legitimate national aspirations, and a sober Constantinople might be expected to concentrate its energies upon consolidating Asiatic Turkey, enable France and Russia to look with equanimity on any further increase of the military forces of the Triple Alliance. There is now a balance of power between the latter and the Dual Aliance unaided by Great Britain. Thus her withdrawal, not from her friendships, but from her European engagements, admitted or not openly avowed, though generally understood, becomes almost imperative. It would tranquilize one side without endangering the other.

Among all the severe criticism which has been heaped on the present policy of Great Britain, it should not be forgotten that the United Kingdom in one respect occupies a unique position which makes her singularly fitted to play

a leading part in a planetary movement. Alone of all the great nations of the earth the United Kingdom is an adherent of free trade. Products of all countries can pass her own borders and the borders of her vast empire and compete on equal terms with the results of the labors of her own citizens. It is a truly magnificent position for a preacher of universal peace and good-will, a logical outcome of that principle of self-government of which the ultimate aim is the greatest human liberty imaginable: the possibility to move unhindered all over the globe and to enjoy its infinite resources as far as the limits of time permit.

The strategical distribution of the British and the American fleet will in itself be a most valuable geographical demonstration of the unshakable purpose of the Anglo-Saxon co-operation. From the moment the German people realize that the British fleet under no circumstances whatever can be lured away into the Pacific or the Mediterranean, the preamble of the German Naval Bill will cease to have an appearance of reasonableness. It says that "Germany must have a fleet of such strength that even for the greatest naval power a war with her would involve such risks as to imperil its own supremacy." But if the superior British fleet is always concentrated in the Atlantic and seeks no supremacy elsewhere, the Germans would be no better off if they sacrificed their whole fleet in an effort to diminish the British fleet than they were before. What was left of the British fleet would still control the Atlantic! Logically, therefore, the German people will soon be led to constrain the Imperial Government to curtail the heavy expenditure on a navy which evidently has no reasonable purpose to fulfill.

The Japanese would be in the same happy position. Knowing that nothing could entice the American fleet to leave the Pacific, they could well ask their Government for what purpose it burdens them with naval estimates when it would be evident that Japan was secure from oversea attack and unable to undertake any aggression across the water.

Gradually the same sort of reasoning will be done everywhere. And the reduction of the British and American navies which will immediately follow any diminution of the naval forces of Germany and Japan will hasten both this reasoning and the process of naval disarmament. Eventually the naval interests will become silent.

That this return to common sense will have a powerful

influence on popular opinion concerning purely military armaments needs scarcely to be demonstrated. It will be heightened by the illuminating spectacle of seeing the great naval powers of to-day diverting hundreds of millions of dollars from ships to education. And lest the Continental Powers of Europe should be tempted to increase their land forces by devoting the money saved on the navy to the army, let them become aware of what will happen in Great Britain. The co-operation of the United States and the Dominions will enable the United Kingdom to save so many millions on her naval and military estimates that she can henceforth proceed to train her whole youth for the serious business of life. With every British boy and girl fully prepared to take part in the work of manhood or womanhood, it will be impossible for Continental Europe to compete in international commerce, unless it ceases to turn its cities into barracks. It will have to stop the mad proceeding of letting those of its workmen who least need physical improvement get stale through long years of military service. Military disarmament will follow naval disarmament. The international competition will be transferred to the fruitful field of education.

Thus the co-operation of the Anglo-Saxon peoples will benefit the whole of humanity and their national policy will rest on the only secure foundation the ingenuity of man ever will discover. Seeking no mean advantages from any nation, requiring no alliances with peoples who have not yet been able to attain self-government, neither the United States nor the British peoples need to pander to monarchical or oligarchical interests. True to their own principles both in internal and external policy, the statesmen of the Anglo-Saxon world can carry high the torch of Liberty. Hidden by no protective screen, its vigorous light will soon illuminate the darkest corners of our globe. Self-government will everywhere come to its right. The idea that a self-governing community should wish to interfere with another will become as obsolete a conception as it is an illogical thought. The ethics which regulate the relations of the different communities will be the same as those which serve between man and man. The new freedom will be complete. The State will become the servant of the individual. Its efforts will be directed toward preventing interference with liberty, not toward organizing its destruction. August Schvan.

MUST PROTESTANTISM ADOPT CHRISTIAN SCIENCE?

BY A CHURCHMAN

If correctly reported, the Church Commission on healing the sick says, "Any attempt on the part of the clergy to enter into competition with the medical practitioner by any separate and independent treatment of the sick is to be strongly deprecated, not merely on practical but also on religious grounds." This statement disregards the commands of the Christ. It reveals ignorance of the practical and religious grounds on which the remarkable success of Christian healing is based. It rejects the central fact of the Kingdom of God, which is the superiority of spiritual power over every form of physical phenomena.

The writer would submit the proposition that Protestantism must substantially adopt the faith and practice of Christian Science if its churches are to fulfil their mission to the world. This conviction is the result of several years' critical and philosophical investigation of the doctrines and practice of Christian Science compared with the experiences and observation of many years as a priest of the Church.

The fact that such a proposition shocks the Church sense and meets with contempt is presumptive evidence of its truth. Men do not condemn a movement unless they feel its influence penetrating their prejudices and false positions and awakening them to unwelcome truth. The Church always has denounced and persecuted whatever has not accorded with its inherited traditions and formulated beliefs.

This new-old faith is to be regarded not so much a denomination as a fellowship aiming to realize in daily life the art of being a Christian, the science of which art involves spiritual laws which are as capable of demonstration now as during the life of the Master.

Its scientific value is found in the personal experiences of about a million of its students in every part of the world who work out in their consciousness and acts the same kind of life which was in Christ Jesus. Such testimony cannot be affected by the witness of those who have not had similar experiences. It is unfair to judge them from any point of view than their own, which is the absolute and the spiritual.

All agree in the fact that as church-members they could not find the spiritual help they craved and could not be aided by the ministers to find God or to understand Jesus Christ. In Christian Science they claim to have found satisfaction in these particulars. It is fair to suppose that their statements are true inasmuch as their word was never questioned when they were active members of these churches, and their leaving the churches can hardly be a proof of deterioration, especially in the face of their consciousness of having become better Christians than ever. If they changed their church in spite of the love of the associations they had formed in childhood and many sacred ties, through the push of dissatisfaction because their souls were starving and the pull into a communion where at once they were fed with available and living truth, and realized in membership a happiness upon a higher plane than ever before, it is evident that so far as they are concerned the Church lacked an essential which Christian Science possesses and which the Church must adopt to retain such members. If a majority of these people tried every resource of medical science and received no benefit, and lost all hope when told that nothing more could be done for them, and reluctantly and with no faith in Christian Science tried it and found healing through the apprehension of Truth, then for them this religion is identical with primitive Christianity. Their testimony shows that they would not have gone into Christian Science had the Church been as Christian and as scientific.

In our churches to-day multitudes feel the same dissatisfaction at the materialism, the selfishness, and the absence of a sense of God. The most conservative apologists of our Church admit that somehow, somewhere, something is wrong, but find in the fact of such admission an evidence of spiritual life which they hope will become supreme after the forms, forces, and truths in this transitional age shall have been precipitated as the base of a new order. The Church

querulously wonders why so many thousands are leaving it for agnosticism, socialism, and material pleasures when it only has the words of life. To save itself it frantically resorts to every kind of attraction to interest people. It shifts its activities into social, civic, economic, and political reforms, institutes social commissions, urges the federation of national denominations, and proposes very pretty schemes for church unity, and some absurd plans of evangelizing the whole world. The Church seems afraid to venture on the purely spiritual life which all people crave. It is as true of a church as of a man, "If one have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His." Christian Scientists the world over testify that having the mind of Christ is the goal toward which they are daily striving and which they could not find as the aim of the churches they left. It seems clear that Protestantism must adopt this purpose as its reason of being if it would hold and attract individuals of the same disposition as those who have left its communions. It may be many years before our Church will grow into the spiritual conditions which make possible an adoption of the essential contents of Christianity which distinguish Christian Science. Thirty national denominations allied in federation, with twenty million communicants, refuse to recognize it, although it is working for the same end and in a better spirit. The denunciations by many ministers reveal a lack of thought and of kindness which raises a suspicion that the fear of losing members rather than love of truth may account for their hostility. Perhaps, because they resent the impertinence of mere laymen teaching us accredited and infallible guides how to find God!

If we study the relation of the Church to its work of salvation, the need of the adoption of Christian Science becomes imperative. Our failure to successfully apply Christianity to existing conditions is preventing its function of regenerating the world.

The Church must serve the people with religious truth. We have an army of over thirteen million children of school age marching into citizenship and control of our government without any Sunday-school instruction, and many millions more growing away from the Church. About fifty million persons are outside of any direct influence from our churches.

The publicity revealing so many shocking evils in our

civic and social life and economic relations makes clear the fact that the Church so liberally distributed in all parts of our cities and country has failed to prevent their existence. The Church stands for the deliverance of the country from everything false, unlovely, and debasing, and many church-members are creators of these evils. The head of the clearing-house for defectives says: "In New York we have twenty thousand defective children, largely the direct result of the overwork and overstrain to which their mothers are subjected in factories. Conditions are worse here than in any other country of the world." In order that a few thousand may have large wealth, millions suffer. Two million children who should be at school and at play are compelled to work in canneries, mines, and factories. Two hundred and fifty thousand are being starved or their vitality is lowered by adulteration of foods.

There are more inmates of our insane asylums than of all our colleges and universities,—that is, we are destroying minds faster than we are giving higher education.

The Church stands for everything normal, but does not prevent conditions largely social which wreck health.

Every year millions die of preventable diseases notwithstanding the efforts of the best medical skill, and about all the Church does is to advise the bereaved to be resigned to the will of God, "who knows best, and does not willingly afflict or grieve the children of men." Multitudes live below the living wage, unable to lay up for old age or the rainy day, but it does not seem to interest the Church, which is satisfied with theoretical teaching of the law of Love. What an invective against our Church as a regenerating power are the child-labor scandals and white-slave traffic, arson trusts, vice trusts and thief trusts, gambling, alcoholism and drug habits, sickness, slums, poverty, insanity, sexual diseases and crimes of all sorts, and the cursing, the moaning, and the baby sobs of industrial slaves!

We of the Church know that every one who puts things of material life above the values of human well-being is indirectly a party to the system of oppression of divine manhood. Yet we retain these bad members because they are sound in doctrine and help support the Church. It points with pride to its gift of the hundred million dollars annually to charities and its larger amounts for education, church support, and missions. As four per cent. of our population

at the most productive age is not only incompetent but a burden on liberal givers, such a sane management is demanded of Christendom that this proportion should be gradually reduced and incompetency be for ever prevented by destroying its causes. The " labor question " is played with by those who, constituting the Body of Christ, lack His earnestness when He said to the eminently respectable church-members who economically enslaved the people, " Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!"

The trouble with the Church is that it is too materialized to effect spiritual results. Even most of its good works are of the carnal mind life. No change of name can cause a change of character. No federation or union of materially minded denominations can ever produce organized world power to bring in God's Kingdom. Churches living for themselves do not even see the real Christ because the spiritual kingdom can be discerned only spiritually.

The practical effects of the adoption of Christian Science would be that not one member of the Church would be found in any way connected with business which puts human well-being below material interests. The evils of diseases in wrecking homes and bringing into being children cursed with sterility, blindness, deformity, paralysis, and insanity would be banished. Three million people in this country who are abnormal and who cost us annually two hundred millions would ultimately be saved. Illness and poverty and sin would be prevented, and the spiritual kingdom would be realized.

Such a statement would be chimerical were it not demonstrable. Hundreds of thousands bear witness to having risen through Christian Science into a spiritual consciousness in which sin, poverty, and sickness cannot exist. Here is the dynamic of Love, which can regenerate the world and elevate the underworld of crime and misery to heavenly places of holiness and joy.

The writer by personal investigation and critical observation has found desiderata in Christian Science which do not obtain in our average churches. How desirable it would be if our churches, like theirs, could have ninety per cent. of their members regularly attend a midweek meeting, irrespective of unfavorable conditions!

No topic of conversation is of such interest to Christian Scientists as their faith and practice. They talk of it with

joy, and practise it with enthusiasm. With us it is taboo, or spoken of with apology and usually voted stupid.

They never resort to the methods of raising money so common in the average church. There is no discrimination between rich and poor made invidious by pew rentals. They are daily striving to have the mind of Christ Jesus and are slowly becoming Godlike.

Their text-book says that no one can become a true Scientist until he leaves all to follow Christ, and their persistent endeavor is to leave every carnal attraction to gain the life hidden with Christ in God. Their courtesy and patience under exasperating treatment are unusual. It does seem as if they come nearer to loving their enemies than any other class of Christians. They so respect individuality that they will not serve or treat even those who need their help unless asked to do so.

Healing sickness is with them as much a religious duty as destroying sin. Both are simply a manifestation of the inner spiritual life which they are constantly striving to have more abundantly. This practice of primitive Christianity by the disciples for nearly three hundred years, which was lost to the Church when the Holy Spirit was driven out, is now undoubtedly restored in Christian Science. If the Church should adopt it, there would be manifest the strongest evidence of the renaissance of Christianity.

The glory of our Church is its missionary work, but there is a deplorable lack of knowledge, interest, and appreciation concerning its extension, activity, and support. The Christian Scientist is an enthusiastic propagandist, a radiating center of his belief, not forcing his faith upon any one, but letting his good works reveal his Father. In a few decades these people have extended the knowledge of their faith to every part of the world. Every day in every land they are systematically studying the same selections from the Bible and from their commentary on it. Lecturers make trips around the world, teaching clearly just what Christian Science means. A monthly magazine, two weekly papers, and a daily newspaper, which is a model of Christian journalism, are sowing the seeds of Truth everywhere.

The fine type of Christian character, the striving to have the mind of Christ Jesus, the art of healing as an expression of its practical theology, the business prosperity, pure

living following clean thinking, the spirituality, the loyal citizenship to the Kingdom of God with its ardent missionary spirit—these are the undoubted fruits of the Spirit. Such fruitage is not common in the average church.

Besides this superior product, the theology of Christian Science is more scientific than that which is popularly accepted by the churches. To them the primary quest is the Kingdom of God, and they realize that in their increasing material prosperity things are indeed thrown in as the promised by-product.

Both they and the Church agree that the God, whose is the Kingdom, is the one and only God. He is Spirit, Love, Life, and Truth. He is infinite Personality, Omnipresent, Omniscient, and Omnipotent. We believe this as a reasonable proposition. They believe it as a working Principle.

Our God is an enlarged likeness of sinless man. He comes down to us by incarnation in Jesus and is diffused through humanity by the Holy Spirit. We call Him by prayer and meet Him in hallowed localities and in sacraments. Often instead of worshiping God we find we are worshiping only an idea of Him, and a dead idea at that.

The Christian Science concept of God is free from the material limitations of anthropomorphism. It makes God infinite Principle, Love, everywhere present in all the fullness of His infinite Personality. On this concept it bases its beautiful theistic idealism. God is what He is wherever He is. In such a presence completely filling the universe with His Being and its manifold expression, other gods are unthinkable; so are sin and things false and selfish. The average Churchman constructs his own Pantheon. Because his God sits aloof from human interests he gives his little divinities God's place in his life and conduct. The Scientist, knowing only one God, is a zealous destroyer of false gods in his own life and everywhere.

Wherever God is, He is omniscient, and therefore needs not to be told what we want as if He had not thought of our needs when He created the world. Everywhere He is omnipotent, hence any power contrary to Him and His purposes and laws is inconceivable. He is everywhere operative and operating all the while, and is always available for every one's needs. From these facts of absolute and infinite Being, the Christian Scientist draws practical conclusions and applies them to his daily needs.

The Church makes the creation of man chiefly material. Christian Science makes it wholly spiritual.

Both teach that man was made in the image and likeness of God.

The Church holds that sin destroyed this image and that God sent misery, disease, and death as a curse. Total depravity and original sin became racial and universal facts. Christian Science believes that because man was made like God he is thereby perfect. The real, spiritual man could not fall. The material man cannot be real, nor can real man be both material and spiritual. If man, separated from God, could so overcome evil that he could ultimately become like God and reach a stage where he would be unable to fall, then God would have given to fallen man the power to create, with the help of sin, a superior man to the one He Himself made without the aid of sin.

As to how there could be sin in a perfect creation, no explanation is found which can harmonize conflicting difficulties. The Church says God gave man free-will and foresaw that by its exercise he would disobey. By this decree, He was either not able or not willing to prevent the fall, and by it the entrance into the world of sin and death. He used the situation, however, as a background to display His mercy and love to man. By blood atonement He would become reconciled to man, and so man would be saved. Again, making a better man by the aid of sin than the one created in His image.

The problem of how the illusions of false sense came into seeming existence is not as interesting or important to Christian Scientists as the problem of how to escape from discord in order to enter harmony. It is their business, as it was the Master's, to uncover the nature of error vitiating the human consciousness and to show men the principle which, applied, will effect its elimination.

The Church and Christian Science agree that only through the atonement of Jesus Christ can man be saved. Against the numerous theories of the atonement we state the Christian Science interpretation as follows: God never needed to be reconciled to man, but the natural man must be reconciled to God. Jesus the Christ came to reveal our essential oneness with God and the consequent perfection of our spiritual selfhood. This realized would cause us to crucify whatever tended to

separate us from Him. God is regarded as just as much interested in our individually doing our part in the atonement as He was in Christ Jesus doing His part as the type or pattern for humanity. The life of Jesus was a manifestation of His oneness with God, the source of all power and of the sovereignty of spiritual understanding over all the beliefs of material sense. By His realization of this atonement He healed the sick, cast out devils, walked on the water, hushed the storm, raised the dead, laid down His life to take it again and to rise out of the material bodily sense of being into the spiritual realities of God's Kingdom. This revelation of man's oneness with the Father makes one conscious of his perfection as the reflection of the perfect God. Being at one with God, our individuality is no more an independent entity than an idea coming into our consciousness can be an exclusive possession. Our life is simply an expression of the infinite Life as an idea is the expression of universal Truth.

The explanation of Christian Science healing is found in the fact that all evil is the phenomenon of false sense, which is dispelled by the dawning of Truth in human consciousness. The lie of evil being cast out, its phenomena of sin and sickness must disappear. If we explain the presence of sickness as sent by God, we have Perfection sending imperfection, Harmony expressing discord, and Truth originating falsity. A good God then must think evil. If indeed God could send it, only goodness should be seen in it, and man should regard it as normal and something to thank Him for, and might be pardoned for holding that Jesus and physicians and health engineers in trying to prevent it and heal it are opposing the Divine Will, and that the Church is right in not trying to remove physical evils. Their healing is an expression of working out their redemption by atonement, not as a theory, but as a divine organic oneness which must be personally demonstrated to reveal its reality. Gaining the consciousness of divine indwelling and of God's Kingdom within them, they by faith and spiritual understanding know that sickness cannot be in the same presence, and that these ills are unreal, though to false sense intensely and painfully real. They reason that if God be everywhere present, anything unlike Him can be nowhere present. If He be omniscient, error and its inharmony can be never in such a presence. If omnipotence be everywhere, no power can be

anywhere against it. If illness be real, it must be outside of God or within Him. Omnipresence makes it impossible for it to be outside of Him. If within Him, then there would be evil in the Divine Mind—also impossible.

If this idealism which is so real produces better lives, healthier and purer living than Protestantism is producing, and its fruitage proves to be identical with that of primitive Christianity, the Church must adopt it as the true science of the Christian life. It has the dynamic of a faith which worketh by Love, opens spiritual understanding, makes God a real presence, and by thus transforming the life becomes a world power.

To realize its mission as a world-regenerating life, it must appeal to that which is fundamental in every religion, race, and civilization. It must demonstrate its efficiency to improve upon the inherited beliefs from which they get their inspiration. The Protestant missions in their aggressive, heroic, and co-operative ministry are heavily handicapped by the failure of the Church to regenerate its own life and make its own country come up to the standard which it earnestly holds up to the so-called heathen. The Kingdom of God removes sin, sickness, poverty, fear, worry, and their results. The regenerating Church as part of the expression of that kingdom must show all nations how in its own country it has been able to do this. Until this has been done among its own members at least, it cannot expect to demonstrate its practicality. It fails to do this. Christian Science organizes no civic, social, or political movement to destroy evil, but discloses evils in the individual, and applies divine Truth, Life, and Love to eradicate them. It removes economic distress and slavery by the love coming from the atonement of Jesus Christ. Its teaching states the ground of economic freedom and shows the law by which poverty may be abolished anywhere in the world. To effect this, one has only to follow Jesus in praying to God as the spiritual source of all supply. Thousands have become missionaries bearing witness to its efficiency in relieving them from penury and business distress.

To remove illness as a cause of many resulting evils, one must do as Jesus did, who opened His life to let God through upon those who by faith opened their lives to receive Him. Our Church is recognizing this duty as its function, as seen in its Emmanuel Movement and its Commission for insti-

tuting an office of healing by anointing and prayer. Protestantism is not competent to teach the full Gospel unless it includes healing the sick as an evidence of God's presence in the lives of its members, and adopts the Christian Science method as practically identical with the way of Jesus Christ. To destroy sin is, among our churches, largely a matter of egoistic will-power. The way of Christian Science is to see the sin disclosed by some temptation and to bring into the consciousness the sense of Christ's Truth which expels the sin. This is based on the way Jesus resisted temptations. He kept sin out by always keeping God within. God as the only Cause can effect only positive holiness and therefore utterly abolishes its negations.

The Christian Science interpretation of the Bible gives catholicity for a world-transforming religion identical with the primary and ultimate purpose of Christ's Christianity respecting sin. It is one with the Old Testament tracing of evil to a perverse will. It also is one with the Aryan philosophy, which finds that error, or a disturbance of the harmony of Truth, is the cause of sickness and sin. The expulsion of negation by its positive is the most effective way of driving out sin and sickness and their resultant evils. It destroys false beliefs because when Truth comes in, error, the unreal, goes out. When Life enters, discords, sickness, limitations, and want leave. When Love is admitted, fear, worry, and all forms of selfishness are cast out. Everything unlike God, who is so real to them, becomes nothing in their consciousness. As their text-book says, "One infinite God (good) unifies men and nations; constitutes the brotherhood of man; fulfils the scripture, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself'; annihilates pagan and Christian idolatry—whatever is wrong in social, civil, criminal, political, and religious codes; equalizes the sexes, annuls the curse on man, and leaves nothing that can sin, suffer, be punished or destroyed."

These points are enough to show the superiority of Christian Science as a spiritual commentary on the Bible and as a guide into the Truth as it is in Christ Jesus. Yet it is simply what the Church holds theoretically, without, however, applying to conduct the logical conclusions drawn from its theology.

The Church has failed to appreciate it because it does not care to find out if these things be true, and catches up in-

correct and partial expositions of it and accepts as true claims of callow enthusiasts whose healing too often is rather a mental massage and thought manipulation than the working of God as Truth. Even when carefully studied, there are often confusion and repulsion because words which are symbols of material objects must be used to convey spiritual reality, and also because to see spiritual concepts requires spiritual perception. Back of all misunderstanding, however, is unmistakable evidence of what it is worth by what it has done for many hundreds of thousands in saving them from sin, shame, poverty, sickness, and despair, which the churches of which they were members could neither do nor show them how to have it done.

It stands related to Protestantism somewhat as the primitive Church to the Jewish religion.

Against materialism it is the most powerful protest ever known, destructive of it by its constructive life as spiritual only and expressive of absolute being. Against caste and exclusive selfishness it is building up a democracy of those who are members one of another and all equal as children of God. A million and more, all laymen, who have come out of slavery to the false are fighting an inspiring campaign to abolish the whole body of sin, poverty, disease, and death.

In its results it is proportionally more successful in healing than medical science, and in spiritual salvation than the Church.

Against that type of socialism whose slogan is "No God, No Master," it presents the true conception of God unlike the one the Church has so long taught us, a Being so real and attractive as to compel adoration. Against "No Master" it so presents Christ Jesus as the One Master that when these wild protestants against the social order curse the Church they hurrah for Jesus and call Him Master.

It seems to be the only power in religion to retard and return the tide that is setting away from God and the Church by revealing the God whom they in heart ignorantly worship and whom on their lower plane they desire but see not.

A CHURCHMAN.

THE MATERIALISTS

BY MARGARET SHERWOOD

In the green world of winds and rains
  The tyrants of this age
Have bound the human soul in chains
  Within an iron cage.

And loud through earth's highways they flout,
  With strident voices call:
"There is no sky. The sun is out!
  The prison cell is all!"

Though they shut out with molten bars
  Meadow and sky and sea;
Oh, break them open to the stars,
  And let the soul go free!

SIDNEY'S APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE

Reading, I seem to hearken one who sings
  A many-cadenced song, divinely wrought
In nobly-measured prose, which subtly brings
  The music of Elizabethan thought.

Margaret Sherwood.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON: A REMINISCENCE

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

It may be said at once that the authors of the biographical comment on the *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*[1] have done their part with taste and discretion. I have no means of knowing how they shared the work between them, but I imagine that a large part of the comment was written by Miss Norton. What I know is that the work is always so done as to place the structural facts before the reader with entire clearness, and leave him in possession of them unhampered by supposition or conjecture. The admirable effect is to allow the letters to tell the story, which is of the slightness characteristic of the lives of scholars. It is only when a scholar struggles for life as well as for letters that the incidents of his struggle have the poignant interest of those in the careers of other notable men: men of the world, and not of the study. The career of Norton had no such incidents; life and letters came smoothly to him by an inherited ease of condition and a birthright of learning. If there were any American purple, one might say he was born in the purple; as it is one may say he was born in the fine linen, the finest of our American weave and fiber, the lawn of the New England minister's Genevan bands. More than almost any other prominent New-Englander he was of the Brahminical caste, and was marked equally by the Calvinistic severity of his remotest Puritanic ancestor, the Rev. John Norton of Hingham, and by the Unitarian lenity of his immediate ancestor, the Rev. Andrews Norton of the Harvard Divinity School. Their blend became in him a moral

[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton.* With Biographical Comment by his Daughter, Sara Norton, and M. A. de Wolfe Howe. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

force making for civic righteousness and an esthetic conscience endeavoring as unbrokenly for the elevation and direction of art in all its phases among us. The strain of poetry, delicate, pure, in the devotional verse of his father, so almost entirely ceased in the son that it is with a sort of incredulity one comes upon a few of his graceful lines in this record. From the first he gave himself to learning; at the very first, when the child's intelligence began to stir in him, he had the quaint ambition of editing his father's sermons. But when the earlier learning-years were past, and the working-years were immediately before him, it was quite by his choice, if not altogether his desire, that he took his part in practical affairs. That is, after a certain amount of office work, he went out supercargo to India, as the custom was for well-qualified or well-friended Bostonians in the eighteen-thirties and forties, when the deep-sea commerce of the port was a condition and not a tradition of great prosperity.

But if business is war, his experience of it did not silence his devotion to letters. In the midst of it he writes home to his family of what he sees in the same mood as he wrote his *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* long after he had laid down the arms of the commercial recruit. Business had been his choice for the time, but he was dedicated by nature and culture to that sort of censorship which after his return home became his office to the end of his days. There were summer changes of place, earlier to Newport and later to Ashfield. There were sojourns abroad, pretty well everywhere on the continent, but mainly in Italy, and almost equally in England; France and Germany appealed indefinitely less to him and left scarcely a trace upon his work. But with all these journeys and sojourns, there is a sense of his permanence in Cambridge. He married and his happy married life began there in the gentle old house where his life began. His children grew about him; then in one of their sojourns in Europe his wife died. He came home to Shady Hill and there, with the long summers at Ashfield and some brief visits to England, he aged slowly in his not essentially varied occupations of editorship, authorship, and professorship till after the ample leisure from them which he took, he died where he was born, like Lowell, the earliest loved among the men dear to him.

In these letters to such a variety of friends as few men

have made of their acquaintance, there is an extraordinary equality from first to last. They keep from first to last the youthful affection which their appeal grows almost impatiently into. Whatever interest is in hand it becomes under his touch a tie of amity between him and each of his correspondents, and he does not seek to bind one more than another. The reader will not fail to note how almost unfailingly the letters are not only expressions of affection for his correspondent, but are like the older fashion of letters in being report and debate of the world's affairs, letters, politics, morals. They address themselves to very many of the most important and best-known men of our two countries of America and England on these terms; but to some obscurer yet not less important man they will have the same reach beyond the personal to the human interests. He could not sit down to talk with another, whether by the spoken or written word, without wishing to talk seriously, and he would make occasion for this, if he did not find it, though so much a man of the world as he would not force the talk beyond smallness if that were the measure of his interlocutor, but he would then make it brief as well as small. Some of his correspondents are dearer friends than others, but his constancy is the same for all; and his goodwill is promptly responsive to the good work of the obscurest beginner. Him, too, he tries to make his friend, his lover, and not for the time, but with enduring faithfulness to the bond established by his own kindness.

His letters express his nature better than any comment could, and it would not be useful to repeat from them in other terms the story of his life. But I should like to tell the story of my own acquaintance which his most hospitable spirit turned to friendship with him. It began more than fifty years ago with our meeting at the house of a friend to both in New York, when it appeared that he had been a lenient reader of those letters from Venice to the Boston *Advertiser* which were made soon afterward into *Venetian Life,* and the talk was lighted with the glow of love for Italy which was then so genial in Cambridge people. I knew him only as Lowell's associate in the editorship of The North American Review, but he suffered my young ignorance of his distinctive qualities with a patience which might well have been slightly ironical. When a few months later I went to live in Boston I found that my ignorance was not

remembered against me. It was thought that I had best understand living in Boston as living in Cambridge for the greater advantage of my subeditorial work on the *Atlantic Monthly;* and Norton with his whole household joined in the search which developed the fact that there was not a house for me to be had in the whole university town. The era of expansion had not yet come to a place so temperamentally self-contained, though the great Civil War had been fought to the final effect of overbuilding everywhere else. For want of a roof over our heads in Cambridge we remained domiciled in Boston with a landlady whose enterprises extended to the quiescent real estate beyond the Charles. She had found a small house which she was beating down in price that she might buy it and sell it again at a price to be promptly put up; but the negotiations lagged. When Norton knew of the affair he said that he would put me in the way of buying it from the actual owner, and that he should have a particular pleasure in balking the deal. He indorsed my note on a second mortgage, and I took possession of the house which his help and the law's kindly fiction enabled me to feel I owned.

I suppose that with due reservations Norton liked my way of writing, but I think that I was personally acceptable to him and his when we became neighbors because I was still involved in that afterglow of Italy which I hope will never quite fade from my life. The moment was indeed superlatively fortunate for such a youthful Italianate as I, because it was the moment when Longfellow was submitting his translation of the " Divine Comedy " to the criticism of his friends, and I, unworthy, was counted among them. Norton, as I have elsewhere told, was of the chiefest and wisest; and when the last canto of the " Paradiso " had been read before them, and the last supper eaten, it was for every reason consoling to know that he was about undertaking a version of the " Vita Nuova." In his house at Shady Hill the criticisms and suppers were continued the following winter, and the sense of them is mystically mixed in me with that of the ghostly snows and moonless thaws through which one penetrated to the brightness and the cheer indoors. The paths that led to the friendly house were already known to me, but I had not learned to know them well before the family was away for the summer to Ashfield, and I frequented it most in the winters which still prevail in my re-

membrance of it. Our own little pine box on the neighboring lane, and the Venetian palace we had so recently exchanged for it, were not less modern in some things. There was a furnace, but to the last there was neither gas nor electricity in the house at Shady Hill. A large moderator lamp, student lamps, and candles supplied the lighting, and the heating was mainly from the fires on the hearths. The most constant and abundant of these was that which warmed the large oblong study, where the books ranked from floor to ceiling on the eastern wall helped the pines without to keep the place against the cold. At the southern end of the room long windows opened to the floor; the northern reach of it was commonly shut off with its less used books and its table of prints and maps. Deep armchairs faced the fire; between it and the northward wall of books stretched the study-table with its orderly array of stationery and the latest books and such weekly reviews as *The Spectator* and *The Nation,* if there are other such. A very few pictures were hinged against the shelves of books; at the right of the fire the amplest wall space was filled by a rich canvas of Tintoretto. Here our critical circle had its meetings; and here, during the forty or fifty years that I knew him, at irregular but gradually lengthening intervals I saw the scholar who had known how to endear himself to my shyness by such graces of mind and heart as I have known in no other. In the evening there was the soft brightness of the lamp, and the cheer of guests and kindred; it was mostly the family, nearer and farther, that filled it with presences that one after another became absences. But somehow I associate the man and place with the light of the afternoons in which the fires of the hearth were paler than at night. It seems to me that this was his most characteristic time; it was still morning with me when he began to welcome me there, but it was already early afternoon with him; and at last it was the hour "between the dark and the daylight." He was never quite a young man to my sense, and from first to last I see him sitting in his deep chair before the fire, listening willingly, talking willingly, and tempering my own mostly too eager modernness with a sort of dissenting sympathy.

I shall not be able to recall incidents; there were not many incidents, and I am afraid that what I shall be able to offer in characterization of him cannot be consecutive and will

not be definite. But I remember that when he came home after that long absence in Europe, with his life broken in two, and the half only left him to make of it what he could on earth, there was a distinct change in his religious belief; in his religion there was none and never could be, because religion was his nature, whatever he believed that he believed. When I first began to know him he had not yet left the old moorings of his faith; but held that Christianity dwelt in the four gospels and not satisfyingly elsewhere in the Bible. Now, I learned that he no longer accepted the Christianity of the four gospels. A few years later when we were once going up to Ashfield together we had a long talk about the old undying question, whether if a man died he should live again. He said that our notion of a future life was mainly from the Greeks who, rightly seeing in themselves such power and splendor of intellect, could not believe themselves of the same make as the beasts that perish, and out of this negation grew the affirmation of their immortality. He fully recognized the great civilizing and humanizing influence which this belief had been, in consenting that its rejection by mankind might mean a deluge of immorality sweeping the world under it; but at every risk and at every cost, he stood for the truth. Then again, after many years, I was once with him in his study, in the light of some pale afternoon, when he said, wearily, that he wished men could drop the whole affair, that since they never had found out and never could find out about it they would cease the useless and hopeless quest. He spoke severely, impatiently, as a man does when he condemns in himself the vice which he knows he shares with others.

But his make was essentially religious, Biblical, Puritanical, and, however he would have imagined himself Hellenic, he was in his heart Hebraic. That is, when he thought he was supremely loving beauty, he was supremely loving duty, the truth which is in beauty, and is inseparably one with it. We none of us make ourselves quite clear to others, however clear we are to ourselves, so when Norton in teaching about art seemed of necessity to renounce modern art, especially American art, he was keeping a reserve of kindliness for its possibilities, which he would most gladly enlarge to any hopeful instance of it, any expression of the spiritual beauty of art. At first hand I know nothing of his relations to the Harvard students whose devotion made him

for twenty-five years the most conspicuous and influential of Harvard teachers. His point of view could not fail to be failed of by many; the many who did not fail of it altogether could not seize it perfectly. I fancy this may have been quite the case with those who meant to make practical use of his instruction, and not merely to avail themselves of so much culture as they should find in it. But the students who rebelled against the unsparing idealism could when they did something ideally good, be sure of his praise. They might talk violently against his precept, but if their practice paralleled it they could the more rejoice. I venture to think that his defect as a critic lay in his quality of prophet. From what he knew of past conditions and what he knew of present conditions he predicted the future; but no man can safely do that. This affected his vast influence when the student came to live by his doctrine; in generals his teaching might seem to inculcate despair, but when it came to particulars he was an unsurpassed critic. I can affirm this from my own experience. Instinctively I would have forborne to ask his advice about what I meant to do; but I went to him once with a thing I had done, my paper on Lowell, namely. He said it was a collection of sketches and not a portrait; he was kind enough to the sketches, but somehow they must be pulled together; then I wrote a final paragraph which I hoped and which he said did the work; and I have always felt myself indebted for his censure which made me save the day. But I remember another criticism of his which in a generality did the effect of a specific instance. I was once so taken with the poetic realism of Crabbe's *Tales* that I fancied doing some like studies of American life. Norton predicted that I could not because of the thinness, the poverty of the American background; and my experiment found it so.

Throughout my witness of his life, which was not constant, and I do not suppose was more intelligent than constant, I was often surprised by that specific hopefulness underlying his general despair. He would lament the state of our literature, but no man would greet more eagerly, more liberally any token of life, any fresh promise of beauty in it. His No, which came first, was qualified by the latent Yes which it was so apt to spell in the exceptional instances. It was not easy to hold out against him if he did not like the thing you liked and were defending; and he

could be very penetratingly insistent when he wanted to make you think with him.

He was very inflexible concerning principles; he would have none of my doctrine that in equality was the only social righteousness and happiness; and I felt that in his relentless difference from me he was putting a strain on his unbroken kindness, which was all it could bear. I am not saying or meaning that he was an aristocrat, or was so much "a Tory in his nerves" as Lowell. With less profession of democracy he was quite as near a realization of it; he could not so much as Lowell love the common or commoner man for his humorous originality, but he could as truly fellowship what was good in him. I cannot claim that I knew him very well on this side, but it appeared to me that there was light on it in the passionate regret with which a very common man spoke of his death to me on the sunny bench in the Public Garden the day after he died. I wish I could remember the words; they implied and revealed a brotherly relation to such men which I had not imagined of him. Such men, common men, are not so hard to be brother to as those poor in taste whom we call vulgar; yet even with these he could be tender, as he could also be severe where severity was better for them. I suppose if it had ever come to a definition of the disappointment with America which he undoubtedly felt, and had sore cause to feel, he would have blamed the vulgar and not the common for it; for the common there was always hope and future; for the vulgar none. I am not offering these as his words or his ideas, and I should not feel justified in attributing to him a preference for any order of things above ours. Of all other orders he praised the English order most; he was often lifted by a high enthusiasm for its possibilities of good. His friendship with the best sort of Englishman kept his love of their order alive, yet once when he had spoken glowingly of England and I asked him, "Well, after all, if you could change, would you rather have been an Englishman than an American?" he answered, "No, if I could choose I would rather have been American," as if here was still the world's home of Opportunity. In a letter to that very remarkable student of our life, J. B. Harrison, whom Norton loved and befriended as long as he lived, he wrote:

I agree with your view of the character of our people, but it makes me less despondent than it seems to make you. I do not wonder at their

triviality, their shallowness, their materialism. I rather wonder that, considering their evolution and actual circumstances, they are not worse. Here are sixty or seventy millions of people of whom all but a comparatively small fraction have come up, within two or three generations, from the lower orders of society. They belong by descent to the oppressed from the beginning of history, to the ignorant, to the servile class or to the peasantry. They have no traditions of intellectual life, no power of sustained thought, no developed reasoning faculty. But they constitute on the whole as good a community on a large scale as the world has ever seen. Low as their standards may be, yet taken in the mass they are higher than so many millions of men ever previously attained. They are seeking material comfort in a brutal way, and securing in large measure what they seek, but they are not inclined to open robbery or cruel extortion. On the whole they mean "to do about right." I marvel at their self-restraint. That they are getting themselves and us all into dangerous difficulties is clear, but I believe they will somehow, with a good deal of needless suffering, continue to stumble along without great catastrophe.

He saw the America of his ideal still practicable, and however she disappointed him, he could not leave to love her, though doubtless if she could have been sensibly personified to him he would have told her some home truths that would have done her good. His greatest disappointment of all was the outbreak of the War with Spain, which he regarded as a denial of the faith that had been in us, and a return to the barbarism of violence, an abandonment of our moral primacy among the nations, and a devotion of our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to a needless conflict. He did not forbear an instant expression of abhorrence, or later a more studied expression of his condemnation; and he took not without pain, but not also not without a smile of contempt, the brutal obloquy which followed from the chauvanism then imagining itself patriotism, and assuming the office of judge and executioner toward those of different feeling or thinking. In his position concerning that war he was consistent with his life-long thinking and feeling concerning all wars, and especially American wars. Until I read some letters here printed I had not supposed in him the constant detestation of slavery which they reveal and the eagerness with which he joined in the first practicable resistance of its aggressions; I should rather, from his social conditioning, have imagined in him the fine old Whiggery of the best Boston families which outlived itself in useless endeavors to reconcile right and wrong. But these letters glow with generous enthusiasm for the right and class him with such thoroughgoing patriots as Lowell and the other great New-England-

ers who foresaw that they must needs oppose the pro-slavery policy to the death. They all hated war as much as they hated slavery, but when the war against slavery came they hallowed it in their hearts and souls.

I am not sure whether Norton ever doubted its holiness; but I fancy that in proportion to his reverence for the Civil War was his repugnance for the Spanish War. I, too, detested the Spanish War, for the same reasons as I thought his, and for those reasons I detested even more the far wickeder Boer War waged by the mightiest Empire in the world against two little Republics in its greed for their gold. I chanced to be at Norton's house when the news of the final great reverse of the Boers came, and to my stupefaction I heard him accepting it as the best thing that could happen. I never quite understood the logic of his preference, and I cannot say now whether he thought it better for the Empire to win sooner, because in the unequal struggle the Republics must sooner or later lose, and it was always well to stop bloodshed; or whether he believed the Empire had the juster cause and ought to win; or whether, as between England and any people but ourselves, his heart must be with England, though I do not believe his head would.

Norton was in most things so entirely reasonable, so sane, so just, that I am not sure but I have an unworthy satisfaction in noting this exception to his prevalent mood. My sense of an instance so concrete enables me to realize that through some such aberration from the severe logic of his life he could forgive illogicalities in me. I remember with what a smiling desperation he heard me say that I was going to vote for Blaine when he and most others of the best men I knew were going to vote for Cleveland. To the last I suspect that he had to forgive in me deflections from the notion he had formed of me. Every year, as I hope I may say without unseemly boasting, his affection had grown more demonstrative. I was the latest if least citizen of the world which he had known for great and beautiful, that wonderful Cambridge world of poets and scholars which many centuries will not see again. What part of it he had been himself I must let Time, which has all eternity for it, decide; but what he was he had largely made himself by his affection for his fellow-men, or, more specifically, his fellow literary men.

In him I long saw the last of the great group of Cambridge men whom I was privileged to know almost in their prime, or a little past it when humanity is in its autumnal richness and ripeness. In my mid-Western remoteness I knew these men only very dimly before it was my good fortune to be among them as I never could be of them. I did not well imagine them there, qualitatively or quantitatively, or scarcely afterward in my Venetian remoteness. The man whom I was destined to see survive them all was, as I have owned, not of my surmise even when I had come to live in New York, and I was to feel his unstinted kindness much before I could appreciate his wisdom. He loved that beautiful and righteous world in which he dwelt; he truly measured it in all its dimensions, and in his tender memories of it he did not exaggerate its importance. He had known more intimately than any of the others the English world of poets and scholars, and I am sensible now of delicate cautions rather than criticisms which from the first might well have been for the instruction of my enthusiasm. But this beautiful and righteous world was his home, and they who shared it with him were his kindred. He was the youngest of the group; the years counted ten between him and Lowell, and twenty between him and Longfellow; after they were gone he grew into contemporaneity with them, and then into a seniority which could judge them paternally, as the present can always judge the past. But in him, beyond other men, the child was father of the man, and his relation to his fellow-citizens of that ideal commonwealth was filial as well as paternal. I think that his sense was not only the just measure of it, but was also the perception of its significance in contrast with the vast, sprawling, unwieldy Republic of Letters and Laws which has replaced it. He would not, perhaps, and perhaps he could not, for many reasons, fully impart the image of it which was in his mind; but all the same it is a pity, whether he would not or could not.

He was an idealist whom his strong common sense bound to daily duty. With that dialectic of despair which many mistakenly imagined was his working hypothesis, he had a practical wisdom which was radiant with welcome for any good thing done or said. Although he had been so often disappointed, I do not believe he ever ceased to expect beautiful and true things from the

future which he was so apt to deny any promise. I suppose he mainly had his pleasure in the past, but even there he was not self-indulgent, and would have owned that the conditioning of its beauty and even its goodness was often hideous. I never heard him dwell upon any time of it with the affection which he once showed in speaking of that joyous time in New England between the first and third quarters of the nineteenth century when life wore such a hopeful look for all sorts and conditions of men, and even women, that the millennium was more imaginable than it ever was before or has been since. He painted the hopeful mood of that time with a tenderness which his smile for its fatuity did not mock; he rather held it dearer for that, like the error of a child dreaming the world as wholly beautiful and good as it looked on some June morning. His words cannot be reported now, and I wish he had set them down himself. Then from his perfect understanding of New England idealism we should understand how ideally of New England he was. No one else could make us understand that.

He was himself the expression, the impersonation of its most hospitable spirit. He never failed to meet the friends to whom he had once given his love and trust with the same welcoming smile as at the first giving. His love and trust had not to be conquered from him; they were given, if given at all, eagerly, and never, unless for cause reluctantly recognized, withdrawn. In this spontaneity, this impulsiveness (a word that will seem strange concerning him to a very common mistakenness) he remained young; but I saw him grow into the outward likeness of an old man, a little more bent, year by year, but resolutely keeping his delicate frame to its work by the strength of what I suppose he would not have allowed me to call his soul, and so I will say, by the strength of his unaging mind. He was, like Lowell, loath to grow old, not like Lowell, humorously, boyishly, but very seriously, and anxious to guard himself from senile severity in his judgments. "I hope I don't say this because I am getting old," he once said in condemning some odious new aspect of our American life. When he resigned his chair in Harvard, he had arrived at that time of life when he would willingly rest and he enjoyed with amusement the spectacle of my continued activities. I said that the notion of leaving off work dismayed me, and "Oh, you will come to it," he answered, smiling and drawing through his fine

scholar-hand the velvety ears of the dachshund on his knee.

It was one of those sunny afternoons of spring or of fall, which are sometimes so alike in their tender light, when in my comings and goings through Boston I could run out to Cambridge for an hour's talk over the state of the New York literary world as I knew it from my proximity to authors and editors. He still kept an open mind for the improbable possibilities of good work in any art, and he took the interest of abiding youth in anything well done, or even only promisingly done. I suppose most people would not call him an optimist or me a pessimist, but I believe that he liked more of the recent things than I did, and though he was ten years older than I, he was, by his birthright from that ever-youthful New England of his nativity, a younger man. We talked that afternoon in the cool light of the vernal or autumnal day, with the fire on his hearth paling under it, and I should like to leave him in it there, among his pictures and his books, the equal lover of all the beautiful arts.

William Dean Howells.

GEORGE SAND

A LAW UNTO HERSELF

BY FLORENCE LEFTWICH RAVENEL

"The word genius, when once it has been uttered with respect to a woman, seems straightway to draw upon her the eyes of all mankind—and not without reason. For a woman of genius—even if her claims be not universally acknowledged, is yet too rare an apparition in our world not to deserve our closest attention." So speaks a modern Frenchwoman of distinction—herself a critic, and a keen observer of womankind. And the truth which her words express would be sufficient warrant, I think, for reopening from time to time the famous case of George Sand—even if men's knowledge of the great Frenchwoman were far more adequate than we can hope to find it—at least among those of English race and tradition.

About ten years ago there appeared in the pages of The North American Review an article by Mr. Henry James, the occasion of which was the publication of the first volumes of Mme. Wladimir Karénine's life of George Sand. The essay is an excellent example of Mr. James's critical method. Insinuating, pervasive, enveloping, his light, cool touch does yet seem to lay bare the "very pulse of the machine"—as he disentangles all the weighty confusion of this curiously Russian presentation, and disengages and sets in high relief the always interesting, still enigmatical figure of the heroine, as she appears to him. It is scarcely necessary to add, however, that this image which he so wonderfully evokes is not, in all respects, the George Sand of Mme. Karénine, nor of the accepted tradition. By some strange warping, or limitation of vision, Mr. James sees in her everything that is anomalous, exotic, fascinating—everything, indeed, except a soul. The "levity" which he

commends as a favorable mood in which to approach the great Phenomenon has its place, perhaps, in the treatment of some episodes of her adventurous youth. These do sometimes fall, as he says, "into the hands of 'high comedy.'" But the generous, high-hearted enthusiasms of her maturer years, her words of eloquent and irreconcilable protest against oppression and injustice in all their forms—these are the most constant and significant manifestations of George Sand's genius; and any interpretation which fails to take account of these in its final estimate leaves the riddle darker than before.

Out of the peace and the silence which only death and time can bring there is emerging at last the vision of a great spirit—one so wide in its range of thought and feeling, so strong in its grasp upon the world and human life, so rich in its capacity for joy and sorrow, for love and pity, that after all the rules and measures that serve to define average men and women have been stretched to their utmost, we are still asking, bewildered: "Whereunto shall we liken this woman, and with what comparison shall we compare her?"

After an interval of ten years, the third volume of Mme. Karénine's *Life* has at last appeared, covering the years between 1836 and 1846, and freighted with a wealth of fresh information, of new documents, and hitherto unpublished correspondence. Mme. Karénine has given her life to this work, and it is, even in its present unfinished state, a monumental achievement, unique both in its merits and in its defects. Nothing save an intimate conviction that she has here to do with one of the great leaders and spiritual forces of all time could justify the infinite pains, the microscopic detail with which Mme. Karénine has pursued her researches. The ordeal is severe; that George Sand comes out of it so little scathed is at least as much to her own credit as to that of her biographer.

Within the last twenty years several eminent Frenchmen also have spoken their word—eloquent, severe, witty, or enthusiastic—about George Sand; and yet that tribute to which we return oftenest and with the deepest sense of inner satisfaction is not French, but was written more than thirty years ago, by that great Englishman whom we may well call the "Master of us all"—by Matthew Arnold:

"It is silent, that eloquent voice; it is sunk, that noble,

that speaking head. We sum up as we best can what she said to us and we bid her adieu. From many hearts in many lands a troop of tender and grateful regrets converge toward the humble churchyard in Berry. Let them be joined by these words of sad homage from one of a nation which she esteemed and which knew her very little and very ill. Her guiding thought, which she did her best to make ours too, 'the sentiment of the ideal life, which is none other than man's normal life as we shall one day know it,' is in harmony with words and promises familiar to that sacred spot where she lies. She looks for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come."

But the mind of the Critic is proverbially unstable and no mortal glory is safe. In a recent issue of a prominent *Review* occurs the following trenchant paragraph conceived in the very spirit of the Philistine and the muckraker.

"Nothing can make a life of George Sand decent reading. Despite the extraordinary opulence, the extravagance of her nature, she was a light woman—of light brain and very light morals. Her will-o'-the-wisp love affairs are as unsavory reading as one can find. Her genius, such as it was, cannot make up for the radical coarseness of her mind!"

No, no, Sir Critic! That will never do! The answer is not—it never can be—so easy, obvious, and one-sided as that!

But what, pray, *was* this woman, about whom from the beginning men's judgments have differed so widely? How can one life, one personality, admit of interpretations so divergent?

Amandine Lucie Aurore Dupin came into the world in Paris, July 1, 1804. She had a bad inheritance—a family history which savors rather of some chapter of Greek Mythology than of the decorous restraint of a Parish Register or the fly-leaf of a family Bible. Her genealogy takes extraordinary leaps across the map of Europe and runs up and down the social scale with startling agility. Her great-great-grandfather on her father's side was King Augustus the Strong of Poland, a monarch whose immorality was literally Olympian and who counted his unauthorized offspring actually by the hundred. Her great-grandfather, Maurice of Saxony, the victor of Fonteroy, was a great general and a great lover, and he left among the débris and wreckage of

his brilliant career a certain little daughter, Marie Aurore, called de Saxe, whom he intrusted at his death to the tender mercies of the Dauphiness, daughter-in-law of Louis XV., her first cousin in blood though not in law. This little girl was a strange, unique apparition in that turbulent strain—a sort of truce or breathing-space between the generations of strong, passionate, sensual men and women past and to come. Marie Aurore de Saxe grew up amid influences well fitted to corrupt the most innocent heart, but her life—full of vicissitudes as it was—was absolutely without adventure. An unlucky first marriage was immediately annulled, and for good cause, and at the age of thirty-three the young widow married, from motives of friendship and esteem, M. Dupin de Francueil, a man much older than herself. Maurice, her only son, was the father of George Sand.

As Mme. Dupin's son was her one great love, so his unfortunate marriage was her supreme sorrow, the one from which, to her life's end, other sorrows never ceased to flow. To the young soldier who followed Napoleon in his early campaigns, it might well seem that all the kingdoms of the earth were to be had for the taking. All around him he saw thrones and dominions played with like pieces on a chess-board. What did it matter, then, whether he wedded a queen or a beggar maid, since it was for his valor to win her a title or a crown? Even so it is still hard to understand how Maurice Dupin, the son of his mother, could have allowed his long connection with Sophie Victoire Delaborde—a mere waif of the Paris streets—to drift into a legal marriage.

Amid all these chronicles of irregular origin, we have a positive satisfaction in knowing that Aurore Dupin was born with a right to her name. But it was, without doubt, an ill-starred marriage. Sophie Victoire was very far from exemplary in any relation, and when Maurice was dead and the one little girl was left between the mother and grandmother, the scarcely repressed hostility between the two women, and her own passionate espousal of her mother's cause, combined to create a most unwholesome atmosphere for the rearing of any young creature, especially of one exceptionally impressionable like Aurore.

This state of tension could not last. When the crisis came, Sophie, in high dudgeon, betook herself to the metropolis, and Aurore, still rebellious, though crushed by the sudden

revelation of her mother's history, was hurriedly transferred to a popular convent school in Paris. This change was wholly beneficial. For three years the little girl worked and played—a child again among children—in surroundings more normal than the solitude or melancholy tête-à-tête of Nohant. Her magic touch has revivified all the phases and aspects of this convent life and her own part in it, from her early "bad eminence" as ringleader in all the escapades of her schoolmates to the climax of her sensational conversion, which brought her to the end of her school days in a mood of saintly detachment from earth and of meek resignation to the opposition which her supposed vocation to the cloister was certain to meet.

But the world with its seductive promises, its perennial fascination, was waiting for Aurore at the convent gates, and her calling to the spiritual life died away. Her grandmother's death, with all the ensuing changes and formalities, brought her face to face once more with her mother—dear to her still, though no longer the object of her unreasoning adoration.

And then began for this convent-bred girl, with her grandmother's maxims still ringing in her ears, a period of embarrassment and discomfort hard to exaggerate. Her mother's worse than questionable manner of life, her recklessness and irresponsibility, quickly made the situation impossible, and, from the French point of view, there was only one honorable way of escape—marriage.

In 1822 Aurore was eighteen years old; not a beauty, scarcely even a pretty girl, but still with a fair share of feminine attractions. Her portraits, painted about this time, are conventional in the extreme. They show a still slender, rounded figure, a full face with the regulation fall of ringlets, features regular but a trifle inclined to heaviness, and very large, dark eyes as nearly as possible without expression: brooding, solemn, mysterious eyes, still unawakened like the girl's soul; and there was no prophet at hand to utter a warning of the smoldering fires hidden in each! Evidently there was nothing for it but a husband—the Frenchman's sovereign remedy for the vagaries, agitations, and dangers of girlhood; and as a husband there was, it appeared, only one eligible aspirant. Casimir Dudevant was young too, and of tolerably good position and prospects. In person and manners he was not disagreeable, and

Aurore (poor child!) was especially pleased with his studied moderation and reasonableness during the season of courtship. He seemed well fitted to be to her a good comrade and, chiefly, a refuge from the perplexities of her unprotected youth.

Everybody knows that this marriage was a failure. Husband and wife had nothing but youth in common. We may even spare some measure of compassion for Casimir himself. No doubt he was a poor creature—what Matthew Arnold calls the "average sensual man"—without delicacy and without principle, as unfit to administer his wife's fortune as to appreciate her gifts. Nevertheless, Fate played a cruel trick upon this mean and common man in mating him with a genius. When the inevitable separation came to pass perhaps no one regretted it less than he.

But here is the parting of the ways. On the one side, Aurore Dudevant, unhappy, restless, vaguely dissatisfied with a world in which she seemed to have no part or lot, but still irreproachable and still unaware of the forces latent in her heart and brain. On the other side is George Sand, the woman of genius, gradually awakening to the consciousness of herself and all her powers, and beginning to pour forth a succession of novels, stories, journals, plays, essays, pamphlets, and letters, to the wonder and delight—and also, sometimes, the scandal—of the world. And she awoke, too, to the tempestuous depths of her own nature, to the passion and tumult which lay hidden beneath the sluggish surface of her soul. That deliverance from social tyranny, that freedom and scope for the unchecked expansion of the whole being—from henceforth she claimed it for all mankind, and first of all for herself.

It seems incredible that less than a century has passed since George Sand made her momentous pilgrimage to Paris to seek her fortune. It was the year 1831, the flowering season of the Romantic movement. The uneven streets of the old city, worn by so many generations of urgent, seeking feet, were trodden now by a band of impressive youths with flowing hair and beards, and long, full-skirted, flopping coats, which draped them picturesquely down to the heels. Their descendants still haunt the shady *allées* of the Luxembourg and the *cafés* of the Boulevard St.-Michel—but with a difference. For certain of those young men of 1831 answered to the names of Victor Hugo, Alfred de Musset,

Ste.-Beuve, Théophile Gautier. We shall not look upon their like again. And of this glorious company Aurore Dudevant was now to be one—even down to the trousers, the flopping coat, the swagger, and the cigarette!

We cannot deny that this woman was intoxicated with her freedom. Her splendid physical organization in the full vigor of her youth, her long-thwarted desire for experience, for life in its fullness, all conspired to bewilder and betray her judgment. But it was not this alone, nor alone her instincts inherited from a lawless race. George Sand accepted—she helped to formulate, indeed—that first article of the Romantic creed which taught the divinity of Passion—spelled, if you please, with a capital P.

M. E. Caro, perhaps the most serious, temperate, and adequate of George Sand's modern critics, has said that a complete lack of resignation—that little humble Christian virtue—was a fundamental defect of this richly dowered nature. May we not go deeper yet and say that her greatest fault was *pride?* That humility which springs inevitably from self-knowledge she never knew. Hence her impatience of restraint, her extravagant demands upon life, her exaggerated estimate of the claim of her individual soul as against law and tradition; hence, too, her overweening self-confidence, and the absence of self-reproach which gives a tone of superficiality to her sincerest self-revelations.

And what then shall we say of this period of her life, that extended, roughly speaking, over fifteen years? If it were with Goethe or Byron that we had to do, we should call this her season of storm and stress, and should wait, disapproving, yet with tolerable serenity, for the sowing of wild oats to come to its natural end. But she was not Goethe; she was not Byron; she was a woman. It is not, after all, the same thing.

How was it, then, that amid so much that was evil and impure, throughout the strange tragi-comedy of her many love affairs, succeeding one another with so disconcerting a rapidity—how was it, I ask, that her nature was not utterly demoralized and depraved? How could her ideals fail of degradation and final suffocation in the mire? But such was *not* the fact; George Sand did not deteriorate mentally or morally, parodoxical as this may seem; and it is here that our traditional code falls short and we must have recourse to a deeper, more fundamental law.

No, we will not give to the man and woman of genius a revised version of the Ten Commandments, but we may, perhaps, in return for all their gifts to us, grant them the privilege of individual hearings. If, on the one hand, we dare not forget the height from which they fall, nor the multitudes that they may have dragged with them in their collapse, we will give due weight, on the other, to the force of their temptations, and also to those extraordinary powers of recuperation and rehabilitation that may belong to their exceptional endowment.

George Sand's astonishing power of reaction and rebound, as well as that slow but steady process of self-regeneration which worked itself out in her career, were due in great part to the unparalleled vigor of her organization—the unequaled energy and vitality which were hers by inheritance. Disappointed she might be, disenchanted again and again, but it was always with the lover, never with love. To the end she believed with unshaken sincerity in love's divine mission to redeem and uplift the children of men, and her idealizing fancy clothed each new idol with the glory of the true gods. A selfish form of idealism, we must admit, and yet this perennial spontaneity and freshness of emotion are possible only to opulent, richly gifted natures like hers —let us acknowledge it with grateful humility. They are one proof the more of that interdependence of flesh and spirit against which we—poor birds of time that we are—beat our wings in vain revolt.

Nevertheless, looked at with our older and colder eyes, that most famous episode of her youth, her affair with Alfred de Musset, must appear scarcely worthy of its legendary fame. Mr. Henry James has called attention, with his usual acuteness, to the curious inconsistency of immortalizing by analogies to Romeo and Juliet, or Abélard and Héloise, a relation which was begun and ended in less than two years. Yes, the first reluctant acquaintance, the rapturous prelude and the flight to Venice; then, in swift succession, the first disagreement and rupture; de Musset's sudden alarming illness, when George Sand, all grievances forgotten, nursed him with all a mother's care and devotion; the disconcerting apparition of the young Italian doctor—jealousy, parting, temporary reconciliation, and final break—all within eighteen months. It *was* quick work, even with our American standards of swiftness.

And yet, we know that life is not at all times to be measured by hours or days. The heights and depths of those two natures were sounded in that brief season. If one of them outlived and, to a certain extent, outgrew the consequences of that experience, the other never did. To it we owe not only some of George Sand's most eloquent and poignant pages, but—what is perhaps of greater import—the full and perfect expression of Alfred de Musset's unique and original talent: a little vein of the purest and most personal, the sincerest and most inevitable poetry that I know in any age or language. And for him this experience was supreme and final. He had many "affairs" after as before, but only this one love. She was the sole reality of his life, and after she had gone out of it he moved as "one that walketh in a vain show."

We are still so deeply tinged with George Sand's own romanticism that we should probably have admired her more had she, too, faded, pined, and died like some fragile creature of her own romance. She was not of the sort that dies. Her grief and despondency were sincere and deep. Since Sappho loved and sang, no woman has sounded a more tragic note of despairing passion than echoes in some of the fragmentary letters to de Musset that remain. But she recovered, she rallied from her depression and turned her face resolutely toward life and the future. And now, as always, literature was to be to her the one sure refuge from despair and perhaps madness, as well as against the more sordid miseries of poverty and dependence.

Whatever of the Bohemian she might boast, she was thoroughly *bourgeoise* in her capacity for steady and systematic work. In Venice, watching by the bedside of de Musset, in the intervals of his attacks of delirium; in her little apartment on the Quai Malaquais, with her baby Solange playing at her feet; at Nohant with her large heterogeneous household looking to her, depending on her—everywhere, the regular daily, weekly output was maintained. And this was not a mere eccentricity of genius, but a matter of stern need. Even after she had secured her divorce and made good her claim to the guardianship of her children, the allowance granted her by her husband (out of her own fortune, by the way), was absurdly inadequate for their support.

Of all the aspects and phases of this extraordinary per-

sonality, there is none so wonderful as George Sand's literary career. In 1829 the story-telling gifts of her school-days had lain unused, half-forgotten perhaps for years. Yet lo! not only has she lost nothing, but her powers spring, as it were by magic, to their ripe maturity! And her style—flexible, abundant, graceful, picturesque—her technique, her mastery of all the resources and subtleties of her instrument—that this should reach at a bound, without fumbling, almost without apprenticeship, its full-grown perfection, wellnigh passes belief! Yet so it was; her first independent novels, *Indiana, Valentine,* are as characteristically her workmanship as anything she wrote at the height of her fame. Instinct, with her, was continually overtaking, outrunning the slow processes of experience and time.

But remembering the anguish and travail of spirit through which most people—even thoughtful and cultivated people—attain to anything approaching literary form, it is with eyes of incredulous envy that we look upon this unlessoned girl, whose custom it was, we are told, to sit down to her writing when the night was already far spent, and rise up only when the first white streaks of dawn fell across her page. The fair, smooth, uncorrected page—of *Valentine,* for example, with its enchanting woodland scenes, amid which young passion seems to spring and blossom by the same divine, inevitable law that wakes the cold earth from her winter sleep and decks the wild hawthorn with beauty and sweetness; Youth calling to Youth with a voice that will not be gainsaid. This was to be always the dominant note, as we know; this the great central theme upon which her idealizing fancy wrought with an infinite richness and variety of tone and expression to the end of her life. It is still the same, though we hear it now floating across the starlit lagoons of Venice, mingled with boatmen's careless songs and the lapping of water against marble steps; or breaking the solemn white silence of Alpine glaciers, or rising from the moonless depths of some haunted pool deep-hidden in the forests of Berry.

To one who knows George Sand but a little, her inspiration seems as various as are the settings of her tales; she moves from grave to gay, from tragedy to idyl, with the ease of Life itself. But to all who know her well, it has been revealed that she speaks but one language, brings but one message, has felt the heat of but one kindling and illuminating

flame. And we have no other name for it than *love*. Hackneyed as it is, soiled by a thousand sordid contacts, and associations base or trivial, it is as yet the only word.

In youth, as we know, it was the personal passion; the blind and ruthless claiming of the heart's desire, the absorption of all the powers of being in the life of another. Nowhere else surely in French letters have young love's ecstasy and young love's despair found an utterance so large and free, so vibrant with eloquent sincerity. If enthusiasm, if poetic fervor and strong emotional appeal could move us from our ancient moorings, *Jacques, Lélia,* must inevitably sweep us out to sea.

The success of these early romances was immediate, unqualified, overwhelming. The world was at the feet of the Sybil. As M. Doumic has said: " Thenceforth, to all these masculine tones which had arisen to call life accursed, there was added the voice of a woman, and lo! it rose clearer and stronger than all the rest." The twentieth century, long wonted to the performance of a full feminine chorus, bravely and strenuously carrying all the parts, cannot without a certain effort return to the experience of that earlier world, in which, for so many years, without prelude and without accompaniment, the great Prima Donna so splendidly filled the stage.

But life went on, and in its middle years Time laid a quieting hand upon the undisciplined heart—not to chill nor to harden, but only to steady its too tumultuous throbbing; that her eyes, cleared at last of the mists of passion and desire, might look out upon the world, the striving, sorrowful, inarticulate world; that she might feel upon her strong shoulders the burden of humanity.

And now for many years—for the rest of her life, indeed —George Sand was to be the organ of various socialistic and so-called " Humanitarian " sects and systems. With all her old eloquence and impassioned conviction, she was to preach the new gospel, whether men would hear or whether they would forbear. As early as 1837 we begin to see in her writings distinct signs of transition—of a shifting of the center of gravity. *Mauprat* is indeed a love tale; but here the barriers which love breaks down are not those of law and caste and prejudice, but the far deeper and more fatal obstacles of selfish pride, arrogance, and passion. And these lovers move no longer in a shadowy region of tropical

islands and Alpine snows. Mauprat and Edmée dwell among their fellows in a very real provincial France, just before the Revolution, and they breathe an atmosphere already charged with the great ideas "Liberty, equality, fraternity."

It was a part of George Sand's femininity that she could not stand or go alone. She must have always both a cause and a hero. But among all her leaders and inspirers (and in her day their name in France was legion) there was only one man of first-rate importance, and that was the Abbé Lamennais, heretic, and excommunicate, whose very radical theories of Christian Socialism were supported by the prestige of his great literary talents, as well as of his blameless and devoted life. Many of the chief thinkers of the time were counted among his converts, and upon George Sand his influence was decisive and permanent. The inherent injustice of the old order, in both church and state, the nobleness of labor and the great mission of art and science in the regeneration of the world—these were Lamennais's chief teachings, and they were to appear in various settings and combinations in many of her later works.

Was there some radical defect in the theories then in the air, or was it rather that George Sand failed completely to assimilate them? Certain it is that her pamphlets and articles, and even her so-called Humanitarian novels—*Spiridion, Consuelo,* and the rest—are comparatively ineffective, both as literature and as teaching. Not only is her inspiration, as it were, divided, but her conception of the great reforms to be accomplished has more of enthusiasm than of enlightenment.

And in spite of all her faith and devotion, the millennium did not come. The Revolution, followed by the Republic of 1848, seemed at first destined to realize her most cherished hopes and ideals, but the political intrigues, insurrection, and finally civil war, which followed quickly in its train, were to her the bitterest grief and disenchantment. So many lives sacrificed, and the Golden Age—the reign of Equality—no nearer than before! She was persuaded at last that "the Lord was not in the whirlwind," and with an impulse of strong revulsion she turned away from men and from movements back to the things she knew with the deep, sure knowledge of the affections. The so-called Pastoral romances of her third period are few in number and small in

compass. They are not, I must admit, an adequate culmination of a genius which seemed, in its beginning, to portend an almost superhuman achievement. But, slight as they are, those three or four idyls—*La Mare au Diable, François le Champi, Les Maîtres Sonneurs,* and *La petite Fadette*—are none the less masterpieces, and masterpieces in a *genre* which George Sand originated and in which she has never been approached. Here, for the first time, these peasant folk are depicted, not from the outside by a condescending superior, but from within, by one who knew and loved them well enough to speak their language and think their thoughts, and yet, by the magic of her art, to lift their humble lives into the region of the ideal. They are very close to earth, those rugged figures. They have the large lines, the quiet coloring, the low relief of the Berry landscape, and they are now as much a part of it as were the mythical inhabitants of Grecian hill and stream and valley in the olden days.

The last twenty years of George Sand's life was a period of calm, of domestic peace and content. She lived for the most part at Nohant, with shorter and shorter intervals in Paris and abroad. Her beloved son, Maurice, was her inseparable companion, and later his gentle wife and their two little girls came to brighten and sweeten her days. She still wrote indefatigably, though the urgent need had ceased; and more and more as the century progressed, Nohant came to be a place of pilgrimage for the younger generation of writers that were growing up in France and elsewhere. The complete absence of arrogance, of vanity or literary snobbishness that always distinguished George Sand made her the most generous and encouraging of critics.

But her correspondence is undoubtedly the most important literary activity of her later years. As a channel for self-revelation there is nothing, I believe, so sure as the familiar letter—journals, autobiographies, confessions, can be, and usually are, edited and arranged at pleasure; but the letters, written without premeditation, from day to day, to all sorts and conditions of men, are an almost infallible index to the soul and life of the writer. Nobly indeed does George Sand emerge from the ordeal of all these many hundreds of pages. Her long exchange of letters with Gustave Flaubert shows us how wise and kind, how generous and tolerant, how sane and penetrating, had grown that

spirit in which the storms of passion had once so furiously raged.

Perhaps, however, it is in her letters to her daughter Solange that this woman strikes the deepest, saddest note in all her wonderful range. This mysterious, wayward, fascinating daughter of George Sand! She was of that second generation of Romanticists of whom we know too little. She had all the infinite craving, the vague discontent, the ruthless self-absorption of the great period. But the believing heart had gone from her. In her, enthusiasm was checked by a counter-current of skepticism, of cynical mockery and self-contempt. Or, may it not be that her chronic disillusionment and incurable *ennui* were but the long backward swing of the pendulum from her mother's impetuous, idolatrous youth? Who shall say? And who, listening for the limping foot of justice on the track of an erring mortal—who shall say that George Sand's own daughter was not her mother's severe and sufficient punishment on earth?

In summing up his impressions of George Sand after his visit to her at Nohant, Balzac would seek to explain all the contradictions and inconsistencies of her complex personality by affirming that she was "as little a woman as possible," and in this formula Mr. Henry James sees the best solution of the problem. These are great authorities, but I venture to dissent from both. George Sand's masculinity was for the most part in trifles—an affair of cigarettes and waistcoats. The secret of her strength, as of her weakness, is that she was as *much* as possible a woman. It was her womanhood, with its contempt of limitations, its demand of the unattainable, that sometimes, as in the Venetian episode, betrayed her into situations which any man, at all approaching her in ability and honesty of purpose, would have avoided, as it were, by instinct. Much as she loved and sought ideas, she was never really at home in the region of pure intellect. Her ripe wisdom, her inspired good sense, were always overshadowed by her compassionate sympathy with her fellow-men. More fundamental than all those socialistic theories which from time to time carried her away, she attained, in her maturer years, to that spirit of true Democracy, found oftener, I think, in women than in men—a sobering sense of the great, dignified, elemental things that all men have in common—birth, love, suffering, and death.

George Sand has been dead for thirty-six years. The reticence and secrecy dictated by consideration for the feelings of the living is called for no longer. In 1904, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of her birth, much new light, from sources hitherto inaccessible, was thrown upon certain vexed problems and unanswered questions of her life. It is gratifying to observe that, under the closest scrutiny, the integrity, sincerity, and disinterestedness of her character do but emerge the clearer and the more admirable. On the other hand, it appears that her books are read less and less as the years go by, and, oddly enough, it is those very works whose appeal to her contemporaries was strongest that have most completely lost their hold upon us. With the exception of half a dozen volumes, retained as classics in the programmes of colleges and schools, the dust gathers undisturbed upon the long rows of books that bear her name. Strange and oft-repeated record of a woman's glory! Can it be that there is a supreme liberation of the spirit from the bond of the flesh—from our perishable mortal part; a final detachment, possible indeed to one man among a million, but of which the woman's nature eternally falls short?

The revival of interest which the centenary of George Sand's birth has evoked, and the consequent revision of judgment concerning her, is not without a message for us, as it suggests a reflection which may one day have a broader application. Whatever be the rule as to the fame of great women in general, this, the greatest woman of her time, will not, it appears, go down to future generations as the author of any consummate work of the creative imagination. If she is to take her place among the Immortals—and on this point it is still too early to hazard a prediction—it will be rather because of what she was in herself: a power, an influence, conveyed to us partially by her books, but more fully by her reflection in the minds and lives of others—the image of a generous, richly endowed, and beneficent human being, who in her passage through the world shed around her an atmosphere of healing and consolation, of hope and inspiration upon a great multitude of disinherited and discouraged sons of earth.

Florence Leftwich Ravenel.

OUR LITERARY CONVENTIONS

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX

"To-morrow has no more to say
To yesterday."

So chanted Mr. Swinburne succinctly at the close of a twelve-paged poem in which a lover copiously explains to his lady that love is of the moment and bends to the fluctuant tide of life. No utterance could be more appropriate to the state of modern literature; if, indeed, literature be not already a thing of the past and that which sometimes borrows the name be not mere current, casual, or forced utterance. Is literature really dead? Is it lying in state in an empty hall where only now and then a few timid spirits penetrate and march solemnly past the corpse, peering between the lighted candles at the still, sad, noble countenance which is to be buried in a few days? The miracle of the written word seems about to be forgotten.

All things move and nothing abides was true in the days of Heraclitus, but never before in history has speed been so terrible, or man pushed so violently from the new and the strange to the newer and the stranger. "So far as our knowledge goes, no sort of creatures have ever lived under changing conditions without undergoing the profoundest changes themselves. . . . Human society has never been static, and presently it will cease to attempt to be static."

"Presently," says the hopeful writer. But who indeed in the flux of life would dare for an instant try to make a stand against the uprushing stream of change? The past is past and few so dull and apathetic as to pause and look backward. On to the walls and over into the new, the untried, the strange!

The conventions that persuaded and pervaded the past are easy to trace. They seem to have some of the stability of the distant spheres. In the novel we can watch the senti-

mentality of Richardson somewhat mitigated by a surer sense of fact in Fielding; we can see the impervious gentility of Miss Austen giving way to the passionate individualism of the two Brontë sisters; we can see Thackeray's social sense and Dickens's humane feeling become sternly didactic and precisely descriptive in George Eliot's work. But in the sudden fluorescence of modern magazine literature, in the maddened modern demand for felicitous loves, lightly handled, that fixed star of lower middle-class bliss, it is sometimes difficult to discern the real convention, the static quality beneath the flowing tide. In vain Shaw calls out from his seat of clear-seeing critic that any couple perennially in a state of rapturous emotion toward each other are in immediate need of a doctor, and that though a little sentimentality may be a good thing, chronic sentimentality is a horror more dangerous because more possible than erotomania. No one has time to listen to serious critics of life now, and sentimentality is one of the most stable conventions of literature despite the protests of the minority who still cling to larger interests and more wholesome diet. Sentimentality about the callow love-period, sentimentality about precocious children, sentimentality about family, local, tribal instincts, these are the most nearly fixed of modern literary conventions.

As the purveyors of modern literature called aloud for the "pleasant love story," with the same vociferous insistence they called for the happy ending. If one might only somewhere have a free and frank heart-to-heart talk with the providers of literature, one would like to say: "Come now, let us be frank and sensible and honest together. *Does* every incident in life end happily? Is the whole way a pleasant and easy course, broken by only little interludes of difficulty to emphasize the general joy? And if not, why should we lead the young astray, give misleading solace to the middle-aged and opiates to the old by any such pretensions? Were the emotions of the Greeks not purged by scenes and records of pity and terror, and is there not even a certain fine solace in truth in stating life in terms of reality, in letting literature be a true picture of the thwartings and partial successes, the joy and stress of fortitude in failure, which as a matter-of-fact life is, instead of losing our whole sense of truth by a manufactured convention?"

A second modern convention is the destruction of all

standards of language. What began in a romantic tendency to vivify language by transposing all the terms of the arts and crafts to other uses moved on to the adoption of all the ugliest and vulgarest speech of the streets and its application to the recorded utterance of ladies and gentlemen in books. Turning to a current magazine, for example, we find one of our most distinguished women writers of America allowing her heroine, the daughter of a famous architect, proud of her high breeding and social standing, to say to her lover of his attentions to another lady, "I thought it was a mash!" Is this true to life? Does any well-born, well-bred girl with social standards ever say any such thing? And if not, why lead astray the readers of the popular women's magazines? It is to be feared that in vulgarity literature takes upon itself to lead the way and point the pernicious path out to life. Another magazine in a new effort to show how easily standards may be demolished, and how easy it is to be up to date, publishes a remarkable story in which the terms of life are so turned upside down, refrains so emptily and sillily repeated, that one is set wondering whether it is a triumph of insanity, or merely mob-violence pushed to the utmost against the language and rationality of man.

What is quite certain is that any standards of language based upon traditions or fine usage are swept away, professors of language, philosophers, and a few misguided artists lend their approval to the incessant change. The parts of speech in which an earlier generation were trained are commingled past recognition. Grammar is gone by the board, and diction founded on a sense of fine association is as behind the times as the snows of yesteryear. Adjectives, verbs, and nouns are all interchangeable, and indeed few modern writers can distinguish the one from the other.

Culture, that pause in life which stops to look at the past and connect it with the present, to cull what is beautiful and worthy and give it further life in the world of to-day was never at so great a disadvantage—not even in the times of the French Revolution. For to-day the tendency to destruction is more widely spread and the contagion more swiftly caught than ever before. And so culture, represented by perhaps some half-dozen writers in England and two or three in America must hide its head in shame and distress.

Perhaps the saddest phenomenon of all is that though we

are fully conscious of inhabiting still a world in which the brave die young, where the wicked man flourishes as a green bay tree, where what is lovely and true and of high intent is pushed aside to make room for the lush growth of what is easy and slight and common, the conventions of modern literature cut us off from the ancient outlet of jeremiads. If only we might lament our losses as did the prophets of old! But we are no longer allowed to cry aloud upon the heavens to be astonished at the sight of the perversity of mankind forsaking old gods and creating new. We do not even hope with those of another day that "wickedness shall correct and backslidings reprove." Though the noble vine and the wholly right seed were planted, we see only "the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto us." The night that is never so black and so long we are called upon to proclaim a sun-flooded noon. We have discarded our whole past and with an impetus never before conceived we are plunging into whatever sheer unpremeditated change may offer.

And yet for those who can afford it, is there not room for a few folk to withdraw from the bustle and hubbub, to keep quiet and treasure the best of the past? It is told of Chinese poetry of the fourth century, for example, that "a deep simplicity touching many hidden things, a profound regard for the noble uses of leisure—these were the technique and the composition and color of all their work." What a sense of peace and stability and rest drops on us from such words! And turning back for a little quiet to that day, is it not reassuring to read again of a "heart once full of light, now like a dying moon"? Or to hear of the king of Liang, "a man of wondrous might, who kept an open palace where music charmed the night?"

> "Since he was lord of Liang, a thousand years have flown,
> And of all the towered buildings, yon ruin stands alone."

What is it that makes us wistful and gentle and vaguely hopeful when we turn our eyes backward and listen to such words? It is the sense of the eternally recurrent and the thought that the present tumultuous order and all the destruction that goes with it will also fade like a dream, and after the destruction of the present some period of noble stability and stately motion, some settled sense of truth and fineness, may visit again the abodes of man.

Louise Collier Willcox.

MUSIC AND DRAMA

SIGNIFICANT HAPPENINGS OF THE MONTH

Love in an Old Garden.—Miss Barrymore's Exposure of the Artistic Temperament.—"The Marriage Game."—The Return of Forbes-Robertson.

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN

PRUNELLA was very young—like Theocritus's Nycheia, her eyes were "April eyes." Also, like another damsel whom Theocritus chose to celebrate, she was "a maiden, as fair a thing as the gods could fashion." So, besides being very young, Prunella was also very lovely. She lived in a quaint and formal old garden, shut away from the world by lofty and doubtless immemorial hedges, shaded by ancient yew-trees that were "all elbows and knees," and tended by three gardeners as immemorial as the quaint, stiff hedges and the twisted yew-trees. It is a delectable old garden, as Mr. Winthrop Ames reveals it to you, with exquisite and delicately imaginative art, on the stage of his Little Theater—a garden which, if we were permitted a feminine emancipation of diction, we should call adorable. It is a garden wherein, if one happened to be the least little bit weary of the world and the least little bit heartsick, one could dream away one's days with complete security and perfect peace. But Prunella, being both young and what writers of lyric prose call "unawakened," was neither weary nor heartsick, though she *was* dreaming dreams—dreams that were quickened by seductive rumors of a band of strolling players who were unsettling the neighborhood, and especially Prunella's guardians, with their roistering. For Prunella did not live alone in the garden—she lived with her three Cerberus-like maiden aunts, Prim, Prude, and Privacy, who had brought her up on Sir Austin Feverel's ingenuous theory that ignorance of the world is an armor

against its persuasions, and whose principles are symbolized for us by the elderly Cupid who may be seen playing a violin under the yew-trees at the side of the garden: for the Cupid is a stone Cupid, and his violin is mute. With how merciless a propriety Prunella has been reared you will guess from the little lesson which she recites demurely to Prim, Prude, and Privacy as they sit knitting in the garden. Her prayer and her endeavor must be, she says,

> Not to allow my thoughts to stray
> Beyond the duties of each day;
> Thus only can I hope to be
> A type of maidenly modesty.

But that perspicacious seer whom we have already quoted might have told Prim and Prude and Privacy that "when Nature has made us ripe for love, it is seldom that the Fates are behindhand in furnishing a temple for the flame"; and that is precisely what happened to Prunella. For Prunella encountered Pierrot, who was the leader of the band of strolling mummers, and went that way which is the way of dreams, of delight, of longing, of unrest, and of illimitable pain; while her aunts encountered what Sir Thomas Browne called "the rigor of realities."

Pierrot himself tells us how it happened—of the house "asleep on the edge of the town," with the encompassing garden hedge, and the notice up at the gate that "told Love to keep out."

> But Love cannot read—he is blind;
> So he came there one day
> And knocked, but the house was unkind,
> It turned him away.
>
> But lo, when the gates were all closed,
> When the windows were fast,
> At night while the householders dozed,
> Love entered at last.

And Prunella yielded; for had not Pierrot kissed her, and had not the stone Cupid come to life, playing a tender song on his fiddle and advising her to "harken to the voice of love"? So she became Pierrette, being transformed in the twinkling of an eye, and was borne away one night in Pierrot's arms, after joyously flaunting her rose-garlands and her ballet-skirts in the horrified face of the little old house and the prim, stiff old garden.

One need not be told that Pierrot acted quite unforgivably in this matter, for he did not love Prunella, as he frankly admitted to his scamp of a servant, Scaramel; and so it is not very long before Pierrette, heart-broken and full of knowledge and sorrow, creeps back to the little house in the old garden and falls at the feet of the stone Cupid who had given her such calamitous advice. Yet we are not, after all, to be racked by tragedy. Pierrot, also, returns to the garden, seeking Pierrette, for he has not been able to endure life without her; and, at the end, we see them in each other's arms, mutually impassioned, forgiving, and consolatory.

So we leave the Little Theater with a feeling of sincere gratitude to Mr. Ames for permitting us to witness this ingratiating *mélange* of drama, fairy-play, verse, and music, of which the literary and dramatic elements were contributed by Messrs. Laurence Housman and Granville Barker, and the incidental music by one Joseph Moorat, of whose identity we must confess profound ignorance. So far as its conception goes, "Prunella, or Love in a Garden," is indubitably attractive, at times genuinely touching; but one is regretfully aware that it would have been a much more moving and delightful creation if Mr. Housman had been able to achieve verse and prose of true beauty and distinction, instead of verse that is at its best merely pretty, and at its worst sinks to incredible depths of bathos —as in that exculpatory line of Pierrot's, in contriving which Mr. Housman surely had an apprehensive eye on the British matron: "We are married—she had wished it." Could fatuous prudery go further? As for Mr. Moorat's music, the most charitable thing that can be said of it is that it does not offend. It is seemly and, in an easily achieved way, appropriate; but of saliency, eloquence, or originality it is wholly guiltless. The feature of the piece as it is done at the Little Theater is the exquisite manner in which Mr. Ames has put it upon the stage. In respect of scenery, lighting, and costuming, we cannot easily conceive a more perfect accomplishment. We would gladly witness this production many nights in succession for the sake of the extraordinarily beautiful sky effects alone—the sky at dusk; the sky violet-hued, star-sown; the sky at dawn. Truly there is more imagination in Mr. Ames's electrician than in Mr. Housman's verse! Thrice-admirable,

too, is the acting of Miss Marguerite Clark *(Prunella)*, Mr. Ernest Glendinning *(Pierrot)*, Mr. Reginald Barlow *(Scaramel)*, and of those who play the minor characters. Miss Clark is a figure of winsome and enamouring loveliness as *Prunella*, and she plays the part with fine intelligence, with delicate justness of expression, with possessing charm. The *Pierrot* of Mr. Glendinning has exceptional grace and authority.

All in all, we are beholden to Mr. Ames for a memorable entertainment. If only Mr. Housman's text and Mr. Moorat's music had been as poetic as Mr. Ames's skies!

It is no part of a reviewer's business to ask impertinent questions of an author as to his knowledge of the subject he elects to discuss; yet if *Tante*, the novel by Anne Douglas Sedgwick which Mr. C. Haddon Chambers has dramatized, were less consistent in its psychological fidelity to a certain type than it actually is, one might have to be inquisitive. It is admittedly a dangerous undertaking to attempt to set forth the artistic temperament on the stage or in a novel—especially the artistic temperament as it is embodied in those whose art happens to be music. Mr. George Moore has, of course, done the thing once and for all in his *Evelyn Innes*—indeed, he has almost made it superfluous for any one else to venture in where he has so superlatively excelled. Yet, for those whose misfortune it is to know by personal experience the more egregious type of musical artist, *Tante* is a reasonably veracious and viable creation. To be sure, the *Tante* shown to you by Miss Ethel Barrymore is not quite the *Tante* of the novel; but she is no less truthful an expression of the type. Her sublime selfishness, her incorrigible egoism, are blameless in their fidelity. We have often wished that those lovable sentimentalists who talk of the " ennobling " effect of music on the human soul would explain why it is that the typical musical artist is so very apt to be a prodigy of ignobility. We should like to send all such amiable idealists to see Miss Barrymore as *Tante* at the Empire—not only because they would experience a healthful if somewhat saddening disillusionment, but because they would witness an exceedingly skilful and vivid characterization. To observe Miss Barrymore's delicious simulation of hypocritical emotion in her sobbing appeal to her ward, in the

last act of Mr. Chambers's altogether delightful play, is to be persuaded (if one needs to be persuaded) that Miss Barrymore is among the most deft and accomplished *comédiennes* on our stage. We have only one quarrel with her: she makes *Tante* a shade too likable. In real life, the musical artist of great fame—man or woman—may be loved, but seldom liked.

Mrs. Oliver was a woman whom you could not truthfully—as she points out to her unwilling host, Nevil Ingraham—describe as scarlet (she calls it "black," but you understand that she means "scarlet"). Once a woman steps outside the conventional pale she becomes black, observes Mrs. Oliver—black as the ace of spades: "You're all the same, you men—you're all color-blind. You recognize no degree in a life like mine." Which is doubtless true. It is one of the valuable traits of Mrs. Anne Crawford Flexner's adroit and brilliant little comedy, "The Marriage Game," that she makes you realize these differences in degree. She has done this very audaciously and very successfully. Indeed, her Mrs. Oliver is incomparably the most spiritually respectable, the wisest, the most admirable figure in the play. Men, says Ingraham, have decreed that their women-folk shall "wear white, and white alone"—no blacks or dubious grays for him; and the other women in the play are unquestionably spotless. But they are also silly, spiteful, quarrelsome, suspicious, small-souled, uncharitable, hopelessly unwise: Mrs. Oliver —who is certainly not white, perhaps not even pale gray—shines out from among them like an angel of light and beneficence. So that you find yourself repeating, as you leave the Comedy Theater—repeating almost with approval—that remark of Disraeli's about his wife which Mrs. Oliver herself quotes in the play: to the effect that, by reason of her gracious and charming thoughtfulness upon a certain occasion, she seemed "more like a mistress than a wife." Of course Mrs. Flexner must respect the proprieties, and the immaculate and watchful guardians of our public morality must not be affronted; so she is, on the whole, against the Mrs. Olivers of actual life, and would have our women regard "the marriage game" as a game well worth playing, if only it be played with skill, enthusiasm, and devotion. "You can't win any game except by

playing it to win," says Mrs. Oliver; "yet many women, when they marry, behave as if they'd won the game instead of just begun it. Why don't you, if you fail, feel the same humiliation that a man does at bankruptcy? After all, it's your job."

We are aware that it is contrary to the belief of many discouraged or perhaps too petulant observers to assert that the contemporary theater offers any possibilities of delight or high satisfaction whatsoever. For those who venture to think that the theater was never more rewarding than it is to-day, that it has never been closer to life, never more open to the influence of spiritual and intellectual ideas, never more alive to beauty—for those who so think, one might allege the serene exhortation of Emerson, "let us leave hurry to slaves": for there is nothing more certain than that their conviction will eventually justify itself. But certainly we can all agree—we who are confident, and we who are disheartened and perturbed—that while the contemporary stage may be going to the dogs, it is still somewhat short of that destination so long as it is able to show such things as the season of "farewell" performances now being given at the Shubert Theater by Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson. It is a little late in the day to praise Forbes-Robertson; yet it is perhaps worth saying that never has he seemed such an honor to the theater, so fine and rare and scrupulous an artist, so noble a presence, as he is to-day. We have used the word "noble." It is difficult to characterize Forbes-Robertson without using it. Whatever he does is touched with noble dignity, noble sweetness, noble beauty. We can think of few deeper and more satisfying delights than listening to his noble declamation of noble English, whether it be the English of "Hamlet" or the English of "Cæsar and Cleopatra"—and we make no apology for naming the two plays in the same breath. Indeed, we would suggest to those who decline to regard Mr. George Bernard Shaw as anything but an impudent mountebank that they hear Forbes-Robertson declaim that magnificent apostrophe to the Sphinx in the first act of "Cæsar and Cleopatra": the nobility, the elevation, the poetry of the words are worthy the superb delivery of the greatest master of English diction in our time. LAWRENCE GILMAN.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

BY F. M. COLBY

FRAU MAYREDER'S *A Survey of the Woman Problem*[1] is a surprisingly peaceful and reasonable exposition of feminism. Sex-patriots are a fierce folk, be they feminists or hominists, and they have no patience with people who from cowardice or gross uncertainty have refrained from taking sides. That is why the usual treatise on "Woman, Her Cause and Cure," contains so little for us outsiders. It is intended as a missile for the contrary-minded, not as a message to those who have not yet made up their minds. Is Woman the supreme being whose "two strong arms are the pillars that sustain the universe" or is she a "capsule covering an emptiness which man alone can fill"? There is the naked choice. The usual writer on Woman would think it base to hesitate. Frau Mayreder has no such scorn for the undecided. Nor does she boil down Man and sum up Woman in these vast and awful simplicities. Moreover, though a feminist, she is a woman of peace, aiming at no sex conquest, but only at benevolent assimilation. No doubt it is these ingratiating qualities, rather than any great powers of thought or expression, that have given her her great prestige in Germany and are now prompting many English-speaking reviewers to exclaim that they never looked upon her like before. Her plan, or rather dream, of benevolent assimilation looks forward to a new and higher form of human being whom she calls "synthetic man."

> The representatives of higher humanity in a monistic sense will be those whose psycho-physical constitution enables them to overstep the bounds of sexuality and to raise and increase the inward relationships between the sexes—those beings who are subject to the conditions both of the male and of the female—synthetic man.

[1] *A Survey of the Woman Problem.* By Rosa Mayreder. From the German by Herman Scheffauer. George H. Doran & Co.: New York, 1913.

This, however, is a long way off, and meanwhile she addresses herself to the task of removing the misunderstandings between the sexes.

There she does some good destructive work on the subject of Woman in General. Many pages of her arguments may be summed up in the single and apparently sound thesis that Woman, with a capital letter, is a myth, and only women are realities. Woman and woman, she says, are no more alike than man and man. After a careful study of men's general statements about Woman she concludes that Woman is merely a "subjective fetish of sex," having no existence outside the brain of the thinker. Goethe and Grillparzer, indeed, were frank enough to admit it. "My ideas of woman," said Goethe, "are not obtained from experiences of reality, but they are inborn or have developed in me Heaven knows how." And Grillparzer exclaims: "A woman, what might it be? . . . A something that is never anything, never nothing, just as I happen to imagine it—I—I alone." But almost all other distinguished writers have been quite sure about her. Frau Mayreder illustrates their confusion. There is Lotze saying that "the female hates analysis" and therefore cannot distinguish the true from the false. There is Lafitte saying that "the female prefers analysis." There is Kingsley calling her "the only true missionary of civilization," and Pope calling her a rake at heart; Havelock Ellis saying that she cannot work under pressure, and Von Horn saying that in the fulfilling of heavy requirements she puts a man to shame; M. de Lambert that she plays with love, Krafft-Ebing that her heart is toward monogamy; Brissac that "souls have no sex," Feuerbach that they have; Laura Marholm that "the significance of woman is man," Frau Andreas Salomé that woman is one "who endeavors to realize an ever broader, ever richer unfolding of her innate self"; Havelock Ellis that nervous irritability has ever been her peculiar characteristic; Möbius that women are "strongly conservative and hate all innovation"; Hippel that "the spirit of revolution broods over the female sex"; Lecky that woman is superior both in instinctive virtues and in those which arise from a sense of duty; Lombroso that there is "a half-criminaloid being even in the normal woman"; Bachhofer that "Law is innate in women"; von Hartmann that the whole sex is unjust and unfair; Nietzsche saying at one moment that women like George Sand and

Madame de Staël are of corrupted instincts and "merely absurd," and at another that woman alone has "intelligence" and men merely "emotion and passion."

From which partial list of contradictions it will be seen that Frau Mayreder is justified in thinking that writers on the subject are, to say the least, rather happy-go-lucky. Or, in her more elaborate language:

> Woman as an abstraction, as a figment of thought, exists only in the brain of the thinker, and is absolutely dependent upon this—as the nature of thought demands; but woman as an individual exists for herself, and is as noble or as vile, as gifted or as stupid, as weak or as strong, as good or as wicked, as like to man or as unlike him; in short, as diversified as is made necessary by the very nature of the human species. How astonishing that this simple observation, confirmed a thousandfold by life and the representation of life, should only in the rarest cases be able to assert itself against the power of the subjective fetish!

And it is the same way with those sex-patriots who carry the fight back through savagery and the home life of the chimpanzee and bird-matings and bee society to the cell itself. No sure formula of Femininity can be founded on the qualities of masculine and feminine germ-cells, for even here partisanship enters and "we find little more than arbitrary suppositions, in which everything points in a direction agreeable to the writer." Some say that a self-assertive spirit is a mark of the masculine germ, while the feminine is, on the whole, passive and stable. Others taunt the masculine germ-cell for its "fusion with a larger self-contained organism like the ovulum," as a sign of that spirit of surrender and self-sacrifice "which has always been considered a particular distinguishing feature of the female nature." It is evident that people cannot forget the suffrage question or their own family affairs even when discussing a protozoon.

In short, we are forever attributing to sex spiritual and intellectual qualities that are not necessarily bound up with it.

> If after we have stripped off all the influences of mode of life and occupation, of custom and extraction, and freed our judgment from conventional prejudices, and particularly from our own subjective tendency, we seek justification for all that may still be called manly or unmanly, womanly or unwomanly, then we will find at the bottom of our consciousness a feeling difficult to define. Taking concrete examples as guides, it seems quite clear that this feeling is not directed

against certain qualities. We do not regard as unfeminine the great women of history—a Portia, Arria, or Charlotte Corday, though their actions exhibit all the energy, resolution, and courage of a particularly masculine temperament; nor as "unmanly" the loving resignation, gentleness, and self-sacrifice by which many of the saints of Christian legend evince a distinctly feminine disposition. From this alone it is evident that in the higher ranks of personal perfection the ordinary psycho-sexual categories are no longer applicable. These divisions are more concerned with the externals of personality and the lower ranks of ordinary life. They leave unregarded an entire list of qualities which point to a personal distinction beyond all sex, as, for example, strength of mind, force of will, steadfastness, courage, reliability, etc. And in the moral ideal which Christendom has given to the world, chastity, humility, peacefulness, even the need of subordination to the guidance of a higher will, are all set forth as virtues irrespective of sex.

Frau Mayreder's patient analysis of all sorts of things that do not bear analysis, of conventionalities, gentilities, feminine pucker, masculine swagger, poetical sentimentality, oratorical rant, and the various attempts of Peter the Pumpkin-eater to put True Woman in a pumpkin-shell, naturally convicts the world of a good many absurdities. And it would not have hurt the human race in the least if, while tidying up its mental confusion, she had smiled a little now and then; but not for a moment does she permit herself to be amused by anything in a world that has gone so hopelessly astray on sex questions. Toward nonsense in all its forms she maintains an attitude of extraordinary seriousness. She does not even call it nonsense, but envelops it in scientific-sounding terms that make it seem quite dignified. Let Michelet remark in a silly moment, "You must create your wife—it is her own wish," and she straightway defines it as a "subjective erotic fantasy." Some of the simplest and most familiar types of men disappear beneath her Greek derivatives. For example, there is he who swaggers a good deal in his own household and is "tame and feeble" everywhere else—he who for all ordinary purposes might with perfect adequacy be termed an ass. This simple definition by no means contents her. She says he "experiences a dyscrasy, or sense of discord, within him" and "between his sexual life and his career as a citizen there exists a latent contradiction which secretly is, perhaps, as great a trial to him as to the wife who is dependent on him." A licentious, domineering man, a weak, passive, crafty, false, or ludicrous woman, is an *acratic* person—that is to say, a "partially developed being whose whole person-

ality is determined by teleological sex characteristics." They are exponents of "centrifugal sexuality." On the other hand, persons like the Christian saints are *iliastric,* "the highest type of centripetal sexuality." Better still are the *synthetic* folk above mentioned whose sexuality is an equilibrium of the centrifugal and the centripetal sexual tendency. She seems to have caught some bad verbal habit from almost every science she has studied, but she has no doubt suffered the most from sociology. Take, for example, the simple and familiar precept that women should advance in morality and intelligence so far as possible without shattering the outward decencies. What mind uncorrupted by the social sciences would conceal it under this?

> To emancipate oneself from the ethical normative of femininity, which fetters individuality because of the teleological limits of sex, is a distinct right. But to preserve its formal quality is the task of a free personality.

As so often happens with the sociologist, words are cast over common little ideas just to prevent their capture:

> That development of woman as an independent personality, of which the strivings of modern women are the expression, is attended in some cases by a dyscrasy of the feminine being—a bad mixture of the tendencies of the female striving for sexual subordination and the tendencies of her personality striving for independence. Such women, by reason of their erotic peculiarity, look for those very qualities in the man of their choice which they are least able to endure in their extra-sexual life.

But this is Frau Mayreder at her worst. She remains lucid for pages at a time and even her encumbered passages are often worth stripping to the thought within, for it is a book of wide views, the product of a singularly honest intellect. It is too bad that a good many persons, stunned by her language, will be unable to find this out. Of course, there may be some sovereign scientific virtue in all these dyscrasies, acrasies, iliastrics, and teleological psycho-sexual erotico-frigidities, and possibly there is a professor of something somewhere who would take to them as a duck to water, but for my part I cannot imagine what his subject would be.

As to the equality of the sexes, Frau Mayreder "concedes that the female majority type is not the equal of the male either in intellect or in strength of will." She adds:

> The "equality" of the sexes in general is something which one should only consider in so far as it stands in relation to the right of individual

self-development—the absolute measure of comparison should only be used in cases where it is necessary to give judgment between two competitors of different sexes in one single contingency. None but the most partisan spirit, prejudiced either for or against, would fail to acknowledge that any equal achievement of the woman ought to be valued, subjectively, in a far higher degree, because of the greater difficulties, from within and from without, which she must overcome. Indeed, it may be said that one of the greatest acts of injustice that may be charged against those who uphold a supposedly objective valuation lies in comparing the feminine intellectuality in a historical sense with the masculine, making use of man himself as a masculine standard.

According to Frau Mayreder the days of the lady are numbered. Soon the term ladylike will be actually insulting. There is something in the very idea of ladyhood "that is incompatible with the concept of a free personaliy." There is, moreover, "something antiquated, something quixotic," about it. Sport has greatly damaged the lady because of its swift and violent movements which aim "more at sureness than at grace." It "militates against the orthodox conception of the lady" that she should break her nose on a bicycle. And—

It is precisely in the matter of sport that one cannot exclude the element of comradeship in the intercourse between the sexes. It is just here that it has won its most extensive and astonishing victories. It would be possible to apply a variation of Buckle's famous dictum with regard to the ethical mission of the locomotive by declaring that the bicycle has done more for the emancipation of woman than all the strivings of the entire woman's movement taken together.

Sport, according to Frau Mayreder, is one of the "disguised, revolutionary elements," that are surely working for the removal of those two useless "anachronisms," the "housekeeper" and the "lady," from the face of the earth. This sounds like the exaggerations of some brilliant British essayist.

And again—

Never before have the ordinary conceptions of femininity, of the imaginary "ideal woman," been so imbecile as in the nineteenth century.

Fancy being on such familiar terms with all the centuries!

But these are mere forms of speech caught from too much reading of contemporary essays on the future of woman and the nature of modern man. Even the lightest of literary characters nowadays will toss the ages about in this manner and would think it the mark of a cowardly intellect if they did not say "all history shows." No harm is meant; it is

merely by way of emphasis, a sort of sociological way of swearing. Social philosophies have to bluster a good deal in universals because they are so largely founded on omissions. So these huge generalities that fly about in the great sex conflict often contain only a few particulars. The hominist who would save the world from an irruption of gynecocrats is often merely fleeing from some single Mary Ann. But one soon learns to make allowances; and it is possible to read these things without loss of balance so long as one does not forget to extract the *n*th root of words that are obviously raised to the *n*th power. Otherwise giddiness will surely supervene, as happened to a young man last May who, on reading Frau Mayreder's book, wrote about it with great violence in the *English Review*. He said that not only had the lady disappeared, but the gentleman also, and what with sport, and education, and electricity, and eugenics, and the slit skirt, and the turkey trot, and "all America and all Paris and half England doing ragtime," it was plain that the Human Blush no longer blocked the way of woman's progress, and that, "creatively, Woman stands to-day unshackled!" Elated, but a little incoherent, he burst out now and then with such remarks as "Modesty—perhaps!" and "Virginity—consider!" Only one thing seemed to mar his pleasure. Personally he did not care for Frau Mayreder's "synthetic ideal." "Sex," he declared, "is and must be the greatest force in life, because life is entirely dependent on it." He thought he descried in Frau Mayreder's synthetic person a "lack of animalism, and consequently of vitality," and he attached great importance to vitality and believed that it ought to be preserved. "I love a great bouncing puppy," said he. "I love the vitality of man." But there was not the slightest need of his getting into any such condition had he but followed the simple rule I have mentioned.

F. M. Colby.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

SHAKESPEARE AS A PLAYWRIGHT. By BRANDER MATTHEWS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

On the whole, no more affording book for the general reader who wishes to understand and enjoy Shakespeare has been written than this of Professor Matthews's. Since it was plays primarily that Shakespeare was trying to write, it ought to go almost without saying that we can best understand the development of the dramatist and the sequence of his works by viewing him primarily as a playwright and only secondarily as a poet or as a psychologist. The plan is schematically clear and illuminating, though occasionally, like a mercator's chart, it may seem to diminish the size or importance of a play that looms larger poetically than dramatically. On the other hand, that sort of criticism which insists upon viewing Shakespeare's works *sub specie æternitatis* has perhaps done for us about all that it will ever do.

For biographies of Shakespeare padded with speculation, the author seems to have no more liking than Professor Saintsbury reveals in his part of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. Professor Matthews gives the main, established facts and highest probabilities briefly, and then goes on to a discussion of the Tudor theater. Shakespeare's plays, he believes, cannot be really understood until we have rid ourselves of the prejudices and conventions connected with our modern "picture-frame" stage, with its elaborate scenery, its curtain, and its long waits between acts. The stage of Shakespeare's time must be viewed from the standpoint of the time that preceded Shakespeare's birth and not from that of a time long after his death. The cardinal doctrine of the Tudor stage —the doctrine inherited from the earlier miracle plays and moralities— was that the place represented by the stage might be anywhere, and in no case is the action hindered by serious doubt as to the locality in which it is supposed to occur: if any such doubt arises the spoken lines promptly dispel it. When the actors leave the stage, it is Venice; when they return, it is Belmont; and what is lost in dramatic illusion through the want of scenery is made up in swiftness of exposition and in story-telling power through the absence of scene-shifting. To the lack of scenery also we owe those splendid Shakespearean descriptions, which lose as much by the scene-painter's art as do poems in a book by illustration; and in which, surely, the absurdity of an actor's commenting eloquently upon canvas backgrounds was not originally contemplated. A further advantage of the Tudor mode of representation lay, no doubt, in the fact

that it gave to the comedies somewhat of the character of homely, impromptu entertainments, of which the spectators felt themselves a part.

The aim of the miracle plays and moralities was primarily, of course, to tell a story—the *whole story*—and to tell it in such a manner that even those spectators who could not understand or did not hear the lines could not fail to follow the action. This purpose of telling the whole story, without regard for unity or proportion, passed over into the chronicle plays of Shakespeare's time; and Professor Matthews clearly points out that it is to the old blood-and-thunder tragedy of revenge that we must look for the origin not only of what we find repellent in some of the Shakespearean tragedies, but for their very dramatic structure. "Hamlet," indeed, is in its skeleton structure a perfect type of the blood-and-revenge tragedy; and such expedients as the appearance of the murdered man's ghost and the madness of the hero were almost conventional features of earlier plays belonging to the same category.

Taking up the plays of Shakespeare in the generally accepted chronological order, Professor Matthews discusses Shakespeare as a reviser and imitator. Next he takes up the earliest comedies, in which he finds the playwright "groping for a formula of comedy which no one of his contemporaries had attempted." Passing on to the earliest chronicle plays, he finds that in these Shakespeare developed his power of breathing the breath of life into the men and women of his creation and of writing "soaring speeches and pathetic phrases." Next comes "Romeo and Juliet"—a masterpiece of stagecraft as of poetry and humanity. There seems to be little doubt that the plays in which Falstaff first figures were composed later than "Romeo and Juliet," and they show an advance in power of character-creation; yet the chronicle play, with its elementary story-telling purpose, remains in structure the chronicle play. After this group follow the romantic comedies, such as "The Merchant of Venice" and "As You Like It," in which the playwright has at length found his formula—his method of supporting comedy by means of a more or less serious underplot. "It may be," conjectures Professor Matthews, "that when Shakespeare composed 'All's Well,' he was worn and weary, distracted by some personal suffering. Yet it needs to be said once more that his effort seems always to be in direct proportion to the attraction exerted upon him by the subject he is at work on." Such is the explanation offered for the unsatisfactory dramatic quality of the group of plays called "comedy dramas"; nor is it forgotten that there is no warrant for assuming a smoothly regular progress from good to better and from better to best in any man's work. Illuminating, as from the stage point of view, are the author's analyses of "Hamlet," "Othello," the plays from Plutarch, "King Lear," "Macbeth," and the "dramatic romances," including "The Tempest." Professor Matthews steps aside now and then to talk entertainingly and instructively of Shakespeare as an actor, of the actors in Shakespeare's company, and of the Elizabethan audiences who saw Shakespeare's plays performed. The author's method and taste make him sparing of rhetorical appreciation, and in general what he writes is much to the point. Professor Matthews is a master of popular exposition: his book is charmingly written, chatty yet concise. It is no exaggeration to say that by reading this volume one's appreciation of Shakespeare, in the theater or in the library, will be measurably increased.

EARLY MEMORIES. By HENRY CABOT LODGE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Few autobiographies are on all scores better worth the reading than this of Henry Cabot Lodge's. Writing with the mellowness, but without the studied languor, of reminiscence, Senator Lodge gives lively impressions of life from the time when "Boston was small enough to be satisfying to a boy's desires" down to the beginning of the author's political career. Senator Lodge has, of course, a large grasp of things, and—what is far rarer—he has that true relish and appreciation of what is intimately connected with oneself which is the very soul of autobiography. He can be quite frank—with the frankness moderns have learned from Montaigne, and on occasion also with a modern subtlety of analysis. But the quality of his writing that strikes us most, perhaps, is its urbanity—the urbanity characteristic of Holmes, G. W. Curtis, Lowell, our classic school of American writers.

Senator Lodge dwells pleasantly but not too caressingly upon his boyhood days—the days of clipper ships—brought vividly before our eyes—of merchants' offices in the granite blocks running down to the piers at Commercial or Lewis Wharf, whither came pestering small boys—himself among them—in search of foreign postage stamps; the days of skating on the Frog Pond and snow fights on the Common. Characterizing the Boston of that period with a gift for modestly expressive speech that is his in a greater degree than it is most men's, he writes: "Whatever its merits or defects, Boston in the first decade of the second half of the nineteenth century had a meaning and a personality, and even a boy could feel them. It may have been narrow, austere, at times even harsh, this personality, but it was there, and it was strong, manly, aggressive. It would still have been possible to rally the people in 1850 as they were once rallied against British soldiers on a certain cold March evening with the cry of 'Town born, turn out!'"

Of the Civil War, he gives a boy's impressions, as little as possible confused with mature afterthoughts, and he really adds a good deal to the effect and significance of the period in our minds. Here and everywhere there is apt and relevant anecdote, and the flavor that is given by strong and interesting personalities—some famous and some not. There are hitherto unpublished stories about Rufus Choate, and there is a letter from Daniel Webster on the subject of fishing—a letter methodical as always, but not oratorical, for once, and showing the writer, oh, very much absorbed in the minutiæ of angling. There is much of foreign travel—not at all in the guide-book style. There are delightful memories of Harvard together with a side-light upon the elective system newly introduced by President Eliot; and the reminiscences of the American stage as it used to be are unexpectedly full. Again, nothing could be sounder or more entertaining than the author's digressive interpretation of boy-life or his frankly critical discussion, from the boy's standpoint, of books for boys, including *Tom Brown, Sandford and Merton,* and the Abbott stories.

Senator Lodge shuns the rôle of *laudator temporis acti,* and his chapter of retrospect is no bitter contrast of past and present, yet he speaks firmly and vigorously regarding certain modern sentimental and political tendencies, and, without argument, does us good by enabling us to think

the sterner thoughts and feel the possibly more wholesome feelings of an earlier generation of Americans. His autobiography, if not the most important record of the last half-century, is certainly one of the most profitable and entertaining.

THE WRITINGS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, Vol. II. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

The period covered in the present volume of John Quincy Adams's collected correspondence extends from 1796 to 1801. The opening of the period finds him at The Hague, whither he had been sent as Minister Resident, only a little while before Pichegru marched into the capital of the Low Countries, hung out the tri-color, and established the "Batavian Republic" as the ally of France. The close of the period sees Adams in Berlin, having been accredited to the Prussian King as ambassador for the purpose of concluding a treaty of amity and commerce between Prussia and the United States.

Adams remained at The Hague until November, 1797, keeping a sharp eye upon French politics, and maintaining a comprehensive and pithy correspondence with his father, John Adams, with Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, and others. The letters throw light upon the difficult state of relations abroad and upon political passions at home. Revealing the details of negotiations, they show also the sense of insecurity felt by those in charge of the new republic, the disposition to cry "Wolf!" and the writer's belief in the inclination of the Directory to meddle unwarrantably and even violently in American politics. Adams, however, consistently refused to be bullied, irritated as he frequently was by such humiliating fiascos as the refusal of the Directory to negotiate with Pinckney, the expressed preference for Monroe, the unwise behavior of Gerry in dealing with Talleyrand after the other members of the commission of which Gerry was a member had been dismissed, the "X, Y, Z" episode, and the like. Able diplomat as he was proving himself to be, the Adams of these letters is plainly the Adams of the Diary: the pessimistic and rather self-righteous turn of mind, the more or less restrained bitterness of feeling, and the power of caustic characterization are all in evidence. Of Tom Paine, Adams wrote: "It has, in the course of Heaven's ways to man, been God's pleasure sometimes to create human beings with mischievous powers more extensive than those of Paine, but none more malignant."

In Berlin, after concluding the treaty with which he was charged, Adams continued to watch closely the policies of France, and sought for a means of bringing about an agreement between neutral nations as to the treatment of their commerce; but he quickly saw the true situation, and was far too wise to commit himself by an attempt to do the impossible. Throughout, the letters are of high value, not only as records of fact and personal opinion, but because of the shrewd political reasoning that pervades them.

REVELATION AND THE IDEAL. By GEORGE A. GORDON, MINISTER OF THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

This book of Dr. Gordon's is by no means a philosophical treatise, but

rather a collection of sermons, each with its appropriate text, upon closely related topics. The discourses are wholly undoctrinal in tone, and in style they represent the best type of pulpit eloquence. Dr. Gordon's avowed aim is "to introduce clearness and sureness in the current use among Christian people of the ideal." As to the meaning of the word, and the warrant of the ideal conception, he substantially agrees with Professor Royce, finding that those thoughts of heroism and beauty which lead men on to their highest and noblest achievements arise out of human relationships and out of the divine spirit common to all. In his handling of the subject, Dr. Gordon lays quite as much emphasis upon the value of the pictured ideal as that conception will bear: "God," he writes, "gets His deep-laid and mighty moral plan into the mind through the glowing forms of the imagination," and thus all great poets, artists, and other idealists are in a real sense prophets, helping on the gradual revelation of the ideal. As to whether or not the part of the imagination in the process of moral betterment is fundamental, there may be difference of opinion: Kant, with his categorical imperative, one supposes, would have refused to have anything to do with imaginative revelation; and the Dualist with his "inner check" seems to stand in no immediate need of it. But as to the advantage of properly realizing the value of ideals and of having them clothed upon with fitting imagery, there can be no doubt, and these ends Dr. Gordon quite effectively helps us to attain—despite an excusable tendency to multiply metaphors and to dwell upon appropriate figures of speech as pearls of great price. Quite illustrative of the general point of view of the book is this passage from the chapter upon "The Ideal of the Patriot": "The Ideal America is the real America. If you wish to know the everlasting America, look into the minds of its great patriots, into the thoughts of its deepest prophets"—a statement of Emersonian authority and doubtfulness: for, after all, just what do we mean by "the real" when we talk in this way?

To the reader who reads analytically, much of Dr. Gordon's book will be somewhat disappointing. We are told, once again, that there is no real conflict between science and religion. Scientists are received into the fold as prophets. If we are accustomed to the mental analysis of abstract terms, the chapter on "What is Revelation?" will not prove particularly enlightening; and discourse on such points as the fact that physical magnitude and moral worth are incommensurable seems a rhetorical superfluity. So that, on the whole, one suspects that the book will prove a little disappointing, especially since the signs of the time point to the desire of most men for a practical and workable philosophy. Eloquent exhortation, however—the exaltation of those things which we feel in our hearts ought to be exalted—is not to be despised, in church or out of it. Dr. Gordon's central thesis will bear stressing in a variety of ways; for it is an assertion of the validity of what we perforce believe best and highest. "We are everywhere," he writes, in language that could hardly be bettered—"we are everywhere in contact with reality other than our own reality; we pass to that reality through our thoughts, and in so doing we transcend our thoughts. We seek education—that is, we seek escape from our own crude mind into the mature mind of our race; we complete our poor individual existence in the life of home, trade, society, our nation, mankind; and in the same way we seek to perfect our being in God." Becoming from chapter to chapter

rather more distinctively theological, Dr. Gordon's exposition aims consistently to generalize and to give wider significance to Biblical events and terms, to give a broad and inspiring view, correlating personal experience with the august things of religion.

MORAL TRAINING IN THE SCHOOL AND HOME: A MANUAL FOR TEACHERS AND PARENTS. By E. HERSHEY SNEATH, Ph.D., LL.D., AND GEORGE HODGES, D.D., D.C.L. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Examination of this well-meant and more or less useful little manual confirms an impression that the science of pedagogy, apart from the labors of Mme. Montessori and a few others, is still in the stage of dubious groping. The authors make a reasonable plea for moral training in the schools, affirming that the demand for such training already exists and that its non-fulfilment is due to mere inertia. We are behind France and Japan in this matter, they remark. The teaching of ethics in the grades, it is maintained with obvious justice, should not be attempted. But the virtues and vices of each stage of the child's development need to be determined, and here the so-called "recapitulatory theory" of individual evolution is of service—giving a certain amount of guidance, which may be supplemented by the results of a *questionnaire*. Psychology, however, is slow in providing answers to practical questions, and it is apparent that for the present, as in tentative efforts in the past, the chief reliance must be placed on common sense. The method of moral instruction most insisted upon by the authors of the treatise under notice is the indirect method of story-telling—the stories to be not of the old-fashioned, ultra-moral, Sunday-school type, but entertaining in themselves, and the application to be left to the child's intelligence. The power of suggestion is something of a modern fad, and it is perhaps permissible to inquire whether its effect is not overrated. To furnish the mind with sound thoughts and beautiful images is, of course, a recognized office of literature, and the ultimate influence of literature upon character may be very great. But on the other hand, is there not a tendency with children as with persons of mature years to keep fiction in a separate compartment of the mind? We love King Arthur because he is romantic, not because we expect to be, or want to be, like him. The puny child will revel in tales of martial exploits without necessarily trying to become athletic; the idle but imaginative child will thrill to a tale of prompt efficiency, but one seems to see him coming late to school all the same. Perhaps the pupil who best takes in the story illustrating the value of accuracy will profit least by the moral. In general, it would seem not nearly so hard to make children see the relation of accuracy to a railroad accident as to make them feel that the virtue has any vital relation to *them*. Yet if the method be not trusted too far, and if literary instinct be not perverted for the sake of immediate moral application, it may be hoped that much good will result from the story-telling programme.

Moral Training in the School and Home illustrates the tendency of pedagogy in its present rather uncertain frame of mind to quote late authorities for rather obvious facts and to rely upon all sorts of authorities (including Aristotle) for its general ideas. One wishes that that obvious afterthought of Coleridge's in the last stanzas of "The Ancient

Mariner" would not be cited as a moral lesson inculcating kindness to dumb animals.

Of considerable value to teachers and parents will be the carefully selected lists which the book contains of stories designed to illustrate the several kinds of virtues. These tales are of excellent quality and not above average juvenile tastes.

LAST POEMS. By JULIA C. R. DORR. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Julia Caroline Ripley Dorr was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in February, 1825, and died at Rutland, Vermont, in January of the present year. She was one of those American women who preserve a serene faith and a fine responsiveness to whatever goodness and beauty there may be in the world into the twilight of a serene old age. The interest of her fiction and other prose writings has faded somewhat in the passage of time: in her poetry there is a spirit of more permanence.

The influence of the really great poets is all about us: it is in our daily speech, in the books we read, in the thoughts we think. And their great works are landmarks none may ignore. We are impressed by "Paradise Lost" as we are by the pyramids—and our feeling in each case may be sincere, though we have neither poetical nor archæological tastes. But the number of those who care for good verse as most people care for comely architecture, pleasant pictures, or tuneful music is small. By these, however, the poems of Julia C. R. Dorr, will not be found wanting in quiet charm. These poems are not powerfully imaginative, nor do they reveal much verbal inspiration—the memorable phrase is lacking, and something of a tendency toward conventional imagery is shown—but the verses have always an adequate richness of expression, and they are genuinely lyrical. Verses like that which begins "O, strong young runner in the race of life" possess language-music and somewhat the ring of passionate utterance.

MERCHANTS FROM CATHAY. By WILLIAM ROSE BENET. New York: The Century Company, 1913.

There is a feeling, known to some of us, that poetry, among artistic media, should be reserved for those conceptions which no other medium can well be used to express—for the great and elemental utterances or for the beauty that borders on the sublime. The validity of such a feeling, however, may be questioned; and certainly there seems to be no adequate reason why people of good taste, in general appreciative of the fine arts, should fail to find a sufficient reward of enjoyment in the perusal of such verse as Mr. Benét has given us in "Merchants from Cathay." The dexterous meter, making a fine mosaic of rhythm, image, and tripping phrase, and the vigorous, wholesome temper of it all, call for something more than perfunctory commendation. The author shows a quaint originality of fancy and a definiteness of feeling and point of view that win respect and give pleasure. Occasionally tapestry-like in mere decorativeness of effect, and in sentiment often short of the thrilling, the verses are in no case shamefully weak and now and then yield the surprise of discovered beauty.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE NEW TARIFF

SIR,—In connection with your article in the New York *Times*, last Sunday, entitled "Six Months of Wilson," I take the liberty of pointing out one statement in relation to the tariff which is often misunderstood by the reader.

You state that "there can be no doubt of revision downward when the average rate of duty is reduced from 40.12 per cent. to approximately 26 per cent." Of course, the amount of revision downward is not measured or gaged by these figures at all, because they take no account of those articles put on the Free List. Neither are these percentages the average duty paid on imports. They are merely the averages—not by quantity, but by unit article—of the *dutiable* articles imported. It would be entirely possible, as you know, to really reduce the amount of protection while actually raising the average per cent. of duty as computed above. In the Payne-Aldrich bill, quite a number of articles were reduced to the free list, and, with the exception of one schedule, reductions were made on practically all large imports, while increases were made in certain small imports.

In a similar way, we think the statement misleading when you say "Neither is there left much room for cry of Free Trade under a tariff of 26 per cent." It is self-evident that this percentage is very little index of the question of actual protection for two reasons. One is, that the articles of large consumption might all be on the Free List. To take an extreme case: Suppose only three articles were taxable out of the whole eight thousand articles and over that are enumerated in the tariff bill. If those three articles happened to draw a 50 per cent. duty and the average rate of duty were then stated to be 50 per cent., apparently we would have high protection. The imports of those three articles might be negligible and all the balance of the articles come in free. In short, a condition of Free Trade might exist. We submit, therefore, that that form of statement is apt to be misleading. While you know the difference, the majority of your readers do not, and the result is, they draw many wrong conclusions.

A similar mistake is often made by financial writers in speaking of the balance of trade between this country and foreign countries. They will give the excess of exports in value over imports as shown by the Government Statistics and consider the difference between the two as our favorable credit balance against foreign countries. While the informed financial writer only uses that statement in a comparative sense, the public, which does not know its real meaning, concludes that we really have credits against the foreign countries when in reality this

only measures one part of the transaction and we may be even creating larger debtor balances. The financial writer does not consider it necessary to explain that the value of the imports is at the point of origin with no transport added, nor any of the selling expense, insurance, etc., which all has to be added to the foreign credit balance, nor does it take account of a number of other items, such as interests on past debts, dividends on stocks owned abroad, and similar equities which are obvious on reflection.

DETROIT, MICH. W. A. LIVINGSTONE.

The point with respect to exact percentages is well taken, of course, but does not conflict with the main fact that the new measure does provide "a substantial revision downward" without approaching a free-trade basis.—EDITOR.

MR. MORLEY AND GOLDWIN SMITH

SIR,—The article by the Secretary of Goldwin Smith, on the reason why his chief left England, is very interesting. It quickens my memory concerning a conversation I once had with John Morley on the same subject. I ventured to remark to Lord Morley that we in America had always wondered why Goldwin Smith had left England. "We here, also, have always wondered," he replied. This article is the first large and lucid interpretation I have ever seen of the cause.

CHARLES F. THWING.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.

MR. ASQUITH

SIR,—In the belief that you and I are old friends though personally strangers, I am writing to tell you how much I enjoyed your article on the Master Statesman. Plutarch might well have been proud of such a portraiture.

There are many heroes and others of later centuries who await the man who will do for them what the old Greek did for those of earlier ages.

It would be a fine thing to be known as the Plutarch of the 20th Century. Here is a hint for you.

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA. J. H. MCBRIDE.

COMMENDATION

SIR,—I am disgusted with the entire lack of morality, logic, and virility displayed in the editorials of our daily papers. Though I have been retired from active business several years, yet I am so busy that I have little time to investigate the literary fields and so do not know what is being written outside of those lines that I especially follow. But being in Nyack this summer, I went into the Public Library to see an article perhaps published by you that was referred to in the New York *Times*. Anyway, I was very much pleased by what I found in your periodical. The feeling was renewed by what appeared in the New York *Times* of to-day. The *Financial Chronicle* and the *Wall Street Journal* do appear to me to be edited with a good deal of ability, but they are publications that reach only a limited class. Why are the people content to put in power and listen to Wilson in place of Cleve-

land, or Wilson's spokesman Bryan, or Dr. Hillis in place of Beecher? Or how can the people who had the advice of Benjamin Franklin pay any attention to the "rubbish" of the Progressives? However, I only write to commend your writing and your exhibitions of those qualities that seem to be so lacking in the papers and the people of to-day.

J. P. WINTRINGHAM.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

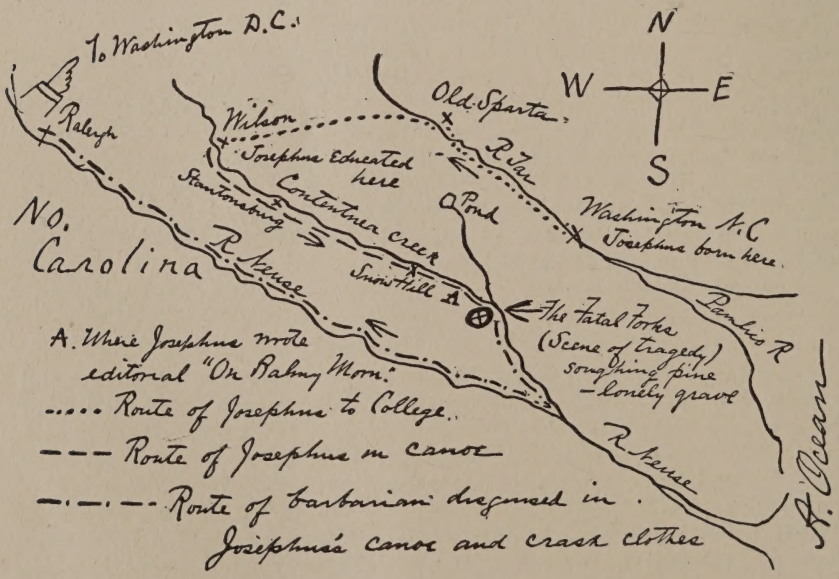
CONTENTNEA CREEK

SIR,—Your simply written biography of Josephus Daniels from before the cradle to after the grave does indeed mark a tragedy, but tell me: Is there a stream called Contentnea Creek? It sounds like a term from "Wessex Tales" and seems too good to be true. The River Neuse I have heard of, but—Contentnea Creek! Does it really and truly exist, and, if so, where?

SAMUEL BRAKER.

PORTLAND, MAINE.

If our correspondent had examined his atlas, he would have had no occasion to encroach upon our time and patience. Nevertheless, since, like Mr. Wanamaker, we aim to please, we present herewith a map not only showing where the famous Contentnea ebbs and flows, but also indicating the routes of those two who were most particularly concerned in the tragic episode referred to, namely, to wit:



A rumor has recently permeated naval circles to the effect that the forthcoming manœuvers are to take place at or near the Fatal Forks "by order," but we utterly discredit the report; the suggestion is too hideous for contemplation.—EDITOR.

CONTEMPORARY ECHOES

THE PRESIDENT AND CLASS LEGISLATION

(From the New York Times)

Mr. George Harvey discusses the first six months of President Wilson's career in the White House. It is an interesting review. Mr. Harvey's long and intimate acquaintance with Mr. Wilson, his early and sincere sympathy with the avowed purposes and principles of Mr. Wilson in politics, his wide information as to the political history of the country, and his wide experience as an observer and critic of public affairs and public men, together with a certain independent and sometimes whimsical point of view, give to his opinions a value of their own. Those, however, who look to find in this review any trace of the strained relations between the writer and the President existing during the campaign will be disappointed. Mr. Harvey writes sometimes severely but temperately and impartially, and what he has to say is worth candid and respectful attention.

He is obliged at the start to put aside a number of important matters connected with foreign affairs because they are either in abeyance or are too vaguely formulated to permit definite judgment. He gives the President ample and deserved credit for the masterly manner in which he guided his party in Congress in the development and passage of the Tariff act. And then he passes to the consideration of what he calls "the one big blot on the record of the Wilson Administration," "the exemption of a class from prosecution under the anti-trust law." In order to bring out clearly the actual nature and mode of this exemption Mr. Harvey cites the amendment to the anti-trust law proposed by Senator Aldrich and rejected when the bill was in the Senate. He recites the action of President Taft on the amendment proposed in the Civil Appropriation bill in the last Congress, and the veto message, explaining in the clearest terms why he could not give his approval to the measure containing this amendment. He goes into some detail in describing the course of Mr. Wilson and his complicity in securing the reintroduction of the bill with the obnoxious proviso in it. And finally he analyzes in a manner that no one can complain of, yet with a pitiless logic, the memorandum of President Wilson accompanying his approval of the bill.

Practically what the President said in this memorandum amounts to this: The proviso is of such a nature that, if I could have separated it from the bill I would have vetoed it. It places a limitation on expenditures which is unjustifiable in character and principle. But in practice I can assure the country that this item will not in any way limit or embarrass the actions of the Department of Justice. Mr. Harvey de-

scribes this congeries of statements as "evasive." It is certainly contradictory. It leaves the President in a very bad position. If the proviso was bad enough in character and principle to deserve disapproval, it was bad enough to justify the disapproval of the bill containing it, such as Mr. Taft had accorded to it. That course, however, was hardly open to Mr. Wilson after having, as Mr. Harvey says, expressed the wish to the Chairmen of the House and Senate Committees that the proviso should be enacted.

In brief, the President appears, by the record, to have been willing to let the proviso pass, but not willing to assume the responsibility for its intent and true nature. His efforts to avoid the latter are not indicative of courage, or of clear thinking, or of practical, definite, effective action. Nor can he expect long to keep clear of the issue that has been raised in this singular chapter of his career as President. He has announced that, the Tariff bill being out of the way and the Finance bill being well advanced, it is his intention next to take up the question of the treatment of the trusts. When he does that he will have to say what he will do, or to decide what he can do, with the Labor Trusts which it was intended, by the bill he approved, to exempt from prosecution. That matter raises a very important issue, not merely what will be done with the Labor Trusts, but what will be done with the principle of equality before the law of all citizens and classes of citizens. Mr. Harvey does well to bring this question squarely before the public. It is really the most important in the field of practical politics and especially in the history of Mr. Wilson's Administration. Neither the class immediately interested nor the people whose equal rights are involved will let it rest.

(From the Hartford Courant)

It is a good deal of a study. Mr. Harvey is of the opinion that President Wilson has done one big thing and one bad thing—this bad thing being so bad that he calls it a "big blot on the record of the Wilson Administration." The big thing is of course the new tariff, as to which, after applying to it and to Dr. Wilson in that behalf a variety of rotund and beautiful adjectives and adverbs, he finally says that it "must demonstrate itself." That is to say, we know the scheme of the new tariff, but we have got to wait and see how it actually works, and there we are content to leave it.

The "big blot," however, is a fairly well accomplished fact in itself, although the influences which induced Dr. Wilson to make it may easily push him further along in the same direction. Mr. Harvey's own description of this performance is as follows:

> The one big blot on the record of the Wilson Administration is the initiation of class legislation, through the enactment of a statute which separates American citizens into two great bodies and exempts one of those bodies from the punishment prescribed by a specific law for criminal offenses.

The thing thus described is the rider attached to the latest Sundry Civil Appropriation bill whereby labor organizations and farmers' associations are placed outside the pains and penalties of the Sherman act. . . . Mr. Taft declared and proved the provision to be "class legislation of the most vicious sort." Very little argument is needed, to be

sure, to prove it. The mere statement that it gives to certain citizens the special privilege of breaking the law with impunity, while other citizens are held subject to the full rigors of the same law, is proof enough of its class quality, although there is a good deal of confirmatory historical evidence to the same effect. Mr. Taft did not go about the country swelling his cheeks out with hot assertions that he was going to make war upon all legal partiality and special privilege, and Dr. Wilson did—in a more polished form than Sulzer was master of, but essentially in the Sulzer spirit. But Mr. Taft vetoed this measure of open and avowed special privilege, and Dr. Wilson made it law.

Dr. Wilson, however, gave with his signature to this class law a public certificate, as our readers know, to the effect that his signature amounted to little or nothing. It is in regard to this attempted nullification of his own Presidential signature that Mr. Harvey comes out strongly. Mr. Harvey is polite in his treatment of this Mr. Facing-both-Ways, who happens to be President of the United States, but he is remorselessly logical. We lack space to follow him through this crushing analysis, but one specimen of its quality must be given. President Wilson declared in his official explanation that if he had had the power he would have separated this class provision from the bill, and would have vetoed the provision, "because," as he wrote, "it places upon the expenditures a limitation which is in my opinion unjustifiable in character and principle." Mr. Harvey makes a great play with this limitation that is "unjustifiable in character and principle," and also with Dr. Wilson's excuse that the provision was "backed by an overwhelming majority" in the House and "a large majority" in the Senate—these majorities, Mr. Harvey says, being "directly traceable to knowledge that the bill had the sanction of the President"—and thus reaches this passage:

> In conclusion the President promises:
> "I can assure the country that this item will neither limit nor in any way embarrass the actions of the Department of Justice. Other appropriations supply the department with abundant funds to enforce the law. The law will be interpreted in the determination of what the department should do by independent and I hope impartial judgments as to the true and just meaning of substantive statutes of the United States."
> The matter of "limitation," having been once admitted, need not be considered further. But what does the President mean by his hint at the possession of "abundant funds" from "other appropriations" to "enforce the law"? That he intends really to use such funds in prosecuting the exempted classes, and thereby deliberately evade a law which plainly directs him to evade another law? Would that be regarded by the labor unions, or could it be regarded by anybody, as an act of good faith? The President was an essential party to the transaction; his approval was as requisite as the vote of Congress. Surely he would not belie his own signature.

In short, we have here a very pretty example in our public life of pretending to do it and pretending not to do it at the same instant. Which pretense goes nobody knows, because one of them must be false. Dr. Wilson's official signature is on one side, and his plain assertions on the other. It has hitherto been the custom in this country to regard a Presidential signature as made in good faith, and also to accept Presidential assertions in writing as made in good faith. But in this case the signature and the writing confront each other with a logic that breaks down one or the other.

Mr. Harvey is confident that this contradiction by Dr. Wilson of Dr. Wilson will have further consequences. "Already signs appear," he says, "that, encouraged by President Wilson's attitude, Mr. Gompers intends to urge this explicit proposal upon Congress at the coming regular session," namely, "a definite amendment of the 'substantive statutes' to exempt one class from the punishment visited upon all classes for criminal offenses against the law." We hope that Dr. Wilson will consent to pull himself out of the net in which he has placed himself.

(From the Waterbury American)

George Harvey, in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, says that President Wilson showed his greatness by forcing the tariff act through, but betrayed his weakness when he signed the sundry civil bill, which Taft vetoed, with its exemption of farmers' organizations and labor unions from prosecution under it for violation of the Sherman anti-trust act. Taft had called it "class legislation of the most vicious sort." Wilson defended his signature on the ground that he could still prosecute these exempted offenders if he wanted to. It is like his explanation of his approval of the act for putting deputy revenue-collectors in the grab-bag of spoils. He said he could prevent it if he wanted to, afterward.

Colonel Harvey's analysis of this inconsistent position of the President is one of the most thorough jobs this master of that kind of writing ever did. It must make his old friend, the President, wince. The necessity of playing politics and making concessions to his partisans, whose support he needs to get his legislation through, must be as disagreeable to the President as it is offensive to those who know his real feelings in respect to these matters and who wish that he was strong enough to fight his battles through with success without sacrificing consistency and even principle.

Colonel Harvey makes President Wilson out to be little less than a hypocrite who knows he is one and regretfully justifies himself on the ground that he has to be one to get on.

In his memorandum explaining his signing of the sundry civil appropriation bill with its rider practically exempting agricultural and labor combinations from prosecution under the Sherman anti-trust law for illegal restraint of trade, President Wilson said that he would have vetoed the rider if he could have separated it from the rest of the bill. Colonel Harvey, in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, asserts that President Wilson himself was responsible for the introduction of the bill with the rider, and that when the bill was on its passage and Democratic members called at the White House and offered to exert themselves for the excision of the rider the President did not encourage them to proceed. There seems to be as much difference between the Wilson who penned the memorandum and the Wilson who let the rider go through Congress as there was between the Wilson who wished Bryan might be knocked into a cocked hat and the Wilson who made Bryan Secretary of State.

(From the Terre Haute Star)

Colonel Harvey designates this as a big blot on the Wilson administration and devotes several columns to discussion and consideration of it.

His comments have a touch of acerbity, but at least he does not spare his criticism of the President's course in approving the exemption.

In his further columns of comment the Colonel returns to his old-time playfulness and directs his humor toward Vice-President Marshall among others, suggesting that he must have suffered deep humiliation when, after he had warmly advocated economy of administration, the Senate voted to spend $7,000 of good public money for a new automobile for his use. The fact that the item was afterward stricken out of the bill could not, the Colonel thinks, have relieved the humiliation greatly. It is rather interesting, on the whole, to have the former editor restored to editorial life.

(From the Syracuse Post-Standard)

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is ninety-nine years old and all the time it has worn a badge declaring "Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur," which freely translated means "a fair shake for everybody." During the years that George Harvey was accelerating Woodrow Wilson sentiment in violation of the speed ordinances we felt that he wasn't keeping his eyes fixed on this motto. Now that he has taken up his old duties at the old stand, refreshed by vacation, THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has that fine quality which Editor Harvey always imparts defined in literary circles as punch, and the punch, we are pleased to record, is to be delivered to Trojan and Tyrian alike, as the advertising sign promises.

Mr. Harvey writes about "Six Months of Wilson." He gives the President full credit for tariff legislation. He gives him a long black discredit for the appropriation-bill rider forbidding the prosecution of labor unions for violations of the Sherman law. When Mr. Wilson signed the bill, which Mr. Taft had vetoed, it will be remembered that it was with avowal of reluctance that the rider was there. The President hated to approve a measure of class legislation, but the appropriations were needed, so the President accepted the bill, but recorded his disapproval of the rider.

Mr. Harvey not only condemns the President for signing the bill, but he places upon him the chief responsibility for the obnoxious section exempting a class from operations of a general law. If he had not agreed the bill would not have been introduced in that form, says Mr. Harvey.

The Democratic leaders in Congress went over the bill with him before it was introduced and he agreed then to the rider, which when it came to him for signature he professed to dislike so cordially and which he accepted only because he did not feel warranted in vetoing a bill appropriating money for the conduct of government. In short, Mr. Wilson is charged with indulging in that popular game known as playing both ends against the middle.

John Joseph Fitzgerald, of Brooklyn, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, could, if he cared, contribute some interesting information upon this subject.

(From the Milwaukee Free Press)

Colonel George Harvey launches his new editorial department in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW with some interesting facts and allegations

concerning the much-discussed "rider" to the sundry civil appropriation bill which exempted "combinations, agreements and associations" among farmers or laborers from prosecution under the Sherman anti-trust law for illegal restraints of trade.

These facts and allegations are interesting, not so much because they contribute to the understanding of this undeniable piece of class legislation, but because they tend to exhibit the President's character in a new and unpleasant light.

It is generally believed that the President was opposed to the "rider" in question, and that he signed the bill to which it was attached under stress. That belief was justified by the memorandum which he filed as an accompaniment of his signature. In this he said:

"If I could have separated from the rest of the bill the item which authorizes the expenditure by the Department of Justice of a special sum of $300,000 for the prosecution of violations of the anti-trust law I would have vetoed the item, because it places upon the expenditures a limitation (with respect to the prosecution of illegal restraints by labor unions and farmer associations) which is in my opinion unjustifiable in character and principle. But I would not separate it."

Now Colonel Harvey insists that President Wilson, so far from really opposing this class limitation of the Sherman law, was in fact responsible for having it retained in the sundry civil appropriation bill and accepted by an obedient Congress.

His facts and allegations in support of his contention are these: That on April 2nd the President summoned Senator Martin and Representative Fitzgerald, chairmen, respectively, of the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations, to the White House, and expressed the wish that the sundry civil bill, vetoed by President Taft because of the class "rider," be reintroduced, including that "rider," and so passed; that leading Democratic members, in response to the nation-wide opposition to the "rider," called on the President later and pledged their best endeavors to defeat it, but that the President declined to lend his approval or acquiescence to their proposition; that the venerable ex-Senator Edmunds, one of the original framers of the Sherman law, called the attention of the President to the fact that the proviso in question had been rejected by the original framers of the law, including Senator Sherman himself; and in general that the President, with his exceptional influence over Congress, could at any time while the bill was pending have compelled the elimination of the objectionable "rider" from the bill and its introduction as a separate measure.

While Colonel Harvey makes no specific charge of double-dealing, the inference to be drawn from his presentation of the situation is clear. It is that the President desired, on the one hand, the enactment of this class legislation to appease certain interests, while, on the other, he sought to absolve himself from criticism by the rest of the people by condemning this legislation and representing himself as acting under compulsion in the memorandum accompanying his signature.

Colonel Harvey's inferential charge is a serious one, reflecting as it does on the good faith of the nation's chief; and he makes that charge even stronger by a searching *exposé* of the disingenuousness, sophistry, and contradiction contained in the President's deprecating memorandum.

CONTEMPORARY ECHOES

(From the Topeka Capital)

In Colonel George Harvey's review of six months of the administration he says that President Wilson has made but one important mistake—signing the sundry civil appropriation bill setting aside $300,000 to enforce the anti-trust laws, but providing in a "rider" that no part of the money shall be used against labor unions or farmers. The Colonel blasts that act. McKinley and Roosevelt had been enabled by Congress to sidestep the question. Taft had vetoed the identical rider in a notable message. General Gompers got it through Congress again this session, and President Wilson gave it his approval. Colonel Harvey prints Taft's veto in full, and an interesting feature of that veto message is the fact that almost one-half of it is compoosed of a quotation from the speech against the rider in the House by the late Judge Madison of Kansas. So it may be said that Judge Madison wrote the better part of the most famous of Taft's vetoes.

(From the Buffalo Commercial)

George Harvey inaugurates an editorial department in the November number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and fills no less than thirty-two pages with the inimitable comments which formerly constituted the chief feature of *Harper's Weekly*. Ignoring the staid traditions of that venerable periodical, he discourses with characteristic freedom and pungency upon a great variety of topics, giving full rein to his recognized talent for forceful expression, sane philosophy, wit, and satire. The result is in effect a substantial transformation of the character of the REVIEW from a somewhat heavy collection of special articles into a very live and interesting journal of public opinion without reducing the number of essays by distinguished writers. Colonel Harvey's leading article in the November number is entitled "Six Months of Wilson." Disregarding all minor matters, he finds that "but two acts of the deepest significance characterize the first half-year of the Wilson administration." One is "the enactment of a rational tariff bill"; the other is "the exemption of a class from prosecution under the Anti-trust Law." For the former he accords the President full credit and hearty commendation. For the latter he puts the responsibility squarely upon the President as the instigator of the measure and pronounces unsparing condemnation.

(From the Utica Herald)

In the leading article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for November, the editor, George Harvey, puts the responsibility for the enactment of the law exempting labor unions and farmer organizations from prosecution under the anti-trust law squarely upon President Wilson, and pronounces unsparing condemnation.

Colonel Harvey takes up the famous memorandum in which the President excused his action and riddles it sentence by sentence with merciless logic, ridiculing the assertion that the President "could not separate" the obnoxious proviso whose enactment he himself had originally proposed to Senator Martin and Representative Fitzgerald. Despite the apparent implication in the memorandum to the effect that the President was forced to treat the bill as a whole, Colonel Harvey declares it to be "unthinkable that the President meant to convey an impression so

palpably false." He did, moreover, in the opinion of the editor, "by his instigation, virtually relieve Representatives from the opprobrium which would ordinarily and should, of course, have been visited upon them." The enactment is pronounced "the one big blot on the Wilson administration" and likely to lead immediately to "a determined struggle for class domination whose outcome every patriotic citizen must contemplate with the gravest foreboding." Colonel Harvey leaves no room for doubt of his own judgment that, in this matter, President Wilson's action was a grievous and disquieting disappointment to the best friends and well-wishers of his administration.

Writing on the currency bill, the editor accords the President "undivided credit and unstinted praise" for his insistence in "keeping the subject wholly alive," but scoffs at the notion that the American people are "so dense that they cannot discriminate between a bank conducted by Nicholas Biddle and a bank controlled by the United States Government," and does not "suppose for a moment" that the President really expects final action in the present session.

(From the Scranton Tribune)

"The one big blot on the Wilson administration," Colonel Harvey asserts, "is the initiation of class legislation through the enactment of a statute which separates the American citizens into two great bodies, and exempts one of these bodies from the punishment prescribed by a specific law for criminal offenses." The act to which Colonel Harvey refers, and which President Wilson signed, is the sundry civil appropriation bill, providing that no part of the money voted should be used in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increase in wages, shortening of hours, of bettering the conditions of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof.

In vigorous language Colonel Harvey condemns President Wilson for weakness, not only in signing the bill, but for insisting that it be reintroduced into Congress in precisely the same form as when President Taft vetoed it. There is no doubt that the Democratic administration will be hampered by this action for some time to come. It seems to show a lack of moral insight, not necessarily because the bill was signed, but by reason of the excuses which President Wilson gives for having reintroduced it and signed it. We believe also that President Wilson's signing of the income tax law in its present form also reveals a lack of moral insight. This class legislation puts a financial disability upon the people who are raising large families, it does not sufficiently discriminate between earned income and inherited income, it sets the minimum far too high, and, in fact, it ignores the principle that if there are such large exemptions the law creates a vast army of political paupers throughout the country. An income tax is a legitimate form of taxation and no exception can be taken to the principle, but the form of the present law is vicious in several respects.

It is rather strange that the President, who should permit these two pieces of unjust legislation to receive his signature, should also make such a terrible fuss about recognizing Huerta on moral grounds. We do not believe Huerta should have been recognized, but we believe there

was as much sophistry in Wilson's explanation of non-recognition, as there was in his explanation or excuses for signing the sundry civil appropriation bill and income-tax bill.

(From the Greensboro News)

Colonel Harvey draws no inferences. In fact, he says, with regard to the memorandum, that "it is unthinkable that the President meant to convey an impression so palpably false." If that is the case, it would be interesting to know what Mr. Harvey does think. One of Mr. Wilson's notable characteristics is his ability to express himself clearly and unmistakably. Does the Colonel think that his ability lapsed in this one instance and that he got tangled in the intricacies of his own rhetoric, thereby saying one thing when he meant something very different? Or does he intend that we shall draw the inference that not only is it not unthinkable, but that it is actually thought that in this case the President has wandered from the path of "faithfulness, directness and dignity"? If a man's actions are unthinkable, but nevertheless performed, what shall we say?

THE "VINDICATION" OF SULZER

(From the Knoxville Journal-Tribune)

William Sulzer, the deposed governor, has been elected to the New York Assembly, and he claims his election as a "complete vindication." But as a member of the New York Legislature, he "is the same old Bill." In THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW "men and affairs" are discussed at length by George Harvey, who is quite an artist in his way. What he says of Sulzer is interesting, partly for the reason that it is not unjust. Among other things said is: "Nobody except the person most concerned questions the justice of the verdict against William Sulzer. Even he does not deny the main facts upon which he was adjudged guilty. His plea for consideration is one of extenuation. Because of an effort to do his duty his own offense should be pardoned. That is substantially all that he can find to say. And we have no doubt that he is quite honest in his opinion to that effect and in his belief that he has been wronged."

As with thousands of others, Colonel Harvey sympathizes with Sulzer, for the reason that he is regarded as a victim of circumstances. But it was as well known before his election and before his impeachment that he was not fit to be Governor of New York, or of any State, as it has been found out since. Says Colonel Harvey: "A rattle-brained demagogue he always was and always appeared to be." But demagogues are sometimes popular with lots of people, especially in New York, and Sulzer was given the nomination because of his popularity.

As to his "complete vindication," it may be so regarded by himself and by the voters who elected him to the Assembly as a vindication. But a vindication is valuable in proportion to the value of the source from which it comes. The Assembly district on the "East Side," of the great city in which is found such a variety of people, is not the locality to which very many who know anything of that electorate would go for a vindication calculated to fill the heart of a self-respecting man with

pride. Sulzer may be a fair representative of some of the Assembly districts in the big city.

(From the Greensboro News)

Our sympathy goes out to Colonel George Harvey in his confinement to a mere monthly. It must harrow up his soul to see the most interesting events transpiring all around him and have to wait thirty days or so before he can have an opportunity to comment on them. In a monthly Colonel Harvey's opinions are bound to be the old cow's tail; but for all that they arrive after everybody else has had his say, they are worthy of consideration, for with all his faults and foibles the Colonel has a habit of speaking with a clearness and logic that command consideration. In the November number of his NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW in the newly instituted editorial department under the title of "The Lesson of Sulzer" he covers the case of the downfall of the ex-Governor more completely and succinctly than we have seen it dealt with elsewhere.

"THE MASTER STATESMAN"

(From the Eastern Daily Press of Norwich, England)

English readers of all classes and shades of opinion will, we think, be grateful to Colonel George Harvey, the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, for the remarkable appreciation of the Prime Minister which he has contributed to that periodical under the title "Asquith: the Master Statesman." Colonel Harvey is a shrewd and capable observer whose experience of public life has been wide and varied. His impression, therefore, not only of the man but of the period of crisis and development through which this country has been passing, is valuable and welcome. And it is notable that he identifies the country very closely indeed with the Prime Minister, and the strength and success of Mr. Asquith's career becomes in his mind the symbol of the new era into which this country has entered. "Has England found herself?" Colonel Harvey asks at the opening of his article, and the answer is undoubtedly to be found in the clear statement which he gives of the steady, resourceful leadership which the Prime Minister has shown to the country since he came to the high office he holds. It is not in the achievements of Mr. Asquith as a mere party leader that Colonel Harvey sees the evidence of his greatness. It is in his vindication of his own position as the head of the Government, the guardian of the national interest as a whole, in such a crisis as the Railway Strike of 1910. "The swift and sure effectiveness with which he countered the beginning of a labor revolution, shrewdly designed to paralyze the country and starve its inhabitants has hardly been equaled in sheer force and adequacy"—that is Colonel Harvey's estimate of what Mr. Asquith did on that occasion. And he goes on to say: "He flung 'politics' to the winds; he never stopped to think how his action might influence voters; he turned his eyes squarely to the immediate need, and, by a stroke of matured decisiveness, by declaring promptly and firmly that, if necessary, he would employ all the resources of the Government to keep the railways in running order, he averted the most appalling distress that could befall a densely populated land."

English people, we believe, have recognized fully and deeply the obligation under which the Prime Minister laid them at that moment, and, indeed, on many other occasions since he succeeded to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman more than five years ago. Colonel Harvey enumerates the achievements, political and otherwise, of the period—the international crises, the strikes, the political revolution, and so forth. Through them all Mr. Asquith has gone steadily, unvaryingly, determinedly, a fine representative of the England which is pictured in the minds of patriots —strong and efficient and mindful of her obligations and her duties. That is how Mr. Asquith's career as Prime Minister strikes an American, and we believe that English appreciation is not less generous or less just. Mr. Asquith has acquired in the eyes of the nation a position of authority unequaled in its command and influence over all parties. In the House of Commons he is supreme in an unusual way. Mr. Balfour holds the House of Commons by the charm of his personality, the mobility of his mind, and the extent of his knowledge. Mr. Asquith is less showy, less speculative and adventurous in his mental habit, and less subtle in thought. But he has enforced on the House of Commons a will which in crises has proved immovable, while maintaining a humane and winning regard for the rights and feelings of others. And he has to his credit the achievement of a change in the Constitution more far-reaching than any since the Reform Bill. "It has all been done," says Colonel Harvey, "without theatricality or self-advertisement, with no attempt to dazzle his contemporaries, and without the least assistance from those advantages of birth, wealth, and social connections that in England more perhaps than any country smooth the path of political and legal ambition." That is a record of which Mr. Asquith's fellow-countrymen are justly proud.

(From the Westminster Gazette)

A very able article entitled "Asquith: The Master Statesman," appears in the October number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, from the pen of Mr. George Harvey, its editor.

"Has England found herself?" asks Mr. Harvey, in his first sentence, and the whole of the article is an answer in the affirmative, for the reason that the country has found a master mind in the Prime Minister. The writer is principally concerned to tell his story to the people of the United States, and many of his allusions and comparisons are naturally concerned with American politics and politicians; nevertheless his frankly independent outlook upon recent British political history results in a careful and discriminating, but definite and clear-cut, appreciation of the character of Mr. Asquith. He is sure of his subject, and as he has faith in his own vision, his picture is a powerful one.

(From the London Globe)

Political antagonism does not involve denial of the personal or intellectual merits of our opponents. We may find it difficult to recognize as Mr. Asquith the description offered by the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, "the true conservator of an Empire's very existence in its time of gravest peril"; but no one can read Mr. George Harvey's

"Asquith: The Master Statesman," without conceding the effectiveness of the portrait as painted. When Mr. Harvey poses as the historian of the years of the present Administration he is least successful, because he has failed to understand the true meaning of the forces at work in the Constitutional struggle. On the other hand, his estimate of the character of the Prime Minister, if highly colored, has the merit of sincerity and all the charm of the picturesque.

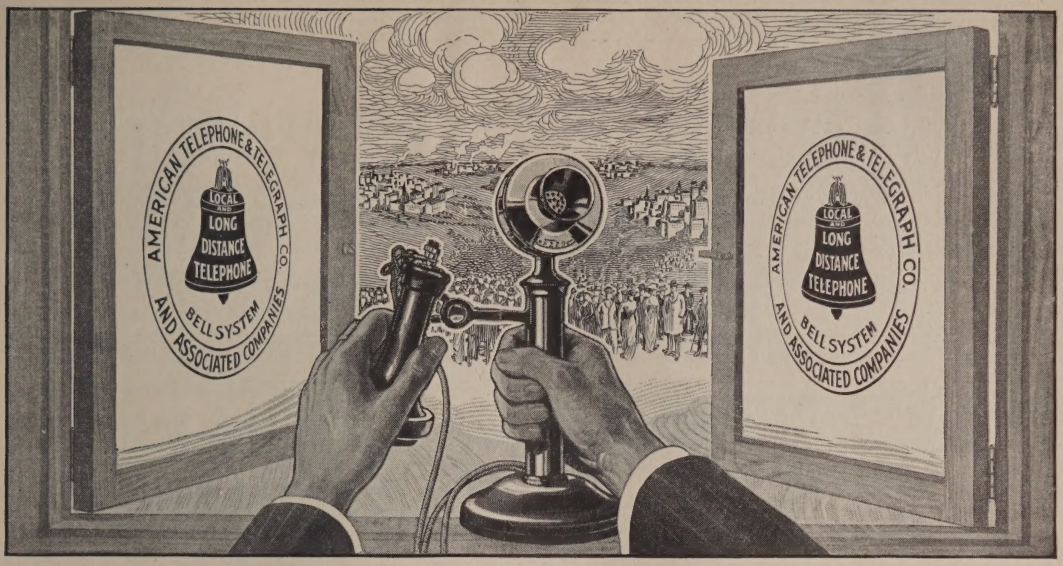
(From the London Chronicle)

Mr. George Harvey contributes to the October number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, of which he is editor, a very ably written article entitled "Asquith: The Master Statesman." It is a generous yet discriminating appreciation of the Prime Minister, remarkable for the knowledge it displays and for its critical discernment. Mr. Asquith's growth in influence and power since he became Prime Minister has greatly impressed this shrewd American observer.

(From the Yorkshire Telegraph)

We are told by the Conservatives that troublous times are ahead. There is power to deal with any trouble that is likely to arise. The cause of government by constitutional means as opposed to those who advocate rebellion and recourse to arms has a most powerful asset in the Prime Minister. The country has far more confidence in his statesmanship and his ability to deal with a crisis than it has in any other man in British politics to-day. That explains why all the scare-mongering in Ulster has failed to excite any apprehension in England. Mr. Asquith enjoys public confidence in a degree not shared by any leader of political opinion of his day. That explains the calmness of England amid all the incitements and tumult of Northeast Ulster.

That Englishmen are not alone in this estimate of Mr. Asquith and the strength of his character is discovered in an article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, from the pen of its editor. There we have a striking appreciation of Britain's "Master Statesman." The writer dwells on the pre-eminence of Mr. Asquith's personal authority. England, he says, "has found herself." "He has done his work with a masterful thoroughness that stamps his administration as the most efficient within the recollection of living man." This American writer tells his readers of the great work that has been done by the Asquith Administration in the face of the strongest conceivable resistance to broadened government. The House of Lords has been deprived of its outworn powers, and the forces of obstruction to democratic legislation have been broken down. All has been done steadily but irresistibly. The opposition of all the old vested interests and their resolve to fight in the last ditch has ended in talk. And so we think it will be in Ireland. The country has faith in its master statesman, and all talk of civil war and anarchy may be put aside as of no account. There is a man at the head of affairs who is equal to any emergency that will arise in Ulster.



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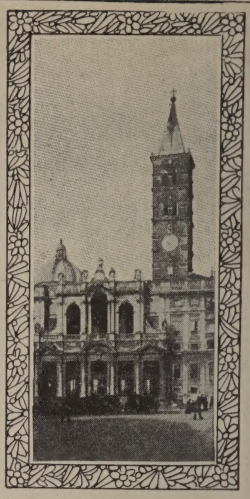

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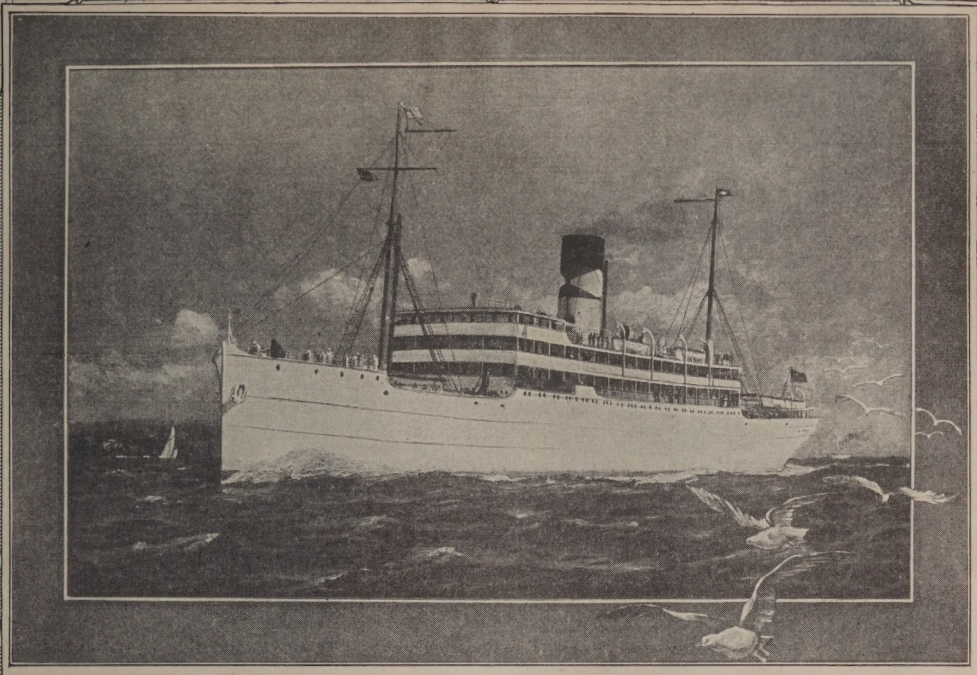

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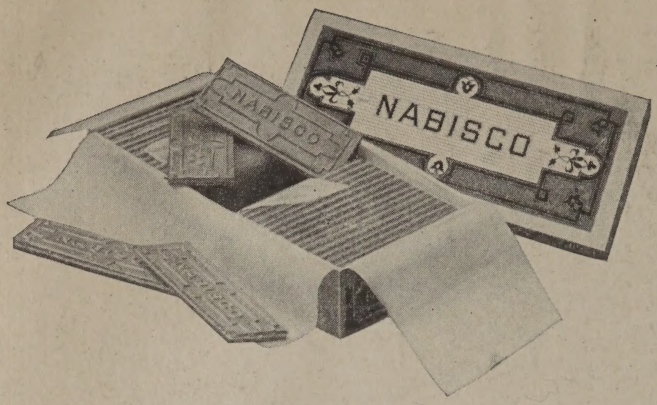

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